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A Sociolinguistic Profile of the Luyia Ethnolinguistic Subgroups: The Logoli Included in the Kangemi Informal Urban Settlement Area

By

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Abstract
The study is an in-depth examination of code-switching in the Logoli speech community in the cosmopolitan Kangemi informal settlement area on the outskirts of the city of Nairobi. The aim of the study is to investigate the sociolinguistic and structural developments that result from urban language contact settings such as Kangemi. The main objective is to identify and illustrate the social motivations that influence the tendency of the Logoli speakers to alternate codes between Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English in the course of their routine conversations as well as the structural patterns that emerge in the process of code-switching. Various methodological techniques were used in the gathering of data, including questionnaire surveys, oral interviews, tape recordings and ethnographic participant-observation techniques are highlighted. Extracts from the corpus were analysed within a theoretical framework based on two models, namely the Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Frame Model, both developed by Myers-Scotton. The study identified and interpreted, within the Markedness Model framework, the key social variables that determine code-switching behaviour among the Logoli speech community. Structural features of the corpus were also identified and analysed within the Matrix Language Frame Model. The assumptions of the model were tested and found to be supported by numerous examples from the data. A number of recommendations were made for further research on minority languages in Kenya and the need for language policy in Kenya to be formulated to take these language groups into consideration.

Key words: Kenya, Code-switching, Kangemi, Kiswahili, Logoli, Markedness Model, Matrix Language Frame Model

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1. Introduction

Bilingualism and multilingualism are a global phenomenon. Over the years it has been propelled by the active forces of modernization and globalization. According to Milroy and Muysken (1995), the contemporary world has become increasingly multilingual due to these two forces. This view is supported by Romaine (1989) observes that 'there are about thirty times as many languages as there are countries'. According to Prasad (2010), bilingualism develops as speakers of different languages meet and interact socially and linguistically. In the process of this interaction, languages influence one another, leading to outcomes linguistically described as 'language contact phenomena'. These include code-switching, borrowing, diglossia, interference, and transfer, among others, which Milroy and Muysken (1995) describe as *marque transcodique* (transcoding markers). This study examines the phenomenon of code-switching among the Logoli speech community of the Kangemi area in Nairobi. The switching behaviour studied involves three language varieties namely; Logoli, Kiswahili and English.

The aim of the Study

The primary aim of the study is to bring to the fore the linguistic configurations that emanate from language contact situations in an urban setting. By focusing on one such language contact situation, namely code-switching, the study aims at demonstrating the impact of urban factors on the linguistic behaviour of different groups that interact in such a cosmopolitan arena. The study subjects the data from the Kangemi study area (the Kangemi corpus) to examination within the theoretical framework of two models of interpretation of code-switching developed by Myers-Scotton, namely the Markedness Model and the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model.

Taking the case of the Logoli migrant ethnolinguistic subgroup into a Nairobi informal settlement area, Kangemi, over the years, the study has aimed at adding to the understanding of the dynamic nature of language which both grows and adjusts in response to the needs of the speech community. It has sought to bring to the fore the social factors that influence code-switching, as well as the emerging trends in linguistic patterns in the process of code-switching among the Logoli speakers of Kangemi.

The Statement of the Problem

According to Cohen (1969 cited in Matsuda 1984), the process of urbanization in Africa, especially after political independence in the 1960s, simultaneously elicited two contradictory but mutually exclusive phenomena. These were what he describes as 'detribalisation' and 'retribalisation'. He argues that people of different ethnic groups in urban centres tended to identify with the new concept of the 'nation' and in the process, accommodated other ethnic groups, hence undergoing 'detribalisation'. On the other hand, there was a tendency to cluster around and identify with one's ethnic group in the towns, hence eliciting retribalisation. Cohen (ibid) further argues that this was not necessarily reversing the process of

detribalization, but rather 'a dynamic change of social relations for adaptation to a completely new social reality in the urban environment'.

In his sociological study of the emergence of the Logoli 'colony' in Kangemi, Matsuda (1984) argues that 'retribalisation' in urban Africa is one of the most stable and effective processes of reorganizing social relations within a competitive urban environment. Matsuda (ibid) visualizes the city as a social field 'where the heterogeneous, differentiated population in terms of culture, social system and economic status co-exist'. This study concurs with the views of these researchers (Fischer, Cohen and Matsuda) that urbanization has a revolutionary effect on the development of languages in the urban setting. Such a setting is an ideal arena for manifestation of different language contact phenomena. The study takes one such phenomenon, code-switching, and demonstrates the social factors influencing its manifestation as well as the linguistic features that result from it. The study is based on the Logoli speech community from Western Kenya, resident in the Kangemi informal settlement area on the outskirts of Nairobi city.

