

Trilingual Codeswitching in Kenya –
Evidence from Ekegusii,
Kiswahili, English and Sheng

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List of Abbreviations

ADJ	Adjektive	ROK	Republic of Kenya
ALM	Abstract level model	S	Singular
APP	Applied form	SH	Sheng
CA	Conversational analysis	SLA	Second language acquisition
CAUS	Causative	SPN	Spanish
CL	Noun class	STAB	Stabilizer
COMP	Complementiser	SUB	Subject
COND	Conditional	SUBJ	Subjunctive
CONS	Consecutive	REC	Reciprocal
CP	Projection of the Complementiser	SVO	Subject-verb-object
CS	Codeswitching	TA	Tense-aspect
DA	Discourse Analysis	TLA	Tertiary language acquisition
DET	Determiner	V	Verb
DM	Discourse marker		
EACE	East African certificate of education		
EK	Ekegusii		
EL	Embedded language		
EN	English		
F	Focus		
FV	Final vowel		
IND	Indicative		
INF	Infinitive		
INT	Interrogative		
HAB	Habitual tense		
KCE	Kenya certificate of education		
KS	Kiswahili		
ML	Matrix language		
MLF	Matrix language frame		
MLP	Matrix language principle		
N	Noun		
NEG	Negative		
NONPS	Nonpast tense		
NP	Noun phrase		
OBJ	Object		
PASS	Passive		
PL	Plural		
PRF	Perfect tense		
PRS	Present tense		
PST	Past tense		

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Abstract

The present study attempted to determine the matrix language (ML) and the speech processes in trilingual codeswitching (CS) involving Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng in Kenya. It was hypothesised that:

- 1) Trilingual participants who share a first language and speak the same second and third languages can produce both trilingual and bilingual CS CPs whose ML can be L1, L2 or L3.
- 2) There is a tendency for composite bilingual and trilingual CS due to the impact of the L1 in structuring L2 and L3.
- 3) The complexities of speech processing and congruence matching between the switched morphemes and their equivalents in the participating codes makes overt trilingual CS CPs negligible.

The hypotheses were tested on 520 CS CPs recorded during 330 minutes of naturally occurring CS speech. Of these CS CPs, 18 were trilingual CS CPs compared to 502 bilingual CS CPs. These data were analysed using Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model.

The investigation revealed unique ML patterns in CS from Africa in general and Kenya in particular. For instance, it came out that it was not always that Ekegusii as the interactants' L1 was the ML; rather, Kiswahili and English were in some instances the ML. This was attributed to the effect of language policy in Kenya's system of education where English is the language of instruction while Kiswahili is a taught and examined subject since 1984. Thus instances of Kiswahili ML were only seen in the trilingual CS of those participants who were taught and examined in the Kiswahili subject at primary and secondary school levels.

The study also realised five unique patterns of composite CS. First, there were trilingual CS CPs with surface morphemes from Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English and a corresponding trilingual ML. Then, there were four patterns of bilingual composite CS CPs.

The study concluded that the minuscule number of trilingual CS could be attributed to the complexities involved in processing a CP with three codes. A codeswitched morpheme in one code only surfaces after competing with equivalents from other codes. The higher the number of morpheme counterparts the less the number of CS CPs. Thus in trilingual CS a switched morpheme competes for selection with equivalents from two other participating codes.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The present study is an attempt to morphosyntactically analyse trilingual codeswitching (CS) involving Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng in Kenya. Anchored on the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997, Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995, Myers-Scotton 2002), the study tries to determine the matrix language (ML) of the codeswitched CPs. It also explains the mechanisms leading to the various patterns of the ML in CS. The investigation shows that whereas four codes are studied, only three of them, namely Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English that have stable grammars can be the ML while Sheng, which has no stable grammar, does not constitute an ML.

This chapter presents the background information, identifies the specific area of investigation and the question to be answered. It also outlines the objectives, hypotheses, scope and significance of the inquiry. Finally, the methods that were used for data collection and transcription are explained.

1.1 Background and the problem

It is a truism that much of the world today is multilingual and Kenya¹ is not an exception. The number of ethnic languages spoken in Kenya has varied from 42 to 43 particularly in the past decade or so. The uncertainty of the number may be explained by the variability of the definition of “language” and “dialect”, on the one hand, and the political machinations, on the other. The distinction between language and dialect is not easy to make. The criterion of mutual intelligibility that is used to distinguish dialects from languages does not seem to be adequate since it admits degrees of intelligibility that can vary greatly. Hence what is called a dialect may at the same time be a language (for example, Lubukusu might be a dialect of Luhya and also a language). Politically, the introduction of plural democracy in Kenya in 1991 was accompanied with “the clamour for legal recognition and protection of ethnolinguistic minorities” (Kembo-Sure 2000b: 646). A language such as Suba that was previously subsumed under Luo was declared a language and full government support was given to revive it. This move increased the total number of languages.

However, going by UNESCO (in Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000) and Republic of Kenya (1999), the number of ethnic languages spoken in Kenya is 42. Of these, Kiswahili has been elevated to the status of a national language (Heine 1976). It is natively spoken on the coast of eastern Africa from Somalia to Mozambique. Kiswahili is also a first language to many people in the hinterland of Kenya and

¹ Kenya is situated on the east coast of Africa and borders with Uganda to the west, Sudan to the North West, Ethiopia to the north, Somalia and the Indian Ocean to the east, and Tanzania to the south.

Tanzania. The Inter-Territorial (Swahili) Language Committee² established a standard dialect in 1930 (Nurse & Hinnebusch 1993) based on the Kiunguja dialect. This standard Kiswahili is what is taught in schools and spoken in Kenya's hinterland. Besides, many people speak upcountry Kiswahili (Vitale 1980). Vitale (1980: 49) notes that in terms of number of speakers, upcountry Kiswahili has the largest speech community. He further observes that upcountry Kiswahili is not grammatical according to standard Kiswahili since agreement markers from various noun classes are usually not correctly used³. It is influenced by the grammars of various upcountry native languages. As the national language, Kiswahili is used to express the country's political, social and cultural identity. It is also useful for inter-ethnic communication.

The other African languages in Kenya such as Ekegusii are used for intra-ethnic communication. Ekegusii is part of the Eastern Nyanza sub-group of East Nyanza/Suguti of the Lacustrine Bantu (Nurse & Phillipson 1980). It is set apart from the other Bantu languages in its sub-group, i.e., Kuria, Ngurimi, Zanaki, Shashi, Ikizu, and Nata, principally "because it has acquired a considerable amount of new non-Bantu vocabulary" (Nurse and Phillipson 1980: 42). All her neighbouring languages are non-Bantu, i.e., Dholuo, Maasai and Kipsigis (a Kalenjin dialect). It is used as a first language by approximately two million speakers in three administrative districts of Nyanza Province, namely Kisii, Gucha, and Nyamira. However, Abagusii⁴ form an important proportion of local immigrant workers outside these districts in various towns such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Eldoret and Kericho among others. Other native Ekegusii speakers are settlers in parts of Rift Valley such as Kitale in Trans Nzoia District and Molo of Nakuru District. Therefore, one can hear Ekegusii being spoken in areas far away from the original Ekegusii-speaking regions.

English, the language of colonisation has been adopted as the official language of Kenya. It was introduced and imposed on Kenyans by the British colonial administration as an imperial language in the second half of the 19th century. As the official language, it is used in education, government, international business, parliament, and the judiciary. Access to English comes largely through formal education. Consequently, only a small minority consisting of approximately 5 % of the total population know it (Kembo-Sure 1991: 246).

² The Inter-Territorial (Swahili) Language Committee was set up in the late 1920s by the colonial administrations in Kenya, Tanzania, Zanzibar and Uganda to establish a standard dialect of Kiswahili to be used as a medium of education.

³ An example of upcountry Kiswahili is: **Hii ni mambo za upinzani**. 'These are machinations of the opposition (political parties)'. There is no agreement in this sentence. The correct form of the demonstrative is **haya** and not **hii** while the associative should be **ya** and not **za** in consonant with the subject mambo.

⁴ *Abagusii* (plural) refers to the people (*Omogusii* – singular). They speak Ekegusii while Kisii refers to the headquarters of Kisii District in Nyanza Province. Some studies refer to both the people and the language as Kisii, but this study will use Kisii to refer to the town and the district.

In addition to Kiswahili, other native African languages and English, Sheng is also spoken in Kenya. Sheng is a social code that is widely spoken among the urban and a few rural youngsters in Kenya. Various theories exist about its origins. For instance, Osinde (1986) and Abdulaziz & Osinde (1997) claim that Sheng emerged as a youth code in the eastern suburbs of Nairobi in the 1970s. However, Mazrui & Mphande (1990) and Mazrui (1995) suggest that a Sheng-like code existed as far back as the early 1930s in the Nairobi underworld among the pickpockets. Regardless of this uncertainty on origins, it is accepted that there is a variety that sounds like Kiswahili (Ngesa 2002) but with a distinct and an unstable vocabulary. It sources its words/lexical items from coinage and the various Kenyan languages depending on the environment where it is spoken. Kiswahili, English, Dholuo and Gikuyu are the prominent contributors to Sheng vocabulary. The borrowed lexemes are usually manipulated while more are coined. The following is a Sheng sentence.

- (1) *Kithora ma-doo z-a mathee*
to.steal CL6-dough CL10-ASS mother
'to steal my mother's money' (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997:56)

Example (1) is constructed with morphemes from three sources. The infinitive verb *kithora* ('to steal') is sourced from Gikuyu. *Doo*, the root of the noun *madoo*, is borrowed from the English noun 'dough' (informal English for money). *Mathee* is sourced from the English noun 'mother'. The noun class 6 marker *ma-* (for plural in the present context) and the associative *za* ('of') are probably sourced from Kiswahili. There is no agreement between the possessed *madoo* and the possessor *mathee* of the NP *ma-doo z-a mathee* ('mother's money'). This is because the surface form of the associative *za* is for noun class 10 and is therefore appropriate if the possessed is a class 10 noun in Kiswahili syntax. In this case, the possessed *madoo* is a class 6 noun. The use of Kiswahili surface forms without Kiswahili-type of concord is a characteristic feature of Sheng. At times the affixes are absent when they are obligatory in Kiswahili. As has been mentioned, Sheng was initially popular with the youth. Educationists discourage it on grounds that it has a negative influence on the learning of Kiswahili (King'ei 2001). However, it is now the language of the day for both young and old people in Nairobi's Eastlands (Ngesa 2002). Ngesa observes that the youth in Eastlands claim to speak Sheng far better than their mother tongues. In addition, whereas Sheng was in the 1970s and early 1980s a preserve of Nairobi it has now spread to almost all parts of the country.

The fact that English is the official language while Kiswahili is the national language is not overtly recorded either in the country's constitution or any other government documents. As Lodhi (1993: 381) notes, many African countries have not officially documented their language policies and one only gets to learn about a country's language policy through the practice in the system of education. For instance, the mother tongues in Kenya are used to introduce education in their

catchment areas and English takes over as the medium of instruction from Grade Four⁵ (Republic of Kenya 1964, 1981, 1999). Therefore, the role of the mother tongues in formal education ceases at Grade Three. Up to 1984, Kiswahili was a subject which was taught but not examined in primary schools while it was an optionally examined subject in the end-of-secondary-school exam. However, since 1985 Kiswahili is a subject that is compulsorily taught and examined in the primary and secondary school levels (Republic of Kenya 1981, 1999).

There is bound to be language contact in a multilingual country with a large number of native languages and such a language policy. Some of the consequences of language contact include: language change, borrowing, interference, language mixing, language shift, language loss, codeswitching, and pidginization and creolization. These consequences have attracted the attention of researchers. For instance, research into codeswitching (CS), which is the subject of this study, has attracted a great deal of attention for over half a century now. The present study is about trilingual codeswitching based on recorded conversations of native Ekegusii speakers in Kenya who also speak Kiswahili and English. Some of the interactants also speak Sheng. Typologically, Ekegusii and Kiswahili are highly agglutinating Bantu languages, English is a highly isolating Indo-European language while Sheng is a Kenyan sociolect (cf. 3.1 to 3.3).

Since the initial codeswitching studies (e.g. Espinosa 1917; Weinreich 1953; Haugen 1956; Blom & Gumperz 1972/1989), inquiries have concentrated on bilingual codeswitching. The codeswitching phenomenon has been largely treated as though it results from the contact of only two languages. This is particularly pronounced in those investigations that study the syntax of CS. In addition, the existing CS studies on Africa create an impression that the switched language pairs largely entail an African language and a European ex-colonial language. To my knowledge, apart from Haust's (1995) study of Mandinka-Wolof-French codeswitching in Gambia and Finlayson, Calteux & Myers-Scotton's (1997) investigation of codeswitching between several languages in South Africa, there are no analyses of grammatically constrained CS between two African languages leave alone three languages with a European ex-colonial language included. Therefore, the central question being addressed in the current study is:

How much grammatically constrained trilingual CS really exists and are there differences between the mechanisms of trilingual and bilingual switching?

It might be helpful to clarify briefly what is understood by the concepts of trilingualism, codeswitching, matrix language versus embedded language and grammatical constraints before any further discussion.

⁵ There are three main levels of education in Kenya – primary school, secondary school and university. Grade or class is used to indicate one's level of schooling at the primary school level, i.e., Grade Four indicates that one is doing a fourth year of primary education. Form, i.e., Form One, Form Two etc. is used to indicate one's level of schooling in secondary school.

Trilingualism

Trilingualism is the presence of three languages in one speaker (Hoffmann 2001b: 14). The distinction of trilingualism from bilingualism is a result of a recent proliferation of studies dealing with the acquisition and use of three languages. For a long time, the presence of more than one language was subsumed under bilingualism or multilingualism. This followed Haugen (1956: 9) who argued that “several lingualisms can be subsumed under the concept of bilingualism” and that multilingualism is “a kind of bilingualism”. Therefore, the terms bilingualism and multilingualism have been used interchangeably (Clyne 1998). As Hoffmann (2001b: 13) notes, this is largely because of the lack of conclusive evidence of any empirical qualitative differences between bilingualism and trilingualism except for the obvious quantitative distinction. However, following recent investigations (e.g. Clyne 1997, 2002; Cenoz & Genesee 1998; Clyne & Cain 2001; Hoffmann 2001a & b), trilingualism has been noted to have different factors in its acquisition, processing and use. Subsequently, the terms bilingualism and multilingualism seem to be gradually getting used distinctively. Hoffmann (2001b: 14) observes that “there is no one definition that trilingualism researchers have adopted”. However, by extending Cenoz & Genesee’s (1998) definition of multilingualism, trilingualism can be taken as the final result of acquiring and using three languages. This means that a Kenyan who speaks, for example, Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English is trilingual.

Codeswitching

In linguistics, the term “code” is synonymous with “language” or “speech variety” (Jakobson, Fant & Halle 1952). “Code” is preferred to “language” or “dialect” because of the problem of clearly delimiting “language” and “dialect”. Therefore, “code” is used as a cover term for “language”, “dialect”, “slang”, “sociolect” etc. “Codeswitching” is commonly defined as the alternating use of two or more codes in the same conversational event. The meaning of the term “codeswitching” has undergone a metamorphosis over the years of codeswitching studies. Weinreich’s (1953: 1) definition of the term implied speakers who use “two languages alternatively in different contexts”. However, Haugen (1956: 40) used it to imply “the alternate use of two languages including everything from the introduction of a single word up to a complete sentence or more into the context of another language”. CS scholars such as Grosjean (1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997) have clarified Haugen’s definition of CS to include the use of more than one code or language in a conversation or speech act that could involve a word, a phrase, a sentence, or several sentences. Therefore, CS can take place between sentences (inter-sentential switching) and within sentence boundaries (intra-sentential switching). Examples (2) and (3) illustrate intra-sentential CS while (4) and (5) explicate inter-sentential CS⁶. The source of each example in the transcribed conversations follows it in brackets. For example, (Caro 14)

⁶ In all the examples in the present study, Ekegusii is in normal font, Kiswahili is in **bold**, English is underlined while Sheng is in **bold italics**.

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means box number 14 of the conversation labelled Caro.

(2) Kiswahili-English-Sheng switching

Setting: In Nyabururu, Kisii town, a female university student tells her friends the strategy of winning a prize in a dance contest.

u-na-get **kworoo** **yako** (Caro 14)

2S-NONPST-get cheerleaders yours

‘You have to mobilise your cheerleaders (to cheer you as you dance).’

(3) Kiswahili-English switching

Setting: Same setting as in (2), a high school boy explains how a husband protested to the organisers of a dance contest where his wife participated.

wife a-ku-j-e **ku-cheza** (Caro 34)

wife 3S-INF-come-SUBJ INF-play

‘My wife danced (at your road show).’

(4) Kiswahili-Ekegusii switching

Setting: At Kisii town bus park, a male university student has just been introduced to another person by his friend. He says the following to confirm he has understood.

Ni-me-sikia. M-buya n-re. (Omw 8)

1S-PRF-hear STAB-fine 1S-PRS

‘I have understood. I am fine.’

(5) Ekegusii-English switching

Setting: Same as in (4), the same speaker changes topic from greetings to talk about his next plans of travelling to Nakuru to take part in his graduation ceremony.

M-buya n-re. I will be travelling on Sunday. (Omw 17)

STAB-fine 1S-PRS

‘I am fine. I will be travelling (to Nakuru) on Sunday.’

The distinction between intra-sentential and inter-sentential CS came as a solution to three other terms that were used earlier to distinguish various types of codeswitching, namely code changing, code mixing and codeswitching (McLure 1977). According to Bokamba (1988) and Backus (1992a), code changing referred to using one code in one sentence and another code in the second sentence of the same speech event as in (4) and (5) above. Code mixing was defined as the use of free and bound morphemes from different codes in the same

Grammatically constrained CS

The expression “grammatically constrained CS” is used interchangeably with “structurally constrained CS” and “syntactically constrained CS”. According to Appel & Muysken (1987: 121) grammatically constrained CS studies investigate the constraints of CS. The CS constraints have been explained in various ways. For instance, it has been claimed that there are universal CS constraints (e.g. Poplack 1980), particular CS constraints (cf. Gumperz & Hernández-Chavez 1975) or relativised constraints where switching may be achieved by a phonetically identical word in switched languages (Muysken 2000). According to Myers-Scotton (1993a: 19), the CS constraints question in the 1970s and 1980s was: “what are the limits on where the speaker may codeswitch within a sentence, and what motivates these limits?”. However, in much of the recent CS literature, the word constraint is used to refer to the grammatical conditions that compel a switched CP to conform to the ML’s surface structure. So, the ML is considered a constraint in some CS models because the ML compels the inserted elements from the EL to conform to its (ML) grammar. The present study follows the ML constraint approach.

Research traditions of codeswitching

CS studies have assumed three major research traditions. First, there is intra-sentential CS, which is studied mainly by theoretical linguists and psycholinguists. According to Kamwangamalu (1999), theoretical linguists are concerned with grammatical constraints of CS (e.g. Pfaff 1976, 1979; Poplack 1980, 1981; Pandharipande 1981, 1990; Bentahila & Davies 1983; Woolford 1983; Berk-Seligson 1986). Psycholinguists deal with how CS sentences are produced (e.g. Sridhar & Sridhar 1980), whether or not there is any difference between sentence processing in monolinguals and bilinguals (e.g. Timm 1975, Lipski 1978; Grosjean 1982, 1985, 1997, 2001) and the number of grammars that structure a switched sentence (e.g. Sridhar & Sridhar 1980). Secondly, there are scholars who follow a sociolinguistic tradition. They place less emphasis on the difference between inter- and intra-sentential CS. They are in general more concerned with reasons why bilinguals codeswitch at all (e.g. Gumperz 1971, 1982; Blom & Gumperz 1972; McClure & Wentz 1975; Jacobson 1977; McClure 1981; Myers-Scotton 1990, 1992b, 1993b). Thirdly, there is the conversational approach to CS that is associated with scholars such as Auer (1984a & b, 1998), Sebba & Wootton (1998), Li Wei (1998), Alfonzetti (1998) and Moyer (1998). According to Angermeyer (1999: 4), conversational CS aims at examining the structure of a codeswitched conversation. Its main interest is the role of CS in the sequence of turn taking by different speakers, as well as the thematic structure, the introduction and continuation of topics, the distinction between different kinds of talk and the creation of coherence.

The present study falls under the research tradition that investigates the grammatical/structural constraints in CS. In the late 1980s and in the 1990s, many CS constraints, namely free morpheme and equivalence constraints (Sankoff &

Poplack 1981), the government constraint (Di Sciullo et. al. 1986), the switch alpha (Choi 1991), and the ML constraint (Kamwangamalu 1989a, Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997, Backus 1996, Boumans 1998) among others were proposed within the structural constraints research tradition in CS. Of all these constraints, the matrix language as a frame for organising multilingual speech has been identified as the most current postulation in codeswitching research (Owens 2001). According to the ML constraint, only one of the participating languages sets the frame for the switched CP. The other languages are simply embedded into the ML frame. Only specific types of EL morphemes⁹ can be inserted. According to this view, the CS speech production mechanisms and the election of the switched morpheme types take place long before a CP surfaces (see Myers-Scotton 1993a, Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995, Schmitt 2000, Bolonyai 2000, Wei 2000).

Much empirical evidence for the ML constraint has so far been provided through examples from bilingual codeswitching. Examples include: Lingala-French and Kiswahili-French (Kamwangamalu 1989a, 1994); siSwati-English (Kamwangamalu 1994, 1997, 2000a & b); Turkish-Dutch (Backus 1996); Finish-English (Halmari 1997); Moroccan Arabic-Dutch (Boumans 1998); Hungarian-English (Bolonyai 2000) and Russian-English (Schmitt 2000) among others. Only very few studies have focused on the ML constrained trilingual CS. These include: Clyne's (1997) trilingual CS report on Dutch, German, Hungarian, Spanish and Italian immigrants in Australia and Wei's (2002) study on English-Chinese-Japanese switching among Chinese and Japanese university students in the USA. Except for Haust's (1995) Mandinka, Wolof and English CS research in Gambia and Finlayson, Calteux & Myers-Scotton's (1997) investigation of CS between several languages in South Africa, no other trilingual CS research has been conducted in Africa although it is acknowledged that Africa is generally multilingual. In addition, CS studies have so far concentrated on switching involving grammatically stable codes. To my knowledge, structural investigations into grammatically unstable codes have focused on determining the grammatical framework of the social codes (e.g. Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997; Kießling & Mous 2001). No studies have focused on the switching involving the grammatically stable codes and the grammatically unstable codes. The present research analyses switching involving three grammatically stable codes, namely Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English, in addition to Sheng which is grammatically unstable.

The research seeks to ascertain the presence of the ML constrained trilingual CS and the mechanisms leading to its occurrence. The following research questions are addressed:

- (1) In a speech community where community members share at least three languages, does trilingual CS really exist?