Objective of the Study

The study sought to achieve one key objective, namely;

(i) To establish a sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia ethno-linguistic subgroups, the Logoli included, in the Kangemi informal urban settlement area.

2. Review of Related Literature

Sociolinguistic profile of Kenya

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000) describe the term *sociolinguistic profile* as '…the characterization of the language situation in a state, region, or community, or the language world of an individual', on the basis of contemporary population density and distribution along geographical and linguistic lines. It has always been hard to state the exact number of languages in African countries because this is always fraught with politics of ethnicity. Mesthrie et al. (2000,) observe the difficulties faced by linguists in stating what exactly constitutes a language in relation to overlapping entities like 'dialects'. They argue that the distinction between language and dialect tends to be political rather than linguistic. Hence to depoliticize this, some linguists find the term variety neutral and thus more useful.

Bearing this in mind, we can safely state that Kenya is a multi-ethnic state with language as a key criterion defining the ethnic groups. It is a plurilingual state with speakers of diverse linguistic varieties. According to internet sources (Ethnologue-Kenya), the number of individual languages listed for Kenya is 68. However, these include both macro-languages and their dialects. Whiteley (1974) gives the number of indigenous languages in Kenya as thirty-four. However, given the deep-seated issue of politics of language, Kenya has about forty-one language varieties (Webb & Kembo-Sure, 2000) which coincide with the number of ethnic and major ethnolinguistic subgroups. These language varieties are in turn traceable to the three major language families, namely Bantu, Nilotic and Cushitic.

Myers-Scotton (1993b,) has rightly observed that the speakers of Bantu languages dominate the Kenyan population, but occupy a relatively smaller geographical area in terms of territory. According to Were (1968) and McIntosh (1968), the Bantu speakers include the Kikuyu, Kamba, Meru, Embu, Tharaka and Mbeere of Central and Eastern Kenya; the Luyia, Gusii, Kuria and Suba of Western Kenya; and the Mijikenda, Swahili, Pokomo, TaitaTaveta and Segeju of Coastal Kenya.

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Cohen (1968) observes that the Nilotic speakers may be categorised in three clusters. The River-lake Nilotes are represented by the Luo of Nyanza Province in Western Kenya. Their cousins include the Acholi and Lango in Uganda, and the Nuer and Shilluk in South Sudan. The Highland Nilotes consist of primarily the Kalenjin speakers, namely the Marakwet, Tugen, Pokot, Keiyo, Kony, Kipsigis and Nandi of the highlands to the west of the Rift Valley. The Plains Nilotes form the Maa-speakers, and include the Maasai who occupy the expansive Rift Valley plains of southern Kenya and northern Tanzania, the Samburu of northern-central Kenya and the Njemps or ilchamus of Lake Baringo area. They also include Turkana of north-Western Kenya, the Elmolo, and the Teso. The latter occupy both sides of the border between Kenya and Uganda.

The Cushitic speakers occupy the expansive but arid northern and eastern areas of Kenya (Ehret, 1968, 195). The two major languages spoken here are Somali (spoken in the north eastern province), and Oromo (spoken by the Galla people of Ethiopia, groups of who migrated into and settled in eastern Kenya in the past). Other Oromo-related varieties include Boran, Gabra, Rendille and Orma.

According to the 2009 population census, Kenya had a population of the 38.6 million. Of this, the Kikuyu make up 17%, followed by the Luyia (14%), Kalenjin (13%), Luo (10%), Kamba (10%), Kisii (6%), Mijikenda (5%), Meru (4%), while the rest constitute 21%. For purposes of this study, the national numerical standing of the Luyia linguistic group, of whom the Logoli ethnolinguistic subgroup is a part, lends credence to the justification of studying the community in an urban setting.

The Logoli dialect of western province in Nairobi

The Avalogoli are speakers of Lulogoli ethnolinguistic subgroup dialect of the Luyia linguistic group. Lulogoli is a member of the Oluluyia macro-language (Luyia). According to *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, this dialect is alternately referred to as Lulogole, Lulugule, Logooli, Luragoli, Maragoli, Maragooli, Ragoli, Uluragooli. This research has adopted the term Logoli for the ethnolinguistic subgroup under study, and Lulogoli for the dialect. The Logoli speech community inhabit the south-eastern extremity of the Luyia territory. The subjects of this study are the members of this community who are residents of the Kangemi informal settlement area of Nairobi.

According to Gimode (1993), the onset of colonial rule and the missionary work in western Kenya saw the Logoli become the first Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroup to embrace Christianity and western education. The Logoli dialect or ethnolinguistic subgroup variety was quickly reduced to writing by the American Quaker (Friends Society) missionaries. Gudahi (2003), affirms the fact that Lulogoli, like other Bantu languages, is agglutinative. When the Quaker missionaries settled at Kaimosi in 1902, they studied and adopted the five vowels (a, e, i, o, u) from the work done earlier by pioneer missionary Ludwig Krapf. This was in an attempt to reduce Lulogoli to writing. By 1908, Rev. Emory Rees and Rev. Arthur Chilson had printed parts of the New Testament in Lulogoli. Along with missionary texts, many more materials were produced for learning and teaching in schools, and for general communication in Lulogoli. The Logoli people became evangelists among other Luyia groups, using the different sections of the Bible (Psalms, Proverbs, Gospels and Epistles) that had been translated. The complete Lulogoli Bible was produced in 1951. The Lulogoli Bible and hymn book were printed and used among the many other Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups well into the late twentieth century when the Bible was translated into their

ethnolinguistic subgroup forms. These included the Nyala, Kabras, Tachoni and Bukusu in central and northern Luyia territory.

Of great significance for this study is the fact that right from the first years of contact with the West, most Logoli young people quickly understood and mapped out strategies of how to fit into the new colonial economy. Beginning in the 1920s, the Logoli men began to migrate to 'white settler' farms in the Rift Valley and Central regions of Kenya to work for a salary. Others moved into the emerging urban centres, but especially Nairobi which was fast evolving as the colonial capital, with the view to get jobs, to earn money and to enjoy urban social amenities.

According to Matsuda (1984), the Logoli migrants quickly formed 'an urban colony in Kangemi' in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Kangemi was a new low-cost informal residential area on the outskirts of Nairobi city to the west. This was significant in the sense that there were many such settlements emerging in Nairobi, but Kangemi was convenient for the Logoli because it was the entry point to the city for people coming in from the west of the country.

Kangemi informal settlement began serious expansion in the late 1960s, an expansion that corresponded significantly with the increase in the Logoli population. Matsuda (1984) argues that according to the 1969 Kenya national census, the Maragoli population overall numbered 150,000, which translated to only 1% of the national total. Yet, in the 1970s and early 1980s the Logoli population dominated other Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups and even the non-Luyia populations in Kangemi.

2.1 Structural constraint in grammatical analysis of code-switching

According to Iqbal (2011), code-switching 'is not a random phenomenon', and it does not connote deficiency in the users, but is rather sophisticated. This is echoed by Dabane (1995) who emphasises the fact that code-switching is 'linguistically constrained, and not haphazard or the result of lack in competence in one, or both, languages'.

Riehl (2005) argues that 'researches on the patterns of code-switching i.e. its grammatical structure', is basically recent in bilingual studies. A central notion in grammatical structure is that of constraints which Riehl (2005) defines as 'the points within a sentence at which the transition from one language to the other is possible'. For MacSwan (2004), constraints are a system of rules that captures a range of linguistic facts. In the same vein, Ramat (1995) considers the question of constraints as important because these govern the behaviour or occurrence of code-switching. In this regard, constraint in structure implies order rather than random occurrence.

Alfonzetti (2005) identifies three historical phases in the evolution of the debate on grammatical constraints. For her, there was an earlier stage focused on grammatical constraints specific to particular constructions, 'a search for universal constraints'. The third, and present stage accepts the existence of alternative strategies which are 'linked to different language pairs and contact situations'. Muysken (1995) has argued that many studies on models or constraints were not explicit. He observes the need for comprehensive models to give an account 'of the grammatical notions relevant to code-switching'.

Blom and Gumperz (1972) observed that the linguistic repertoire in Hemnesberget consisted of two dialects facilitating social interaction: Ranamål and Bokmål. Ranamål was the dialect of prestige and pride in belonging to the community, a symbol of local independence and distinctiveness of the local culture. Bokmål, on the other hand, was the standard variety of formal education, official transaction, religion and mass media. The members of Hemnesberget spoke both dialects in their everyday interaction by selecting

between the two according to the demands of the situation. There was therefore, according to Blom and Gumperz (1972), 'a shift between two distinct entities, which are never mixed'. A set of participants spoke one or the other. Situational switching, therefore, involves a change in the participants. They argued that situational switching was accompanied by a shift in gestures and a switch in code. This constitutes clear change on the participants' definition of each other's expectations in the interaction. The code chosen by the participants is determined by the commonly accepted norms (Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

According to MacSwan (2005), Poplack and Sankoff were among the pioneer researchers to 'propose constraints which govern the interaction of two language systems'. These were general constraints which Poplack (1980) hoped would apply in many cases of code-switching, namely, the Equivalence Constraint and the Free Morpheme Constraint. Poplack formulated the Equivalence Constraint and subsequently articulated it together with Sankoff (1981). It has become the most widely discussed constraint in code-switching. According to Sankoff and Poplack (1981), the Equivalence Constraint states that 'the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously'.