⁹ According to the MLF model, only content morphemes can be switched. Although early system morphemes and bridge late systems too can be sourced from the EL, the late outsider system morphemes must always be ML sourced (cf. 2.2.3).

- (2) What is the proportion of trilingual CS in relation to bilingual CS?
- (3) Are there any significant differences in the language processing mechanisms between trilingual and bilingual CS?
- (4) Are there instances of either trilingual and/or bilingual CS where determining the ML is difficult?
- (5) Are there any peculiarities in either trilingual or bilingual CS produced by speakers who have over 12 years of formal schooling through a L3¹⁰ and who acquired their three languages one after the other?

1.2 Significance of the study

Most codeswitching research anchoring on the ML constraint has been conducted on CS involving language pairs (Clyne 1997 and Wei 2002 are exceptions). By expanding the database from bilingual to trilingual CS material, this study will try to determine whether or not and how much intra-CP trilingual CS really exists. Such an expansion and analysis will contribute towards ascertaining if there are any qualitative differences between bilingualism and trilingualism. It has, for instance, been observed that “trilingualism is essentially an extension of bilingualism and that until we have firm evidence of qualitative differences in addition to the obvious quantitative ones there is no compelling reason to see trilingualism in a different light” (Hoffman 2001b: 13). Since it appears to be a truism that research into trilingualism is still at a preliminary stage (Cenoz, Hufeisen & Jessner 2001) and there is still need to establish the qualitative uniqueness of trilingualism in comparison to bilingualism (Hoffmann 2001b; Marx 2001), the analysis of the trilingual CS data in this study will offer insights into language processing by trilinguals.

So far, the studies on the ML constrained CS among Africans have been conducted on language pairs, which are typologically distant. These include: Kiswahili-English switching in street children’s rehabilitation centres in Eldoret, Kenya (Jwan 1997), Kiswahili-English switching in Nairobi and Shona-English in Zimbabwe (Myers-Scotton 1993a), Kiswahili-English in London (Stephens 2000), Lingala-French and Kiswahili-French in Zaire (Kamwangamalu 1989a), siSwati-English in Botswana (Kamwangamalu 1997), and Mandinka-Wolof, Wolof-French and Mandinka-French in Gambia (Haust 1995). Due to typological distance between the switched languages, there are several points of morphosyntactic contrast. In the present study, two of the languages involved in the codeswitched conversations analysed are typologically similar, namely Kiswahili and Ekegusii, while only the third language (English) is typologically distant (cf. 3.1). The fourth code involved in part of the conversations recorded, i.e. Sheng, only differs lexically from both Kiswahili and Ekegusii¹¹. Evidence of CS between the typologically similar codes from the present study’s analysis will

¹⁰ L3 refers to a third language acquired by a trilingual speaker after a first language (L1) and a second language (L2).

¹¹ The question whether Sheng shows morphosyntactic features different from Kiswahili and/or other Bantu languages is addressed in section 3.2.

contribute towards ascertaining whether or not there is a ML constraint if the switched languages are not typologically distant (cf. 4.3.2).

My inquiry will shed light on Kenyan languages that have not received extensive CS investigation. It is notable that Kiswahili-English CS has received a fair amount of attention in several studies. The studies include: Parkin's (1974) analysis of switching involving Kiswahili-English and several African languages in Nairobi, Jwan's (1997) investigation of functions of Kiswahili-English switching in street children's rehabilitation centres in Eldoret, Kenya, Nyaga's (1994) study of Kiswahili-English in Embu, Kenya, and Scotton's (1988b) and Myers-Scotton's (1993a/1997, 1993b) inquiry into the social motivations and the ML in Kiswahili-English CS in Nairobi. The present study goes further than earlier studies since it includes two other codes, namely Ekegusii and Sheng. These have not received extensive analysis in CS studies.

The reasons for my concern with Ekegusii are related to the fact that it is my native language and that little is written about it although there is now growing interest in the language. For a long time, Whiteley's (1960, 1965) publications on Ekegusii have been used as the sole references. In addition, Kingston (1983) and Bickmore (1998) have researched into the tense-aspect and tonal systems of Ekegusii respectively. The research reported here contributes towards unravelling what happens in the contact situation involving Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng. Those linguists who view CS as a first step towards future language loss (for example, Thomason & Kaufmann 1988) have reasons to be pessimistic about the 'bleak' future of Ekegusii. This is because Kiswahili and English have a higher socioeconomic value than Ekegusii in the wider Kenyan society. However, this inquiry will show that Ekegusii is not endangered; rather, it is English and Kiswahili that are converged by Ekegusii L1 speakers to Ekegusii via composite CS¹².

Past studies have treated the Sheng words in CS material as if they belonged to Kiswahili and therefore subsumed Sheng under the Kiswahili-English CS pattern (see for example Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997, 1995). The present study will show that although Sheng largely, but not always, conforms to Kiswahili grammar (Osinde 1986; Mazrui & Mphande 1990; Mazrui 1995; Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997; King'ei 2001), it is not synonymous with Kiswahili (Mazrui & Mphande 1990; Mazrui 1995; Kießling & Mous 2001). My study will shed light on the contribution of Sheng to constructing trilingual and bilingual CS (cf. 3.2).

This study will also contribute towards showing how to determine both the ML

¹² This is a codeswitched CP with morphemes from more than one language and the abstract morphosyntactic frame is also derived from more than one source language (cf. 5.2.2).

and the composite ML¹³ based on the abstract lexical structure¹⁴ of a code. To my knowledge, composite CS studies reported involve bilingual pairs (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a & b; Schmitt 2000; Bolonyai 2000). Therefore, the morphosyntax of the switched languages contributes to the composite CS. It has been reported that the acquisition of L2 and especially L3 in Kenya comes after a good mastery of L1 (Skandera 1999; Schmieid 1990, 2000). In this instance and in Schmieid's (2000: 613) words, L3 'filters' through L1. That is, the cognitive encoding of L3 (and even L2) is done through the L1 abstract semantic structure (world view of L1). Some of the bilingual CS data that are presented in this study have overt morphemes sourced from either both English and Kiswahili or only from one of the two languages. Such CPs are either syntactically marked or they have no meaning on the basis of Kiswahili and/or English. However, the same structures are loaded with meaning based on Ekegusii abstract lexical structure. Therefore, this study will contribute towards showing that trilingual speakers may produce bilingual CS CPs in which the third and overtly absent language is the ML.

Finally, interactants in this inquiry share a first language, i.e. Ekegusii. This contrasts with the earlier studies whose participants did not share a first language. The present study's speech participants have a long exposure to English through formal schooling. They have had at least 12 years of formal education except four participants who were Form Four high school¹⁵ students. They also know Kiswahili, which they either learnt informally or formally in school. The participants include: university students, recent university graduates, and professionals such as lecturers, lawyers and accountants. Such interactants represent the 'elite' of their community (Pfaff 1997: 341). These speech participants are bound to produce unusual CS and ML patterns because the ML of their switched CPs is not framed only on their mother tongue but also on English and Kiswahili. These never-before reported data are an addition to the database of CS studies.

¹³ According to Myers-Scotton, composite ML is a result of composite CS, which is bilingual speech with morphemes from two languages within a bilingual CP, but with the abstract morphosyntactic frame derived from more than one source language.

¹⁴ The abstract semantic structure is the underlying meaning or message that a speaker wants to express. It represents his/her worldview and it is intertwined with the speaker's first language and culture. The way s/he perceives things is reflected in the way s/he encodes them in speech. This worldview is the abstract semantic structure.

¹⁵ Since independence from Britain in 1963 till 1984, Kenya had three educational levels preceding the university level. These were seven years of primary education, four years of secondary education and two years of high school. However, since 1985, there are only two levels – eight years of primary schooling and four years of secondary/high school. That means that secondary and high school are now interchangeably used to refer to the four years of post-primary education before one joins the university.

1.3 Objectives of the study

This inquiry is based on codeswitched data from adolescents in high school, from current and recent university students, and from professionals who include lawyers, teachers, accountants and lecturers in Kenya. Ekegusii is their first language and they can also speak Kiswahili and English. In addition, the adolescents plus the current and recent university students can speak Sheng. Using these participants' codeswitched speech, this study has three objectives.

First of all, based on the CP as the unit of classification and analysis, this inquiry determines the various types of switches and their quantitative distribution with a focus on trilingual CS CPs. This is done through segmenting the recorded codeswitched conversations. Given that four codes (Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng) are in contact, trilingual and bilingual CS CPs is distinguished.

Secondly, the study seeks to determine and offer an explanation for the mechanisms leading to the various patterns of the ML in the CS CPs. Since the participants share their first language and have at least twelve years of formal education in English, various MLs are bound to appear. This differs from the almost uniform Kiswahili ML reported in earlier CS studies in Kenya based on speakers who did not share a first language. Also a majority of them had only up to Form Four education and Sheng was treated as though it were Kiswahili (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997). The explanations offered in the present research for the various types of the ML and CS patterns are based on the Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) and its supportive 4-M and Abstract Level models developed by Myers-Scotton and her collaborators (cf. 2.2). It is only through such a description and analysis that the distinctiveness of trilingual codeswitching from bilingual codeswitching language processing can be discerned. These explanations also shed light on the difficulties of determining an ML between genetically related and typologically similar languages such as Ekegusii, Kiswahili and Sheng.

Finally, this inquiry shows that composite codeswitching and convergence are consequences, which have already emerged from the contact between Ekegusii, Kiswahili, and English in Kenya. Bilingual, trilingual and "monolingual" CPs are analysed where a conclusive determination of a single ML is difficult to reach; rather, both or all the codes in contact participate in shaping the CP. In particular, it is shown that since Kiswahili and English are learnt after acquiring Ekegusii, the morphosyntactic and/or the abstract lexical structuring of both "monolingual" Kiswahili and English or switched Kiswahili-English CPs may be based on Ekegusii. This means that Ekegusii may be overtly absent on the surface morphemes of the CPs but the interpretation and therefore the abstract lexical structure of the CP depends on Ekegusii worldview and semantic linguistic

categorisation. The socio-economically low-valued Ekegusii¹⁶ is resilient against the incursions of the highly valued Kiswahili and English. Instead of Ekegusii being displaced¹⁷ by the dominant Kiswahili and English, its vibrancy might be leading to the birth of Ekegusii influenced varieties of Kiswahili and English in Kenya.

1.4 Hypotheses of the study

As already pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, the major interest of this study is whether or not speakers of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng in Kenya produce ML constrained trilingual CS. The main goal is to establish if adolescent and adult participants with high school education do switch three languages within a CP. In addition, the study seeks to find out if the language processing of trilingual CS CPs as opposed to the bilingual CS CPs is in any way unique. That is, the inquiry seeks to find out whether or not the mechanisms leading to trilingual CS CPs are more complex than the mechanisms that lead to bilingual CS CPs. The main hypotheses of this investigation are:

- (1) Trilingual participants who share a first language and speak the same second and third languages can produce both trilingual and bilingual CS CPs whose ML can be L1, L2 or L3 (cf 2.2.2 for a discussion of the ML).
- (2) There is a tendency for composite bilingual and trilingual CS due to the impact of the L1 in structuring L2 and L3. That is, if L2 and L3 are learned after acquiring L1, then, a CP with L2 and L3 surface morphemes might display the abstract morphosyntactic and/or semantic structure of L1.
- (3) The complexity of speech processing and congruence matching (cf. 2.3) between the switched morphemes and their equivalents in the participating languages makes overt trilingual CS CPs negligible.