According to Muysken (1995) the guiding assumption in the notion of equivalence is that the grammars of two languages facilitate bilingual usage. Commenting on this, MacSwan (2005) states that code-switching 'is allowed within constituents so long as the word order requirements of both languages are met at S-structure'. Thus, the constraint restricts the syntactic boundaries around which the two languages involved have the same order of elements.The second constraint, the Free Morpheme Constraint, was refined by Sankoff and Poplack (1981). Poplack had proposed this constraint as a potentially universal restriction on code-switching. According to her (1981), a switch 'may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexicon form, unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme'. It rules out switching between a bound morpheme and a free morpheme. MacSwan (2005) interprets this, as, meaning that 'a switch may occur at any point in the discourse at which it is possible to make a surface cut and still remain a free morpheme'. Poplack (1988) tries to make this explicit by stating: 'free morpheme constraint prohibits mixing of morphologies within the confines of the word'.

There have been responses both for and against the two constraints associated with Poplack. In reference to Equivalence Constraint, Rothman and Rell (2004) have argued that it seems to work, though it has counter-examples which call for further attention. According to MacSwan (2004), however, the constraint has little support in the circle of scholars because of the counter-examples which fail to validate the constraint. He argues that many examples are ill-formed, contrary to Poplack's prediction. Similarly, MacSwan (2000) posits that the Free Morpheme Constraint is not theoretically satisfactory, and that it blocks structural descriptions without offering explanation. In a similar vein of criticism, Ramat (1995) observes that as formulated, the constraint is 'too powerful', and is disconfirmed by other studies, especially Myers-Scotton (1990).In response to this criticism, Poplack (2004) has tried to tone down the claims of universality by introducing a distinction between code-switching and nonce-borrowing. She (2004) has further attempted to distinguish between *smooth* and *flagged* switching.

For Rothman and Rell (2005), however, the constraint has 'indeed stood the test of time'. Similarly, Hyltenstam (1995) supports Poplack's constraints, arguing that empirical evidence of switching patterns comes from frequency of different kinds of switches observed in the corpus. Hence, the constraints demonstrate the possibility of occurrence of a specific

type, and can 'therefore not be falsified by single counter-examples'. Rather, he argues, they may be falsified by corpora in which the tendencies or probabilities on which the constraints were formulated do not hold. In the light of perceived shortcomings in Poplack's formulations, Belazi et al. (1994) proposed a different model for structural code-switching, namely the Functional Head Constraint. According to this, (Belazi et al, 48), 'the language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of the functional head'. This means that there may be no switching between a functional head and its complement. The major short-coming of this constraint is the limited area of application, namely only f-selected configurations where a complement is selected by a functional head. Thus, switches between lexical heads and their complement are not constrained.

Another constraint, the Government Constraint, was formulated and articulated by Disciullo et al. (1986). It is based on Government and Binding Theory, which in turn was borrowed from Chomsky (1981) who describes general structural dependence on a syntactic head within a maximal projection. The authors assign the constraint an absolute all-or-nothing status. They (1986) have attempted to capture the fact that switching mainly occurs at phrase boundaries or between a specifier and the head of a projection. It forbids code-switching between a preposition and the governed NP, and between a verb and the governed object. Ramat (1995) observes that a major short-coming of the constraint is the frequent violation of it.Another perspective available for analysing grammatical aspects of code-switching is the Minimalist Program (MP). This programme was formulated by Noam Chomsky.

According to Chomsky (1995) there is the possibility of realising a vibrant syntactic theory in which parameters defining cross-linguistic variation are limited to the lexicon rather than operating on syntactic rules. The programme discards all but the most essential syntactic principles. It attempts to uncover the most general and indispensable aspects of phrase structure rules, building the syntactic structure from bottom-up via a single operator, namely *merge*. In the MP there are two central components of the syntax. These are the computational system of human language (CHL) and the Lexicon.

The CHL is believed to be invariant across languages. The lexicon explains the idiosyncratic differences that exist across human languages. According to Neske, the MP constitutes the most radical reformulation of the transformational generative grammar since its beginnings in the 1950s. On the other hand, Wouter-Zwart (1998) argues that the MP is not different from previous versions of generative syntax. However, its uniqueness lies in the claim that it is a clean-up operation that eliminates the notion of government which is perceived as not being very useful. Perhaps the researcher most associated with articulation of the MP in relation to code-switching is MacSwan (2000), who alternatively calls it the Syntactic Model or the Minimalist Framework. According to him (2004), phrase structure trees are built derivationally by the application of three operations: select, merge and move, which are constrained only by the condition that lexically encoded features match in the course of derivation.

MacSwan (2004) argues that the primary assumption of the MP in this regard is the elimination of all mechanisms that are not necessary or essential. He argues that this assumption is suitable for accounting for code-switching. He (2000) concludes that nothing 'constrains code-switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars'. This, he explains, does not mean that there are no unacceptable code-switched sentences. Rather, code-switching may be explained in terms of principles and requirements of the specific

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grammars used in each specific utterance. The conclusion is that, according to the MP, is that code-switching is the union of two lexically encoded grammars with elements drawn from two or more lexicons.

MacSwan (2004) dismisses the approach of constraints in analysing bilingual code-switching. Instead, he proposes what he describes as 'well-known and independently justified principles of linguistic theory.' For him, code-switching research will benefit from such precisely formulated theories. Thus, MacSwan (2004) considers the MP as the right model for studying bilingual behaviour, code-switching included. In his contribution to the debate on constraints, Muysken (1995) dismisses the argument of the Government Model as inappropriate and not capable of sustaining the testing of data. He, however, identifies one aspect in the constraint that he considers valuable, namely, that it can predict in a general way the fact that the looser a syntagmatic relation is in a sentence, the easier it is to switch. Muysken (1995) lists what he considers as the three categories of a general set of constraints on code-switching. These are: (i) the structural equivalence as articulated by Poplack and her associates, (ii) government, by Disciullo and his associates, and (iii) the Matrix Language-Embedded Language Symmetry by Myers-Scotton (1993a).

Muysken (1995) dismisses the whole idea of absolute or universal constraints as being less appropriate for performance data on the grounds that they are prone to being invalidated by one counter-example. Further, he criticises Poplack's categories, arguing that just by making a general statement about which type of switch is likely to occur and which type is not misses the point, namely, 'some switches are less frequent than others in a given corpus' (1995).Muysken demonstrates what he considers to be the similarity between the Government Model of Disciullo et al. (1986) and the MLF Model of Myers-Scotton. He argues that both models share the idea of an asymmetry between a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). For him, the ML corresponds to the governing language, the difference being in what counts as governor. Whereas the Government Model specifically excludes functional elements from being relevant governors in terms of code-switching constraints, Myers-Scotton focuses on functional elements as governors of code-switching.

Muysken himself (1995) seems to lean towards what he describes as the emerging 'probabilistic perspective' fronted by Treffers-Daller (1991). According to this, different switching strategies like flagging, constituent insertion, etc., occur but are governed by constraints specific to the strategies. He (1995) identifies three approaches to intra-sentential code-switching, namely (i) alternation (ii) congruent lexicalization, and (iii) insertion. Muysken (1995) argues that alternation occurs when several constituents in a row are switched, and where stretches of other language materials are longer. Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) give Poplack's grammatical equivalence constraints as a good example of alternation. The second order, congruent lexicalization, is characterized by languages sharing grammatical structure, but with the vocabulary coming from two or more languages. According to Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) this type is a product of 'grammatical congruence'. The third type or approach is 'insertion'. This is the type that the current study identifies with in analysing the Kangemi *corpus*. It involves a single language matrix structure into which insertion of a constituent from another language takes place.

2.2 Review of some studies on code-switching in Kenya

Apart from the phenomenal work done by Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1993b) on code-switching in East Africa, there are a number of studies that have been conducted which deserve

mention. They show that the present study is part of a developing tradition of research on code-switching in Africa. They also serve to show that the research was justified.

Parkin (1974), studied codes-switching among the residents of Kaloleni (Eastlands) area of Nairobi city. Considering ethnicity and socio-economic status as social variables, Parkins observes that switches occur between English, Kiswahili and a mother-tongue. His main focus is on the functions of these codes during an interaction. He also considers wealth, education, occupation and social positions as variables that influence code-switching. In his opinion, when people interact, they try to judge consciously what mode of behaviour best suits the interaction. He also arrives at the conclusion that in any role relationship, there is a constant process of adjustment and counter-adjustment to each other's expectation by the role players.