Two supplementary hypotheses arise from the foregoing hypotheses.

- (1) Language policy in the education system heavily influences the codeswitching and the ML patterns. Trilingual CS is produced by speech participants who were compulsorily taught and examined in Kiswahili as a subject at primary and secondary school levels while those who never had Kiswahili as a compulsory subject switch between two languages.
- (2) If Sheng is analysed as a different code and not as part and parcel of Kiswahili, it can participate in realising trilingual and bilingual CS CPs. However, no instances of Sheng ML are expected since Sheng is not stable with a distinct grammar from Kiswahili's (cf. 3.3).

¹⁶ In the Kenyan context, knowing Ekegusii is not useful for one's upward social mobility through getting a well-paying job.

¹⁷ A displaced language is usually in the process of extinction (Brenzinger 1998).

Scope and limitations

This study focuses on trilingual codeswitching arising out of four codes - Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng. As already noted, it's only Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English have stable grammars, while Sheng is unstable. Subsequently, the study focused on trilingual CS although four codes are lexically involved.

The sample consists of data from a by-chance population sample. Therefore, the data are not representative of the Kenyan or even the Abagusii society. The results of the data are not necessarily predictive of CS patterns among Kenyans or the Abagusii in general. However, the results of the investigation shed light on what can occur in trilingual codeswitching.

The study involved people with at least high school education. This approach might be deemed discrimination against those with fewer years of formal schooling. However, dealing with the educated trilinguals was one way of affirming claims that codeswitching is not a sign of a speaker's inability to proceed in the language in which the conversation began.

Only trilingual elite speakers known to have a history of switching were involved in the study. That is, a participant's conversation was analysed if and only if the researcher knew him/her to be a perennial codeswitcher. This requirement is subjective since the choice of the subjects depended on how the researcher perceived them. However, the approach allowed me to avoid the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1971). Had I dealt with people who were not my acquaintances, I would have been compelled to first request them to allow me to record their conversation for purposes of analysing codeswitching. In such circumstances, participants do not display their natural speech behaviour (Bentahila & Davies 1983). However, since I dealt with people who were my acquaintances I was considered an in-group member (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Backus 1996; Li Wei 2000). Subsequently, I managed to collect naturally occurring CS data.

1.5 Methodology

Nine informal conversations involving informants with Ekegusii as L1 provide the data upon which this study is based. I used naturally occurring CS data, as speakers were not aware that their conversations were being recorded. However, in line with research ethics, their consent was sought post-hoc (Ethical Guidelines, Sociological Association of Ireland <http://www.aare.edu.au/99pap/ma/99272htm>: 12.1.03). The speech participants' biographical data were also taken after the tape recording. This method made it impossible for informants to behave artificially in their discourse (Bentahila & Davies 1983).

The data were obtained in settings in which there were good reasons to expect a lot of CS to occur. They were collected in Kisii town with a population of 44,000 (<http://www.rcbowen.com/kenya/people/urban.html>: 26.10.01). Kisii town lies in Gusiiland, where over 90% of the people are native Ekegusii speakers. Some data were collected in the outskirts of the town – Nyabururu area. This place lies some three kilometres from Kisii town centre. At Nyabururu area, there is little noise and one could record audible spontaneous speech. Other data were collected in the town centre but at night, after 9.00 pm. This is because Kisii town is small and congested with human and non-human traffic. Daytime activities make the town too noisy for any meaningful spontaneous recording to be done before that time. But by 9.00 pm there is less car honking and “matatu”¹⁸ touts shouting to attract passengers.

Additional data were collected in three different places in Eldoret town with a population of 197,449 people (Central Bureau of Statistics 1999). Eldoret town is located in a predominantly Kalenjin speaking area. Nevertheless, approximately 10,000 native Ekegusii speakers live there¹⁹. In Eldoret, the male Abagusii prefer to spend their leisure time at Paradise Bar, which is owned and run by an Ekegusii native speaker. They gather there especially in the evenings after 5.00 pm. On such occasions, they raise funds in case one of them has a problem. I recorded one conversation there. Further data were collected in the office of an Ekegusii speaking lawyer in Eldoret town. Most of his employees are Ekegusii speakers. Some of the visiting clients are Abagusii too. Located on the fifth floor of a fourteen-storey building, the environment in the office is suitable for recording naturally occurring CS.

Lastly, other data were collected in the researcher’s residence in Kapsoya Estate in Eldoret town. Ekegusii speaking visitors to the residence were recorded. In all, nine conversations of approximately 330 minutes of recording were transcribed for the present study - five in Kisii, one at Paradise Bar, one in the lawyer’s office and two in Kapsoya estate in Eldoret town.

Selection of subjects

The subjects were not selected on an individual basis; rather, they were selected as members of the conversational groups in which they participated. This is because if all members present in a recording session are familiar with each other, they would be more at ease (Li Wei 2000) and, therefore, likely to speak their “vernacular”²⁰

¹⁸ Matatu are public transport vehicles for passengers in Kenya. They are privately owned and have a ruthless competition for customers. So, their touts have to shout themselves hoarse to attract passengers.

¹⁹ I rely on a verbal estimate I was given by the District Statistics Officer in Eldoret. After the 1990s ethnic clashes in Kenya, the government no longer solicits for and keeps information based on one’s ethnic background.

²⁰ Vernacular here refers to the language of the speakers in their day-to-day lives be it their mother tongue, Kiswahili or Sheng.

(Poplack 1982; Backus 1996). They would all be in-group members and no uncertainty could arise concerning what the unmarked choice should be (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997).

Twenty two participants were recorded for this study. They came from different age and sex groups, education levels, and social classes as illustrated by Table 1. The informants had different histories of how they became trilingual (cf. 3.4). Some conversations involved either men or women only while others involved a mixture of both sexes.

The 22 interactants' conversations were accepted²¹ on the basis of factors presupposing trilingual ability. Ekegusii was the first language for all speech participants except one although both his parents were native Ekegusii speakers. The speech participants also had to be at least 17 years old. They should have had at least twelve years of formal instruction in English with Kiswahili²² either as a subject that was compulsorily taught and examined or as a subject that was taught but not examined. By settling on twelve years of formal schooling, subjects who were still in high school and participated in the conversations were catered for. With such participants the necessity to inquire about the speakers' proficiency in the target languages does not arise (Bentahila & Davies 1983; Nortier 1990). In my case, I had inadvertently observed the subjects for their trilingual proficiency over a long time before selecting a group for recording.

Data collection

Two data collection sessions - one for a pilot study and another for the main research - were conducted. A pilot study checks whether the data obtained are indeed close to what is customarily heard in day-to-day conversations (Poplack 1980; Backus 1996; Li Wei 2000). However, the best pilot work is being a native of the speech community studied. If the researcher is an outsider, s/he may not have an idea of how the "vernacular" sounds like. S/he can rarely get the same level (as the native speakers) of knowledge of the local norms, for example, regarding turn taking (Backus 1996). The researcher and his assistant (a 28-year old female Masters degree holder) were native speakers and grew up in the speech community studied.

Nevertheless, a pilot study was done. The motivations were four-fold: (i) to identify the settings where interlocutors use CS most, (ii) to identify the category of speakers who codeswitch most, (iii) to test the efficacy of the audio-recorder, and (iv) to ascertain the audibility of the recordings at various recording sites.

²¹ Although fifteen conversations were recorded, the present study is based on nine.

²² From 1984, primary education takes eight years and secondary education cycle takes four years.

Introduction

Table 1: Characteristics of informants

	M	F	PS	SS	College	BD	MD	PhD	7-4-2-3-	8-4-4	Total
Sex	17	5									22
Education Level			1	8	1	4	5	1			22
Ed. System									7	15	22

Key:

M = Male

F = Female

PS = Primary school

SS = Secondary School

BD = Bachelors degree level

MD= Masters degree level

PhD = Doctor of Philosophy

7-4-2-3 = 7 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary schooling, 2 years in high school and 3 years at the university

8-4-4 = 8 years of primary school, 4 years of secondary/high school and 4 years of university education

A single visit was made to each of the following research sites: Nyabururu area, Kisii town and Paradise Bar in Eldoret town. An audio recording was obtained which was later transcribed. As a result of the pilot study, the following observations were realised:

- (1) It turned out that people with at least high school education were frequent codeswitchers in homes, in meetings, in the streets and even in offices.
- (2) The recorder was powerful enough to audibly capture conversations within a radius of ten metres while concealed. This was aided by the fact that Abagusii speak loudly. They do not have clear turn taking. Several people could talk at the same time. Therefore, each of them has to be loud enough if s/he wants to be heard.
- (3) Recording conversations in Nyabururu area of Kisii town was possible as that part of the town is relatively tranquil.
- (4) To avoid the background noise in Paradise Bar, Eldoret, recording was done in the hotel's conference hall only and not in the bar.

Data were collected in three ways: by the researcher himself, by his assistant or by one of the speech participants. Some linguists start their research by telling the informants what the research is all about before recording (e.g. Backus 1996, Grosjean 2001, Li Wei 2000) while others (e.g. Bentahila & Davies 1983; Myers-Scotton 1992b) start from the opposite end. This study recorded the conversations before disclosing to the informants that they had been recorded. They were informed that the research interest was not directed towards the content of the conversation but to codeswitching. The rationale behind choosing this approach was to ensure that typical naturally occurring CS was obtained. No topics were chosen for the subjects. They continued with whatever topic they chose. Therefore, topics could very often shift to and fro.

As a test whether or not people behaved artificially when they were aware that they are being recorded, one of the informants was given the recorder to capture the CS of his friends (cf. Mnom and Gir conversations in 3.4.1). This was an 18-year old high school boy. He had earlier participated in the researcher's clandestine recording. The investigator told him, after that recording, that his interest was not so much with the content of the conversations; rather, he was interested in the way people choose and mix codes. Consequently, Bro offered to record conversations with his friends. He did the recording on the road in Nyabururu area along the Kisii-Kisumu highway. All the participants were his acquaintances. The initial parts of the conversations show that the participants were reluctant to be recorded. They regained their composure and talked when the boy who did the recording "assured" them that the recorder had no batteries and could therefore not record their conversation. Thereafter, although the rest of the boys conversed normally, the boy who recorded the conversation might have been so conscious of the recorder since he remained unusually reticent.

Nevertheless, the conversation has been included in this study as it displays Kiswahili, English, Ekegusii and Sheng language use. This language use involving Sheng is a trend that has also been noted in another setting (cf. Caro conversation in 3.4.1) where participants were clandestinely recorded.

The researcher himself did all the recordings outside the Kapsoya (Eldoret) residence except the two just mentioned. He would keep the recorder in the inside pocket of his jacket and switch it on as soon as he noticed that, in his judgement, a conversation had picked up. His assistant followed the same procedure when she recorded data in her house in Kapsoya and in the lawyer's office in Eldoret town. The assistant had earlier used the same recorder for her own research and was therefore acquainted with it. She did all the female-only recordings. Thus the female participants talked freely on whichever topic they chose.

The researcher and his assistant jointly recorded another conversation (cf. Lim conversation in 3.4.1) in Kapsoya. The investigator had a seat "reserved" for him in the Kapsoya house (where he lived) by the corner of the living room. To his right lay the recorder concealed between the wall and the sofa. Whenever Ekegusii speaking guests with the ability to codeswitch visited, he could turn on the recorder as the conversation progressed. The assistant could also do the same. The table below summarises the conversations analysed, who recorded them and where they took place.