Parkin (1974) consequently suggests two types of conversations; transactional and non-transactional conversations. Triggered off by participants in a to-and-fro way, transactional types are said to be the conversations that progressively unravel repertoires of different languages or codes by each speaker. Non-transactional conversation types, on the other hand, entail language switching occurring between speakers who belong to the same ethnic and language group. He posits the view that people of different ethnic groups switch language as a reflection of the relations between them as they endeavour to adapt to each other's mother-tongue. This, he posits, connotes solidarity.

Muthwii's (1986) master's dissertation investigates language use in pluri-lingual societies and its social significance for code-switching. Using natural data from casual conversation involving the use of English, Kiswahili and Kalenjin, she observes that code-switching serves various functions. Muthwii uses the Functional Framework Model to demonstrate this. The functions include–mimicry and quotation, interjections, reiteration, personalisation and objectivisation, and addressee specification. She also examines some constraints on code-switching and notes that apart from switching that involves the whole structure, only sections of the sentence such as the noun and verb phrase may be switched. The current study differs both in terms of target population and theory.

Muthuri's (2000) master's dissertation examines the functions of code-switching among multilingual students at Kenyatta University. The study describes the choice of codes involving the use of English, Kiswahili and local languages. She uses Social Accommodation Theory to explain shifts in speech styles. The current study differs from this in terms of target population, theoretical framework and objectives.

Ogechi's (2002) doctoral dissertation investigates code-switching involving four codes namely, Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng as practised by the Ekegusii speakers of Gusii County in south western Kenya and in Eldoret town in the North Rift Valley of Kenya. It attempts to determine the matrix language and the speech process involved in trilingual code-switching. He uses Myers-Scotton's MLF Model to explain the mechanisms behind various patterns. The current study is different in focus, examining sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of code-switching. It adopts both Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model and the MLF Model. The latter is applied from a different perspective in comparison to Ogechi's.

Kanana's (2003) masters dissertation investigates the functions and motivations of code-switching among the traders and customers at the Maasai market in Nairobi. The market, being cosmopolitan, brings together speakers of both local linguistic codes and of foreign codes. She uses Speech Accommodation Theory and Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model to explain the functions of code-switching. The current study is different in that it is

based on one speech community and involves both social and linguistic aspects as well as a combination of Markedness and the MLF Models in explaining the corpus.

Kebeya's (2008) doctoral dissertation investigates and compares the linguistic behaviour of Luo-Luyia and Luo-Gusii bilinguals resident in Kiboswa and Suneka settlement areas, respectively. She uses three theories namely, the Speech Accommodation Theory, the Markedness Model, and the Variationist Theory. She concludes that speakers in Kiboswa and Suneka converge, diverge and/or code switch in intergroup contexts. The current study differs from Kebeya's study because it focuses on speakers resident in a peri-urban setting. Using the Markedness Model and the MLF Model, this study investigates the linguistic behaviour of migrants resident in a cosmopolitan area. The study is also different because it deals with social as well as linguistic aspects of code-switching.

The Kangemi study deviates from the above studies by being essentially an urban-based study examining bilingual production by speakers of the Logoli speech community whose repertoire features three codes namely Lulogoli, Kiswahili and English. It further differs from these previous studies by applying the theoretical framework based on Myers-Scotton's models. These are the Markedness Model, which addresses the motivation aspects, and the MLF Model, within which structural features are subjected to analysis.

3. Methodology and Data Analysis

This section provides a description of methodological approaches used in the study. It discusses specific methods or techniques used in data collection and provide a demographic and physical overview of the research setting. The research study area is Kangemi in Nairobi. Kangemi is an informal settlement or slum in a valley, some six kilometres to the west of the Nairobi Central Business District. According to the report of the National Population Census conducted in 2009, the Kangemi area had, at the time, a total population of 44,564.

To achieve the objectives of this study, the researcher thus used both qualitative and quantitative methods as well as aspects of the ethnographic technique or participant-observer. This is what Taylor et al. (2008) have described as 'methodological pluralism'. One of its strong points is effective validation of data.

Different methods were used to collect data from respondents of the Kangemi peri-urban area of Nairobi. Some interviewees filled the questionnaire and returned them immediately. Others carried their copies which were collected by the researcher later. Unfortunately, some pontential respondents would not be easily traced to return the questionnaire. Respondents who were not conversant with filling the questionnaire, were orally interviewed and their responses recorded by the researcher/research assistants. Other data collection methods were participant-observation and audio-recordings. The researcher targeted speakers of the Luyia language in general and the speakers of Lulogoli in particular.

The questionnaire sought to establish a sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups in Kangemi in general, and of the Logoli speech community among the Kangemi residents in particular. In line with the aim of the study, the questionnaire sought to investigate and establish the sociolinguistic behaviour and language attitudes of the speech community. A total of three hundred (300) copies of the questionnaire were given out, of which two hundred and sixty-three (263) were filled in and returned. The returned included the 16 copies that were administered to selected respondents through oral interviews. The data elicited from the questionnaire are presented. The tables and bar graphs

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presented. The questionnaire was designed to broadly cover two areas, namely, bio-data of the respondents and language use in different domains.

The respondents were required state the specify Luyia dialect they spoke. The questionnaire was used to establish the sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia speakers by ethno-linguistic sub-group in the Kangemi area. As a linguistic group, the Luyia is made up of 17 linguistic sub-groups. However, the respondents came from only 9 of the linguistic sub-groups. These included the Logoli, Idakho, Isukha, Nyore, Tachoni, Samia, Tiriki, Khayo and Marama. The other sub-groups not found in the sample were: Tsotso, Wanga, Nyala (Busia), Nyala (Kakamega), Bukusu, Kisa, Marach and Kabras linguistic sub-groups. The reason for this is that these latter groups are hardly found in Kangemi, or if so, in very small numbers. According to the questionnaire generated data, the Logoli speech community (Maragoli) is the largest of the linguistic sub-group in Kangemi (48%). This is followed by the Nyore (19.3%), the Tiriki (11.5%), the Idakho (9.1%), the Isukha (8.9%), the Khayo (1.2%), the Samia (1.2%), the Marama (0.8%) and the Tachoni (0.4%). This information is captured in figure 4.1.

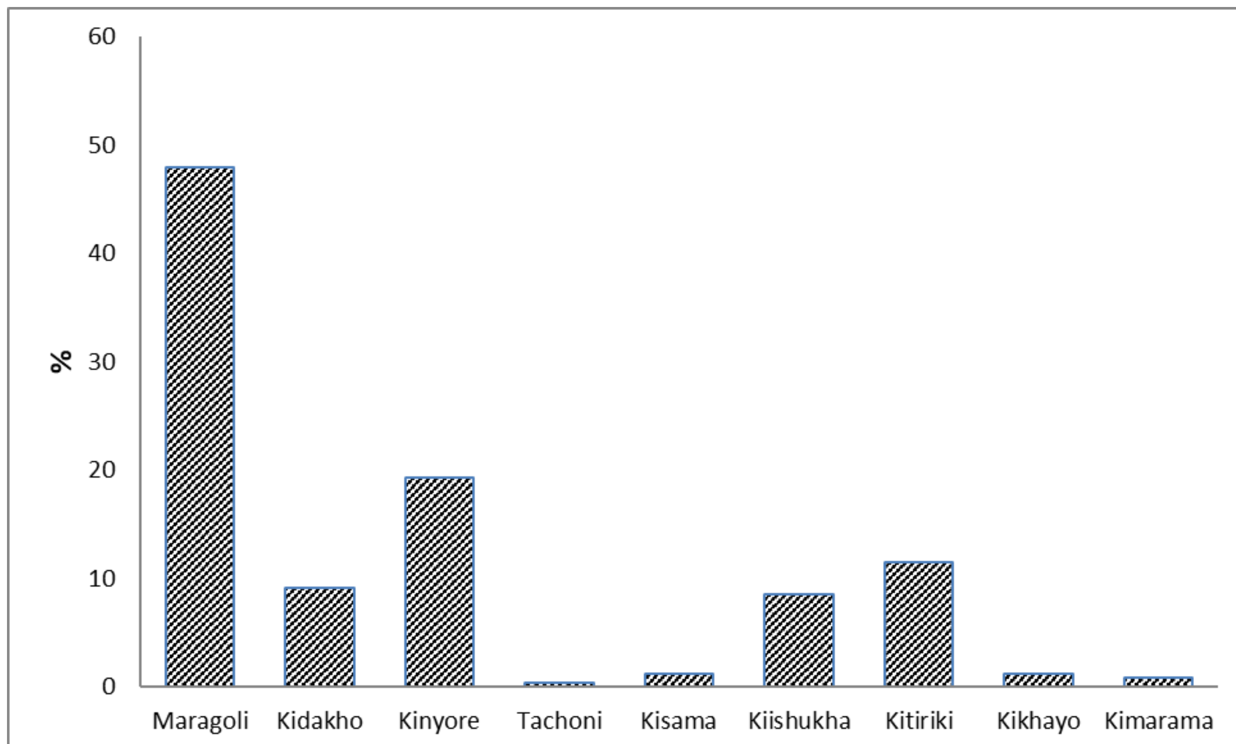

Figure 1: Bar graph showing the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups in Kangemi.
Kindly note that 'Maragoli' should read 'Lulogoli', while 'Kasima' should read 'Kisamia'.