Table 2: The conversations transcribed

<u>Place of recording</u>	<u>Conversation</u>	<u>Recorder</u>	<u>Duration</u>
Kisii town centre	Mat	Researcher	56 mins
Kisii Bus Park	Omw	Researcher	28 mins
Nyabururu	Mnom	High school boy	17 mins
Nyabururu	Gir	High school boy	23 mins
Nyabururu	Caro	Researcher	20 mins
Paradise Bar	Mar	Researcher	57 mins
Lawyer's office	Rash	Assistant	18 mins
Kapsoya	Kem	Assistant	55 mins
<u>Kapsoya</u>	<u>Lim</u>	<u>Researcher/assistant</u>	<u>56 mins</u>
Total			330 mins

Transcription

Transcription is a very crucial part of research into codeswitching and must be cautiously and diligently done. If a large number of speech participants is recorded, there might arise transcription problems. However, with the aid of the syncWRITER software, the speech of an infinite number of subjects can be transcribed. The syncWRITER software is a research support tool developed at

the University of Hamburg. Each speaker in a conversation is assigned a track. The number of tracks is determined by the user and can be changed at any time. Tracks are potentially endless in length and there is no paper width limit.

In this study, two tracks were opened for each speaker in a conversation. The first track was used for the transcription of the conversation. The second track was used for an interlinear translation. Where several speakers talked concurrently, I tried to closely follow one speaker until the end of his/her turn of speech while recording his/her speech. After this, I rewound the cassette and followed another speech participant in the same way. There was background noise in some instances. However, since all the interactants were my acquaintances, I was quite familiar with their voices and I could easily keep track of a speaker.

As Cook (1990: 1) states, “there is a theoretical as well as practical limit to the amount of relevant detail that can be transcribed”. Not all of the recordings were transcribed to the end because: (1) there was too much background noise and the recordings were inaudible, (2) the cassettes were audible but the speech turned out to be monolingual or (3) the speakers resorted to singing.

The transcription is orthographical and not phonological or phonetical as the analysis does not incorporate phonetic features. Standard orthography was used since the languages, except Sheng, happen to be standardised. However, to show the contributions of various languages in structuring a conversation, the following features were added to the transcription: English words were underlined, Kiswahili was transcribed with the **bold** face, Ekegusii was recorded with the normal font and Sheng was transcribed with the *bold* italic face.

This chapter has presented background information to the topic and spelt out the objectives, the hypotheses, the scope and the limitations of the study. It has also outlined the methodology of data collection and transcription. In the next chapter, I review the relevant literature and outline the theoretical framework upon which the analysis of the data is based.

Chapter Two

Literature review and theoretical framework

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section reviews the literature on CS while the second one outlines the theoretical framework upon which the study is based.

2.1 Literature review

It should be noted that some past studies have reviewed the literature into the phenomenon of CS concentrating on: the social aspects of CS (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993b), the grammatical constraints of CS (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993a, Halmari 1997, Boumans 1998; Muysken 2000) and both the social and structural aspects of CS (Kamwangamalu 1999, 2000a). The literature in the present study confines itself to grammatically constrained CS inquiries. The literature review focuses on Africa as much as possible. But as Kamwangamalu notes (2000a: 1), “it should be pointed out, however, that compared with Europe and the Americas, in Africa research on the syntax of CS has been very limited”. Instead, he continues, “the bulk of research on CS in the African continent has focused on the pragmatic aspects of CS” (p.1). This implies that this review will cite works on other languages besides African languages.

Literature is replete with investigations dealing with the syntactically constrained nature of codeswitching across languages (e.g. Timm 1975; Poplack 1980; Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood 1989; Bokamba 1985; Joshi 1985; Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh 1986; Choi 1991; Belazi, Rubin & Toribio 1991, 1994; Backus 1996). No single constraint is followed in the syntactic approach to CS research; rather, the constraints are many. Most of the earlier proposed constraints have, however, been challenged and new directions for investigating CS have been proposed. Pandharipande (1990: 16) sums up the reasons for the earlier constraints’ falsifications thus “(a) they do not make a distinction between the universal vs. local (i.e., language specific) character of the constraints. Most of the constraints are presented as universal; and (b) they do not take into account the variable patterns in codemixing”.

Regardless of the challenges they faced, the previous studies have implicitly pointed to the existence of a ML in codeswitching through their claims of the asymmetric¹ or unidirectional nature of codeswitching. The asymmetric property claims that even though two or more languages are switched, only one of the codeswitched languages provides the grammatical frame² at least “in most code switched sentences” (Halmari 1997: 69). Asymmetry formed the initial

¹ Asymmetric or unidirectional nature of CS occurs where one of the codeswitched languages has the tendency to serve as the matrix language in most codeswitched sentences even though any of the codeswitched languages can serve as the ML (Halmari 1997).

² Frame means the morpheme order and the system morphemes signalling relationships (cf. 2.2).

hypothesis for the studies on structurally constrained CS. Subsequently, one could safely posit that the idea of the structural constraints in codeswitching proceeds out of asymmetry in CS. Asymmetry in turn posits the existence of a ML because in asymmetry only one of the participating codes determines the grammar of the codeswitched CP.

The first section of this chapter reviews arguments that have been presented against asymmetry (Poplack 1980) and those that support the existence of a matrix language. In line with the historical evolution of the matrix language concept, the review begins with a general overview of those studies that covertly refer to the ML through the asymmetric nature of codeswitching. It then proceeds to those inquiries that overtly talk about the ML. It is generally acknowledged that all the investigations contributed in their own unique way towards the evolution of the concept of the ML in CS. However, the present study takes Poplack's (1980) free morpheme and equivalence constraints and Kamwangamalu's (1989a) Matrix Language Principle (MLP) as the immediate precursors of Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model upon which the present study is based. Therefore, a review of the two authors' works will be treated in some detail and in the light of the Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English data. The review will then lead to the presentation of Myers-Scotton's MLF model as the present study's theoretical framework.

2.1.1 The evolution of the concept of matrix language in codeswitching

Kamwangamalu (2000b) observes that the concept of the ML in CS has attracted the attention of CS researchers over the past 20 or so years. He further reports that the ML issue has been investigated empirically in Japanese-English CS in the US (Nishimura 1986), Sheng-English CS in Kenya (Mazrui & Mphande 1990), Korean-English CS in the US (Park 1990) and Chinese-English CS in Singapore (Kamwangamalu & Cher-Leng 1991). He sums up the main objective of these and related studies thus: to determine whether the languages participating in CS contribute evenly to CS structure or whether one language is structurally more dominant than the other. Finally, he notes that the inquiry has led CS researchers to distinguish between the matrix languages (ML) on the one hand and the embedded language (EL) on the other. In spite of the large number of studies, the answer to the question "what constitutes the matrix language in CS?" has been elusive in codeswitching literature. The question concerns the definition and determinations of the ML. Different authors of CS grammar have expressed divergent views. Most of them have alluded to the ML by calling it host (Sridhar & Sridhar 1980; Poplack 1980), governing (Pandit 1986) or dominant (Petersen 1988) language.

One of the earliest scholars to allude to the ML was Wentz (1977). She called the matrix language the 'language of the sentence'. According to her, this is the language in which the determiner and the main verb are produced. Later, Sridhar

& Sridhar (1980) used the terms ‘host language’ and ‘guest language’ but they did not define them. They formulated the Dual Structure Principle through which the host language can be identified by examining the constituent order in the sentence. In particular, they stressed that the internal structure of the guest constituent need not conform to the constituent structure of the host language, “so long as its placement in the host language obeys the rules of the host language” (Sridhar & Sridhar 1980: 412). Meanwhile, Klavans (1985) argued for the definition of the matrix language in terms of the inflection-bearing element of the verb. On her part, Pandit (1986) mainly dealt with word order and defined her matrix language, which she called the ‘governing’ language, as the language of the verb in the sentence.

The foregoing initial studies into CS governed by a single grammar do not seem to have openly defined a matrix language. However, Joshi (1985) came closer to designing a matrix language model. Indeed this is the first time the terms ‘matrix language’ and ‘embedded language’ were introduced. Joshi emphasised the asymmetric roles of the languages in CS. However, he offered no definition of the matrix language apart from saying that “speakers and hearers usually agree on which language the mixed sentence is ‘coming from’” (p.191). He pointed out that inserted embedded language elements must be congruent to the matrix language elements they substitute in CS conversation. He came up with the earliest distinction of types of morpheme which he called a category of closed and open class items. Finally, he presented a constraint on closed class items thus:

Closed class items (e.g. *determiners, quantifiers, prepositions, possessives, Aux, Tense, helping verbs*, etc) cannot be switched³.

According to Joshi, it appears that closed class items are not inserted on their own; rather, they can occur in the company of an embedded open class item. In other words, it is possible for nouns and noun phrases comprising a noun and a determiner, but not for single determiners to be inserted. What is notable is that Joshi’s hypothesis was pursued further by the future precursors of the Matrix Language Frame model. They wanted to ascertain the efficacy of Joshi’s claims on other data.

Claims that codeswitching tends to be uni-directionally⁴ asymmetrical in its occurrence have faced challenges. Studying Japanese-English, intra-sentential codeswitching, Nishimura (1986) shows that the asymmetry constraint is plausible for the N and the NP in some Japanese-English sentences. She argues that whereas there has to be one ML, its direction is not predetermined. She asserts, “one language must be assigned to each Japanese-English codeswitched

³ Italics in the original

⁴ Refers to a CS situation in which a CP with morphemes from LA and LB conforms to the grammar of LA and not vice versa.

sentence and that the language may be Japanese in some cases and English in others" (Nishimura 1986: 141). This eventuality is anticipated in Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English CS where any of the three languages can be the ML.

The studies mentioned so far have one thing in common: they generally support that codeswitching is structured according to the grammar of one of the switched languages. That is, there is a ML. Whether it is unidirectional or bi-directional is not a matter to debate about; instead a single ML in CS is posited.

The question of whether or not the speaker's first language is the ML has also attracted the researchers' attention. It has been noted that in a socio-political situation where immigrants codeswitch between their L1 and the language of the 'surrounding society', their L1 is usually the ML and the language of the 'surrounding society' is the EL. Haselmo (1972) found out that Swedish was the ML in the Swedish-English codeswitching among American-Swedes in the US. A similar asymmetry with Arabic as the ML is seen in codeswitching among Arabs in the Netherlands who switch between Arabic and Dutch (Nortier 1990; Boumans 1998) while Turkish also in the Netherlands is the ML in Turkish-Dutch codeswitching (Backus 1996). In addition, it has been reported that a bulk of Finnish-English switches among Finns in the US take place from Finnish to English (Halmari 1997). Kamwangamalu's (1989a, 2000b) assertion that the African language is the ML while English or French is the EL in Africa implies that it is the speaker's first language that is the ML. Similarly, Lahlou (1991) maintains that the matrix language is always the speaker's mother tongue. Following the foregoing arguments, the present study started off with the hypothesis that the speaker's first language forms the bulk of the ML.

The next section is devoted to an in-depth review of Polack's Free Morpheme and Equivalence constraints (Poplack 1980; Sankoff & Poplack 1981). The two constraints do not support asymmetry in CS. However, they are important in the present study since the criticisms they generated were the immediate precursors of the ML concept in CS. The Free Morpheme and Equivalence constraints are some of the earliest claimed constraints in structural codeswitching. Their proponents argue that there is no feasible linguistic analysis that can reliably determine a ML in CS (Poplack 1980, 1981, 1982; Poplack & Sankoff 1984; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988; Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood 1989). They argue in support of compatibility and equivalence at the switch point of the switched languages.

2.1.2 The Free Morpheme Constraint

The Free Morpheme Constraint claims that codeswitching is inhibited "between a bound and a lexical form unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme" (Sankoff and Poplack 1981: 5). In other words, they predict that unintegrated bound morphemes from one code cannot be switched with free morphemes in another code. If a switch between a free and a

bound morpheme does take place, then phonological integration of the two morphemes is a prerequisite. The claim was based on Spanish-English codeswitching data but it was meant to have universal application at the time of its formulation.

Some studies have shown that the claim cannot be maintained for switching in certain other languages. Examples of the language pairs that provide counter-examples include: Lingala-French and Kiswahili-French in Kinshasa (Bokamba 1985, 1988; Kamwangamalu 1997, 1999); Sheng-English in Kenya (Mazrui & Mphande 1990); Kiswahili-English in England (Stephens 2000); Finnish-English in America (Halmari 1997); various Bantu languages and English in South Africa (Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton 1997) and Arabic-English in Jordan (Bader & Minnis 2000).

Halmari (1997) explicates how the Free Morpheme Constraint does not hold through her investigation of Finnish-English codeswitching among Finns living in the United States of America. Typologically, English is relatively isolating while Finnish is highly agglutinating. Halmari observes that her Finnish-English codeswitching examples reveal the inadequacy of the Free Morpheme Constraint in accounting for Finnish-English codeswitching facts. She gives examples such as *libraryin* ('in the library'), *lunchboxiin* ('in the lunch box'), *real estatetia* ('real estate'), *workshoppia* ('workshop'), *ruleit* ('ruler'), *monthin* ('month'), *stageille* ('stage') and *citizeniks* ('citizens') "as genuine embedded language (English) nouns which are phonologically unintegrated into Finnish; however, they can freely and naturally combine with Finnish bound morphology, here, with case suffixes" (Halmari 1997: 76).

The Free Morpheme Constraint is also violated in Arabic-English (Bader & Minnis 2000) and Marathi-English (Pandharipande 1990) codeswitching data. For instance, according to Bader & Minnis (2000), their Arabic-English data show the use of Arabic affixes for the definite article, the objective and possessive pronouns to English words in violation of the Free Morpheme Constraint. The Arabic-English data are also interestingly peculiar as the constraint is not only uni-directionally (i.e. Arabic to English) falsifiable but it can also be falsifiable in the opposite direction (for example, English to Arabic). Pandharipande's (1990) study of Marathi-English CS reveals English words with Marathi bound morphemes. For instance, the Marathi possessive suffix *-cya* 'of' and the adverbial suffix *-pane* '-ly' which are bound morphemes are added to English words in violation of the Free Morpheme Constraint (Pandharipande 1990: 19).

However, the Free Morpheme Constraint's condition of phonological integration appears to be a prerequisite in some of my codeswitched data. There are integrated English verbs in Ekegusii-English codeswitched data and integrated English verbs in Kiswahili-English codeswitching. Integrated English nouns also

exist in Ekegusii-English CS data. All have bound morphemes from the ML.

(1) Ekegusii-English switching

Setting: Three men (Onu, Omw, and Dun) have met. Onu is introducing himself to Dun. Then Omw wants to find out if Dun has understood how he (Omw) and Onu are related.

Igo o-igw-ete ko-a-link-iri? (Omw 5-6)
So 2S-hear-PRF 2S-PRS-link-PRF?
'So, have you seen the link (in our relationship)?'

The English verb link in example (1) is inserted into Ekegusii affixes *ko-a-* and *-ri*. The verb is phonologically integrated into Ekegusii through the [CV.V.CV.CCV.CV] syllables in the inflected verb *ku.a.li.nki.ri* ('you have linked'). The CCV syllable structure in the inflected verb is phonologically acceptable in the prenasalised Ekegusii syllables. Hence, the inserted English word is integrated. Phonological integration is also seen in example (2), where an English verb replace is inserted between Kiswahili affixes.

(2) Kiswahili-English switching

Setting: The speaker is referring to Kenyan military peacekeepers who had just completed their UN mission of duty in Sierra Leone and were being replaced by others in the year 2000.

Hawa wa-me-enda ku-replace-iw-a. (Kem 81)
these 3PL-PRF-go INF-replace-APPL-FV
'These (soldiers) are being replaced.'

The pronunciation of the inserted verb replace audibly conforms to English phonology although it has the Kiswahili prefix and affix. It also has a typical Kiswahili penultimate stress - the stress is on [-iw-].

The next example shows an English verb retouch that is preceded by a Kiswahili prefix in Ali's turn of speech. The same verb retouch has Ekegusii affixes in Kem's turn of speech. The inserted verb retouch follows English phonetics when it is inserted in Kiswahili. However, when it is inserted in Ekegusii in Kem's turn, it is integrated both morphologically and phonetically. Morphologically, it takes on Ekegusii agreement affixes for person number and tense. Phonetically it is pronounced with a characteristic long penultimate Ekegusii syllable as *e-ku-a-ri-ta-ce:-ti* [V.CV.V.CV.CV:CV]. The inserted Kiswahili verb **-shika** ('catch') in Ekegusii is also morphologically and phonetically integrated. It takes on agreement prefixes from Ekegusii. It also has a long vowel in the penultimate syllable as expected in Ekegusii.

(3) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

Setting: The speakers - three women, two of them university students and one university graduate - are talking about one of their colleague's hair.

CARO: **Nywele yako i-me-kaa** *fit.* **U-li-retouch?**
hair yours CL9-PRF-stay 2S-PST-retouch
'Your hair looks nice. Did you retouch⁵ it?'

EMI: **Yaani, kitambo.**
'That is, long time ago.'

KEM: Naende e-ku-a-retouch-eti?
again F-2S-PST-retouch-PRF.?
'Did you retouch it once again?'

EMI: Ee. Chemicals are bad nowadays.
Yes.

ALI: N-chi-ri-go-**shiika.**
STAB-CL10-NEG-INF-catch
'They (chemicals) do not work well.' (Kem 52-54)

The three CS examples (cf. 1, 2 and 3) analysed according to the Free Morpheme Constraint seem to present a blend of results to the constraints' predictions.

2.1.3 The Equivalence Constraint

Poplack (1980) argues that CS tends to occur at points where the syntactic rules of the switched languages match and the rules of none of the languages are violated. This has been called the Equivalence constraint. According to the Equivalence Constraint, "switching is free to occur between any two sentence elements if they are normally ordered in the same way by the grammars of both languages involved while codeswitching is prohibited elsewhere" (Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood 1990: 186). Therefore, if the surface structures of the codeswitched languages are not identical, a switch should not occur. This is illustrated in (4).

- (4) English: Det + N
Spanish: Det + N
CS: ENG Det + SP N
CS: SP Det + ENG N
English: Adj + N
Spanish: N + Adj

⁵ A second visit to a saloonist a few days after treating one's hair for fresh grooming

CS: *ENG Adj + SP N
 *SP Adj + ENG N
 *ENG N + SP Adj
 *SP N + ENG Adj
(Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood 1989:132)

Together with her associates, Poplack claimed that "the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously" (Sankoff & Poplack 1981: 5). Poplack (1980) noted that it is rare for a switching of the type "a car nuevo" to occur in Spanish-English codeswitching because the Spanish and English rules for adjective placement are not equivalent. This implies that codeswitching within adpositional phrases is not expected to take place if one of the languages is prepositional and the other postpositional.

However, the constraint has been tested on other data with varying results, e.g. Bader & Minnis (2000) tested it on Jordanian Arabic-English CS in Jordan, Halmari (1997) applied it on Finnish-English in the US and Stephens (2000) tested it on Kiswahili-English CS in England. Halmari (1997: 77) presents counter-examples from Finnish-English switching within an adpositional phrase which challenge the generalisability of the Equivalence constraint. The claim of the Equivalence Constraint is therefore not universal as Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood (1990: 187) observed in their later inquiries:

It is not our claim that the equivalence constraint is uniformly pertinent to every bilingual community; even to those in which mixing of the two codes is frequent at the intra-sentential level.

Therefore, the authors' formulation provides for a possibility of cross-linguistic violation of the constraint. Indeed the constraint is violated in Kiswahili-English codeswitching as the following example from my data show.

(5) Kiswahili-English codeswitching

Setting: Two women, Caro, a university student and Emi, a former university student, are talking about the university admission of mature students in Kenya.

Emi: Imagine our time we never used to have mature entrants. Never! They started coming, which years? In fact our year is when there was one one. You know. Like that time...

Caro: You maliza-ed when?
 You finish-PST when
 'When did you finish?'

(Kem 195)

The turn of speech by Caro is of interest here. The violation of the Equivalence

constraint in this example is analysed following Poplack's (1990: 586) claim:

Codeswitches will tend to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a syntactic rule of either language, i.e., at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. According to this simple constraint, a switch is inhibited from occurring within a constituent generated by a rule from one language which is not shared by another.

Caro's turn of speech has two switches, namely a switch from English to Kiswahili and another switch from Kiswahili back to English as illustrated in (6) where the straight slashes indicate the switch points:

(6) You maliza ed when?

In the first switch, the switch point between English you and Kiswahili **maliza** is not a violation of the equivalence constraint since the surface order of the pronoun you and the Kiswahili verb **maliza** is compatible and interchangeable in both languages. However, the morpheme order of the switch from Kiswahili **maliza** to English -ed when is not shared in both languages. The switch from Kiswahili to English uses English surface morphemes -ed to mark past tense on the Kiswahili verb **maliza**. According to Kiswahili grammar, the past is marked by a surface bound morpheme **-li-** that precedes the root of the verb. However, English rules require that in regular verbs, the surface bound morpheme used to mark the past is a suffix (-ed) to the root of the verb. Thus the rule for marking past in the two switched languages is not shared yet there is CS in (5). This contravenes the Equivalence constraint.

One would have expected that since the speaker has switched from Kiswahili to English, the subsequent construction would follow English rules all through and any subsequent switch could occur only when Kiswahili and English share the construction rules. But this is not the case in (5). The question word when in English wh-questions with 'to do' is supposed to appear at the initial position of an interrogative sentence according to the word order of English (cf. 3.2). However, in Kiswahili the question word comes at the final position of a sentence as seen in example (5). This violates the constraint proposed by Poplack and associates because according to the Equivalence Constraint, switching can only occur if the switched elements occur in the same way in the participating languages. However, in (5) the position of the question word when in the English wh-question formation with 'to do' is at the sentence-final position. This type of positioning of question words in the sentence violates English grammar.

Additional Kiswahili-English CS counter-examples have been reported in Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Nairobi data and Stephens' (2000) research among Zanzibarians living in London. Myers-Scotton has also reviewed more counter-examples from languages such as Nartey's (1982) study of Adanme-English CS in Ghana, Bentahila & Davies' (1983) research on Moroccan Arabic-French CS

in Morocco and Bokamba's (1988) analysis of Lingala-French CS in Kinshasa. Myers-Scotton (1993a: 27) concludes:

Poplack and her associates should be credited as being very influential in setting standards for CS research, in striving for constraints which are at once general but also stated in a form that it is clear what would constitute counter-examples to the predictions.

However, the counter-examples to the constraints have made Poplack and her associates seek a way of circumventing them. Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood (1990: 191) posit, "Once we have established that speakers are indeed alternating between languages in a smooth, unflagged way, we must circumscribe the variable context, i.e. determine whether the other-language material under investigation in fact constitutes a code-switch, or rather, represents some other manifestation of language contact".