On sociolinguistic profile of the Logoli speech community based on data generated from the administration of the questionnaire, the study established that, because of the cosmopolitan nature of the Kangemi society, members mainly speak Kiswahili in all the public domains. Those who have been to school tend to switch more between codes depending on their age and level of education. The younger generation tends to switch between Kiswahili and English to larger extent. The older generations, especially in the context of the family domain, tend to speak Lulogoli among themselves and with their kindred.

4. Conclusion

The findings generated from the data questionnaire seem to correspond closely to the language policy in Kenya from colonial times to the present. During the colonial period. Kiswahili served as the language of governance as well as of communication between the disparate linguistic groups in the country. According to Kembo-Sure (2000), Kiswahili is spoken by 65% of the total population. Successive governments of Kenya have over decades given it prominence in the language policies that have been developed. In 2010, it was declared co-official language with English as well as the national language of the republic. Consequently, the dominance of Kiswahili in the Kangemi corpus is explained by this perceived historical advantage which the language has (Republic of Kenya 2010).

This aside, Kiswahili is a Bantu language which resonates easily with most of the Kenyan languages. It is the Kenyan language of mass communication. It is therefore no surprise that the Logoli speech community in Kangemi, just like other linguistic groups, has given prominence to Kiswahili in their linguistic behaviour. It is no surprise that Kiswahili takes prominence among the Logoli speakers in public domains. There is real fear that among the younger generation of the Logoli speakers Lulogoli may be dying, and in its place taken over by Kiswahili followed by English.

It is significant that the case of Kiswahili and English in the same conversation has become the norm among the young members of the Logoli speech community. However, the older speakers seem to prefer Lulogoli, their mother-tongue, followed by Kiswahili the *lingua franca,* then English, the official language. In response to the question as to why the first preference is Lulogoli, the older respondents gave the reason that they wished to identify with their culture, and that use of Lulogoli gave them their cultural identity. They nevertheless needed other languages to interact in an urban setting. In her study in Zimbabwe among the Shona, Veit-Wild (2009) makes reference to such a scenario and argues that mixing a local with another language creates of wider communication 'a local artistic flavour in a global setting'.

This has sketched a **sociolinguistic profile** of the Logoli speech community based on data generated from the administration of the questionnaire. It has established that, because of the cosmopolitan nature of the Kangemi society, members mainly speak Kiswahili in all the public domains. Those who have been to school tend to switch more between codes depending on their age and level of education. The younger generation tends to switch between Kiswahili and English to larger extent. The older generations, especially in the context of the family domain, tend to speak Lulogoli among themselves and with their kindred.

5. Summary of the Study

The objective of the study was to (i) establish a sociolinguistic profile of the Luyia ethnolinguistic subgroups, the Logoli included, in the Kangemi informal urban settlement area. To attain the objective, the study was based on assumptions that touch on the apparent dominance of the Logoli speech community in Kangemi, the dynamic urban social life of Kangemi, and the suitability of the related models for analysis of corpus. The scope and limitation stated why a specific informal settlement, and not the whole of Nairobi, was chosen for study of the Logoli speech community. It further explained why the Logoli and not the rest of the Luyia ethno-linguistic group; and why the three languages were chosen for the study.

They demonstrated how the key historical forces of migration, colonialism and urbanization have over the centuries influenced movement of different linguistic groups across the African continent. It gives the sociolinguistic profile of Kenya, indicating the three major language families from which the Kenyan linguistic groups derive. These are the Bantu-speakers, the Nilotic-speakers and the Cushitic-speakers. The focus of the study is the Logoli speech community which speaks Lulogoli, and who are part of the Luhyia Bantu linguistic group from Western Kenya. The section also gives a summary of the language policy in Kenya, demonstrating the historical context within which English and Kiswahili attained official and national status respectively, and how the MTs have fared in the face of this. One such response to the resultant contact situation has been the emergence of the phenomenon of code-switching which is the subject of the study.

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