Subsequently, since 1988 Poplack and associates have been trying to explain the Free Morpheme constraint by referring to single word switches as instances of nonce borrowing (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988; Poplack, 1980). They argue that "borrowing as a process differs radically from codeswitching, and failure to separate data on the two phenomena can only obscure the conditioning of each" (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988: 191).

Poplack and her collaborators define a loanword as an item from the L2 which is phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated into the host-language discourse and the item is both recurrent in the speech of an individual and widespread in the community. They caution that "in general, however, borrowing is a much more productive process and is not bound by all of these constraints; in particular, the social characteristics of recurrence and dispersion need not be satisfied" (p. 191). They call this nonce borrowing. They distinguish between codeswitching and borrowing using quantitative distributional methods. They argue that "the morphological and syntactic role of a nonce borrowing is equivalent to that of an established loanword, which is in turn, identical to its host-language counterpart, and in this, the two contrast with codeswitching" (p. 192).

In spite of Poplack and her associates' circumvention, some scholars doubt whether there is indeed a difference between nonce borrowing and CS (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1990, 1993a/1997; Halmari 1997, Boumans 1998). They argue that if the distinction between 'nonce' borrowing and CS is accepted, then there is too little to distinguish as intra-sentential CS. This is because CS and borrowing are ends of a continuum and are subject to the same constraints (Treffers-Daller 1991; Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Backus 1996).

The position taken by the present study, following Myers-Scotton (1992a, 1993a/1997) and Halmari (1997) among others, is that so-called 'nonce' borrowings and CS are two sides of the same coin. In particular, Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997: 206) argues "singly occurring CS and lexical borrowings resemble each other". She further asserts that borrowing and codeswitching lie at opposite ends of a frequency continuum and the only distinction between the two is the frequency of occurrence. Any single guest-language lexeme in the host-language discourse that is either assimilated or unassimilated morphosyntactically but is phonologically unassimilated (and is perhaps infrequently used) is an instance of CS.

It is worth noting that the Free Morpheme and Equivalence Constraints inspired further research into the syntax of CS. One of the results of the research is the ML constraint (Joshi 1985, Kamwangamalu 1989a, Azuma 1991, Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997). Kamwangamalu's approach is reviewed in detail as it emerged out of research in Africa.

2.1.4 Kamwangamalu's matrix language principle

To the best of my knowledge, the earliest explicit construction of a matrix language theory is Kamwangamalu's (1989a) Matrix Language Principle (MLP). The theory is more inclined to language assignment than to speech processing and production in codeswitching. Kamwangamalu does not offer a definition of the term "matrix language", but contributes a link to the sociolinguistic context. He notes that in the African situation, the local languages usually serve as the matrix language while English or French is the embedded language (Kamwangamalu 1989a: 157). However, the definition of the ML is implicit in this supposition. The motivation for constructing the model was originally to test "whether there exists a matrix language to a code-mixed sentence, that is, a language whose morphosyntactic rules govern the syntactic structure of CM, or whether it is the case that no feasible linguistic analysis can reliably assign a matrix language to a code-mixed sentence and that, therefore, CM is acceptable only where it does not violate the syntactic integrity of either of the languages involved" (Kamwangamalu 1989a as quoted in Kamwangamalu & Cher-Ling 1991: 247).

In a series of articles, Kamwangamalu has argued a case for the ML prediction (Kamwangamalu 1989a, 1997, 1999, 2000a; and Kamwangamalu and Cher-Leng 1991). The principle of the model is formulated thus:

In every code mixed discourse (D) involving language X (L_x) and language Y (L_y), where L_x is identified as the host or matrix language and L_y as the guest or embedded language, the morphosyntactic structure rules of L_y must conform to the morphosyntactic structure rules of L_x , the language of the discourse (Kamwangamalu 1989a as quoted in Kamwangamalu 1997: 74).

Kamwangamalu has tested his theoretical hypothesis across such language-pairs as Lingala-French, Swahili-English, siSwati-English and, in collaboration with Cher-Ling (Kamwangamalu & Cher-Ling 1991) on Chinese-English codeswitching. He uses aspects of morphosyntax such as reinfinitivisation, pronominalisation, inflectional morphology, lexical density of a language in the codeswitched material and double plural marking to determine the ML. To a large extent the predictions work well. However, I find some gaps in Kamwangamalu's model.

To begin with, lexical density as a deciding factor of the ML is falsifiable. It raises the question: what exactly is to be counted to ascertain lexical density? In Kamwangamalu and Cher-Leng's 1991 study, what orthographically surfaces as two Chinese words but turns out to be one word in English was counted as one item. They also considered a phrase as one item regardless of the number of words that made up the phrase. They did not give justification for this approach. Hence, the criterion is confusing. In addition, Myers-Scotton, who initially supported such an approach, has been criticised for counting roots of words and leaving out affixes (Bentahila & Davies 1998). As if that is not enough, a question arises: what does one do when the languages involved are typologically different? One might be a highly isolating language while others are highly agglutinating languages. Does one count what surfaces as a word in an agglutinating language and then compare the results with those of an isolating language? The isolating language will show more morphemes when in the real sense the agglutinating language will have more morphemes.

In addition, (Myers-Scotton 1999, 2000a) has argued that it is possible for a bilingual speaker's utterance to have more surface morphemes from one language but the syntactic structure of the surface morphemes could be sourced from another language. Thus the count of the surface morphemes as a criterion for deciding the ML can lead to invalid results. For instance, example (7) has more surface morphemes from English compared with Kiswahili, yet Kiswahili is the ML.

(7) Kiswahili-English switching

Kwani Yvonne is how? (Kem 216)

ADV Yvonne is how 'Exactly, how is Yvonne?'

In English syntax, the question word how comes at the beginning and not at the end of an interrogative sentence. This word order has not been observed in (7). Instead the interrogative word is at the end of the interrogative sentence. This is characteristic of Kiswahili syntax. If one were to use the density of English surface morphemes in this sentence to decide the ML, then English with two words could be the ML while Kiswahili with one word could be the EL. However, structurally, Kiswahili appears to be the ML while English is the EL.

Kamwangamalu and Cher-Ling's (1991) study also discusses discourse markers, a criterion that is also discussed by other scholars, e.g. Myers-Scotton (1997a, 1999); Halmari (1997) and Boumans (1998). Kamwangamalu & Cher-Ling (1991) argue that the sourcing of the discourse markers from one language does not qualify that language as the ML. However, they do not discuss why this is so. They assert that the use of English discourse markers in Chinese is "out of convenience or as a matter of habit due to the increasing use of English as a functional language in Singapore" (Kamwangamalu & Cher-Ling 1991: 254). On her part, Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997) claims that discourse markers are embedded language islands. In her implicational hierarchy hypothesis, discourse markers are classified as EL islands⁶ and therefore not considered interesting instances in codeswitching since they are not part of the ML + EL constituents. However in her 2002 publication, Myers-Scotton considers discourse markers that are sourced from another language as part and parcel of codeswitching since they contribute to the cohesion of a text.

Another challenge detected in Kamwangamalu and Cher-Leng's (1991) test is that they administered their test of switched sentences for the determination of the ML on the "elite" (i.e. undergraduate students at the National University of Singapore). They asked the respondents to determine the ML of the data. This approach raises a question: what would be the likely results if such a test were administered on a less highly educated group, say Form Four (grade 12) leavers? Furthermore, some linguists like Backus (1996) question the authenticity of asking non-linguists to make linguistic decisions on raw CS material. The "elite judges" at the National University of Singapore were not linguists yet they were expected to determine the ML. Above all, Kamwangamalu & Cher-Ling do not define what constitutes a sentence.

In spite of the questions I have raised, I find Kamwangamalu's approach quite useful. First, it is out of his language assignment test (where "judges" assigned each switched sentence an ML) that subsequent theoretical formulations, notably Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997: 70), found empirical evidence to claim the ML from the speakers' point of view. That is, it is possible for a speaker/hearer to intuitively judge what the ML is. Secondly, Kamwangamalu presently uses data from South Africa, where eleven national and official languages are mixed in daily use. Subsequently, he has refined his model and added some multilayered approach through the inclusion of the sociolinguistic variable of diglossia as one of the criteria for determining the ML (Kamwangamalu 2000b). He argues that the distinction between the ML and the EL in CS falls from the diglossic relationship in which the languages function in the codeswitching community. That is, the ML will usually be the low language according to Ferguson's 1959

⁶ An EL island is a phrase that is well-formed according to the syntax of the EL but then it occurs in a CP with a different ML. For instance, in **Nitamaliza masomo this year** ('I will complete studies this year'), the ML is Kiswahili but the English phrase this year is an EL island because it follows English syntax. The order should have been year this (**mwaka huu**) in Kiswahili.

concept of diglossia revised by Fishman in 1967. He concludes this prediction thus:

Diglossia determines the sociolinguistic status, H or L, of each of the languages participating in CS. It thus serves as a basis on which the distinction between the ML and EL can be made. In a diglossic situation, the ML is usually the language labelled as L; whereas the EL tends to be the language labelled as H. L (the Matrix Language) determines which constituents of the EL can and where they should be switched in speech. I have presented evidence based mostly on inflectional morphology in support of this argument. I have argued that this evidence falls out from the diglossic situation in which CS takes place in the African context (Kamwangamalu 2000b: 203).

However, contrary to the assertion that only the Low (African) language can be the ML, the present study shows that any of the switched languages including English can be the ML. For instance, Kamwangamalu uses reinfinitivisation to justify his argument. He defines reinfinitivisation as a “process whereby an English or French infinitive verb used in a codeswitching sentence with a Bantu language takes on a Bantu infinitive marker so as to fit into Bantu verbal morphology” (Kamwangamalu 1989a: 164-165). My data has an example whereby a Kiswahili (the low language) infinitive verb takes on an English (the high language) free morpheme infinitive marker, *to*, and not the bound Bantu infinitive marker. So it challenges the claim:

(8) English-Kiswahili switching

Setting: Four ladies educated up to the university are talking about hair plaiting. One of them happens to have the hair plaiting skill. The speaker wants to know the plaiting speed of the hair plaiter.

How long does it take you to shuuka one piece? (Kem 77)
INF plait (hair)

‘How long does it take you to plait one hair piece?’

This example, taken from Kenya (Africa), follows English grammar and it explicates codeswitching between a Bantu language (Kiswahili) and English where English and not the Bantu language is the ML. This falsifies Kamwangamalu’s argument that in Africa only the low languages (African languages) produce the ML.

Another challenge to the claim that only African languages produce the ML is posed by Kamwangamalu’s inflectional morphology prediction. According to this prediction, it is only the Bantu languages that provide obligatory grammatical information such as tense marking. However, my data has an instance where

English provides the participle -ed to mark past tense in a sentence. (5) reproduced as (9) shows:

(9) English-Kiswahili switching

Setting: Two women, Caro, a university student and Emi, a former university student, are talking about mature entrants to the university in Kenya.

Emi: Imagine our time we never used to have mature entrants. Never! They started coming, which years? In fact our year is when there was one one. You know. Like that time...

Caro: You maliza-ed when?

You finish-PST when

‘When did you finish (your studies)?’ (Kem 195)

An analysis of Caro’s sentence shows that this is not an English word order because the question word is at the end and not at the beginning of the sentence. This is characteristic of Kiswahili. But then the participle -ed is suffixed as in English on the Kiswahili verb **maliza** (‘finish’). The MLP did not predict the occurrence of this type of CS. Such CS CPs are not frequent in my data and this is the only example I observed. However, such past tense formation is often heard in the Kiswahili spoken in Kenya especially by the elite.

2.1.5 The discourse level matrix language

The search for the discourse level ML in CS incidences involving an African language and a European language is attested in Dutch-Moroccan Arabic CS in the Netherlands (Nortier 1989) and Moroccan Arabic-French in Morocco (Bentahila & Davies 1998). However, although these studies use the term ML, they seem to have been based on the discourse and not on the sentence as did Kamwangamalu. Concerning the discourse level type of ML, Owens (2001: 1) notes:

The idea of matrixity, however, has been applied not only to sentences, but to larger stretches of speech as well, to entire texts. Myers-Scotton has suggested (1993a) for instance, that a text has a matrix language, or languages, and suggested criteria for determining what it is. She proposed, for instance, that the language contributing the largest number of morphemes sets the matrix. Some, e.g. Boumans 1998, have limited the notion of matrix to single sentences, while others have proposed different types of matrices, e.g. discourse matrices defining the matrix of an entire text (Nortier 1990).

According to Myers-Scotton (1997a & b), the ML is determined when all parts of the “entire discourse are examined and not just stretches showing CS” (Myers-Scotton 1997a: 96). The language that is the source of relatively more

morphemes in a sample of “discourse-coherent” intra-sentential CS is the ML. The sample to be analysed implies “minimally two sentences, either from a single speaker or from an adjacency pair produced by two speakers” (Myers-Scotton 1997b: 96).

The approach of counting morphemes in order to determine the ML in CS runs into problems. For instance, Nortier (1989 as reviewed in Bentahila & Davies 1998: 29-30) was unable to reach a decisive conclusion because the ML kept on changing from one sentence to another. She realised that in some instances, a language that provides the majority of instances turns out not to be the ML.

On their part, Bentahila & Davies (1998) try to refine Nortier’s and Myers-Scotton’s analytic approaches by treating long texts of Moroccan Arabic and French CS in Morocco. They also show that the ML is not always the speaker’s first language. It can be either Moroccan Arabic or French. However, they do not give the criterion for selecting the boundaries (beginning and end) of the texts analysed. In addition, some texts are very long while others are very short. Furthermore, some are monologues while others have more than one participant. Finally, quotations from another language in the codeswitched text are also counted. Although Bentahila & Davies (1998) are satisfied with their analysis, the procedure leaves unanswered questions. It is not clear how long the sequence analysed should be, whether or not to count lexical and/or grammatical morphemes and if quotations should also be included. The approach of determining the discourse level matrix language does not seem to be popular perhaps due to its methodological vagueness. In the present study, the ML is determined at the CP level according to Myers-Scotton’s MLF model (cf. 2.2). No morpheme frequency count at the discourse level is attempted. Elsewhere however, I have tried to determine the base language of a switched discourse (Ogechi 2002). In the study, I use the opening turn of speech about a given topic and the closing turn of speech on the same topic in a switched conversation as the opening and closing boundaries of that topic of discourse. I then segment CPs of the selected stretch and determine the ML of each CP. Finally, I count the MLs and the most frequent ML is deemed the base language of the discourse topic analysed.

2.1.6 Trilingual codeswitching

Marx (2001: 179) notes that “the discipline of TLA (tertiary language acquisition) represents a young and only infrequently investigated research field in comparison to the more conventional one of SLA”. This assertion parallels Hoffmann’s (2001a & b) observation that trilingualism studies have just gained momentum. She notes:

We are beginning to see a growing body of research into trilingualism most of which is done within the theoretical framework of Bilingualism Studies or Second Language Acquisition research (Hoffmann 2001b: 13).

She further notes that trilingualism in the western world is largely motivated by mixed marriages, mobility, internationalisation, societal bilingualism and education. Whereas there are quite a number of case studies on trilingualism that have been published in the last 25 years (for example, Oksaar 1977, Helot 1988, Hoffmann 1985, 1991, 1992, Hoffmann & Widdicombe 1998, Navracscics 1999 [in Hoffmann 2001b]), their scope and depth is incomparable with the bilingual classics. In particular the trilingualism studies treat language choice and codeswitching “in a fairly general way” (Hoffmann 2001b: 15), yet “codeswitching is potentially the most creative aspect of bilingual (and by extension trilingual) speech” (Hoffmann 1991: 209).

Clyne (1997) cites works by Enninger (1979) and Krier (1992) as the only notable trilingual studies that treat interference and codeswitching between three languages. He does not discuss the methods and results of these studies. However, his observation further shows that trilingual CS is largely an unexplored field. Indeed to the best of my knowledge, inquiries that treat trilingual CS in general and trilingual CS in Africa in particular are too few.

Clyne has been reporting about his elaborate project on immigrants’ trilingualism in Australia (Clyne 1997, Clyne & Cain 2001). The languages of the study are: Dutch-German-English, Hungarian-German-English and Italian-Spanish-English. Trilingual CS is not the major aim of Clyne’s project. He addresses the question: “what happens when the one person speaks, in addition to English, two languages that have been studied in contact with English” (Clyne 1997: 96). In spite of that Clyne reports that one of the phenomena he was anticipating to find in the corpus was trilingual intra-sentential codeswitching. And the result was that “the majority of the examples of intra-sentential code-switching are between two of the languages. However, there were 12 instances of trilingual code-switching involving English, German and Dutch, and four involving English, Italian, and Spanish that indicated evidence of multilateral competence” (p.107). This finding concurs with Hoffmann (2001b) who says that she has come across very little linguistic evidence of trilinguals using three languages within the same utterance. Clyne deals with the functions and not the structure of his CS examples. In conclusion, however, he says that all the examples can be dealt with by Myers-Scotton’s (1993a/1997) matrix language model.

Clyne’s study contributes to the formulation of my hypothesis that there is little trilingual CS. As summarised in Tables 17 – 19 (cf. 3.4.2), only 18 instances of trilingual CS CPs are noticed in a corpus of 520 switched CPs. However, the present research shall further analyse the data to establish the ML patterns and show why and how EL lexemes are chosen. In doing so, I benefit from Wei’s (2002) study on trilingual CS involving English-Chinese-Japanese in the US.

The type of data used in Wei's (2002) study is similar to the present study because Wei's interlocutors had many years of formal education. They were advanced trilingual undergraduate and postgraduate Japanese and Chinese students in the US. However, unlike my participants they did not share a first language and therefore only English surfaces as the ML in their trilingual CS. It is not clear how Wei's data were collected. However, the analyses based on the MLF model show the motivation for the selection of the EL lexical items and phrasal constituents. The classification of the switched EL elements and the levels of speech processing in the trilingual's mental lexicon are systematically outlined. To my knowledge, this is the only attempt to apply the MLF model on trilingual CS. It tends to concur with Clyne (1997) that trilinguals like bilinguals activate all their languages but the ML is usually slightly more activated than the EL. Wei succeeds in his aim of showing how the MLF model works on trilingual CS.

Wei's proposition on language activation in the trilingual's mental lexicon comes close to Grosjean's language mode (1997, 2001). Grosjean defines a mode as "a state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms" (Grosjean 1997: 136). The language mode is a psycholinguistic model for explaining language processing. Grosjean asserts that the model can be applied to the speech of monolinguals and multilinguals including trilinguals. According to the model, all the speaker's languages are activated at any given time s/he forms an intention to speak. However, depending on situational factors such as topic and participants, s/he can be either in a monolingual or multilingual language mode. In a monolingual mode, the speaker completely deactivates all the other codes while in a trilingual mode, for instance, a speaker activates all the languages but the ML is slightly more activated than the ELs. This seems to be underlying Wei's ML activation in trilinguals. However, Grosjean does not specify the unit of applying the language mode whether it is intra-sentential or inter-sentential.

I have largely reviewed literature that has dealt with CS from a grammatical point of view. It has been shown that the pioneer universal grammatical constraints in CS proposed by Poplack and her associates have largely been challenged with cross-linguistic data other than the Spanish-English data on which the constraints were formulated. Nevertheless, it is out of the attempt to assess the plausibility of Poplack's constraints that other grammatical CS constraints such as the ML constraint evolved. The literature review has shown that even though asymmetry in CS had been alluded to prior to Poplack's constraints, the post Poplackian grammatically inclined CS studies have overtly laid claim to asymmetry in CS based on various syntactic theories. These include: government and binding (e.g. Di Sciullo, Singh & Muysken 1986; Halmari 1997; Woolford 1983), the switch alpha (Choi 1991) and the matrix language constraint (e.g. Joshi 1985; Kamwangamalu 1989a; Azuma 1991; Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997) among others.

It has turned out that there has been an increase in the knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon of CS structurally. For instance, the theoretical underpinnings and the methodology of determining the ML have tremendously increased. Methodologically, there was initially vagueness concerning the unit of analysis. It started off with a CS “discourse sample” (for example, Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Nortier 1989; Bentahila & Davies 1998), then came the “sentence” as the unit of analysis (Kamwangamalu 1989a, 1997, 2000b; Boumans 1998; Backus 1996) and presently the CP is the accepted unit of analysis (Myers-Scotton and her associates [section 2.2.1]).

Theoretically, there is now a better and coherent explanation of the method of determining the ML. Morpheme classification and psycholinguistic speech processing have been adduced to account for why the switched elements have to occur (Azuma 1991; Myers-Scotton 1997a; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995; Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997).

In spite of the wealth of knowledge gained so far, it has turned out that there are only few studies on trilingual CS in general (Enninger 1979; Krier 1992; Clyne 1997) and in particular those whose analyses are based on theories that are inclined to the structure of CS (Wei 2002). For instance, although much of multilingual Africa has a trilingual language practice, the ML-based CS analyses using data from Africa have either been silent on trilingual CS (Kamwangamalu 1989a, 1999, 2000b; Mazrui 1995; Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997) or explicitly state that no instance of trilingual CS has been noted (Haust 1995). In the same way as trilingualism in general is said to be unexplored (Clyne 1997; Hoffmann 2001a & b; Marx 2001) so is grammatically constrained trilingual CS both universally and in Africa in particular. The present study seeks to make a contribution to filling up this void.

2.2 Theoretical framework

The analysis of my Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English-Sheng codeswitched data is based on Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame model. According to the MLF model (cf. 2.2.3), the morphosyntax of only one of the codes participating in codeswitching (the ML) sets the structure of the switched CP. So, I invoke the MLF model’s Morpheme Order and System Morpheme principles (cf. 2.2.5) to determine the ML. On the one hand, the Morpheme Order Principle claims that the morpheme order (grammatical and lexical morphemes) of a switched CP must conform to the morpheme order of the ML. On the other hand, the System Morpheme Principle claims that although the early system morphemes may be sourced from any of the switched codes, all late outsider system morphemes must come from the ML (cf. 2.2.3). The analyses further invoke the MLF’s supportive 4-M and the Abstract Level models (Myers-Scotton 2002) to explain the processing of the switched CPs. The 4-M model classifies morphemes into four types, namely content morphemes, early system morphemes, late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes. These morphemes are accessed

at different stages of speech production. According to the Abstract Level model the stages of speech production include the conceptual, the lemma and the formulator levels. The conceptual level is pre-linguistic. It deals with the formation of an intention to speak and the choice of the ML. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying the various types of morphemes are activated and congruence checked (matched) across the participating languages. At the formulator level, the selected morphemes in various languages are inserted into the various positions and a codeswitched CP surfaces (cf. 2.2.3).

In this second section of the chapter, I present an outline of Myers-Scotton's MLF model. The MLF model, first introduced in 1993, has continuously been refined over the years so that its authors have now developed an extended model with two supportive models, namely the Abstract Level and the 4-M models. The outline offered here is primarily based on Myers-Scotton's (1993a/1997, 2002) and Myers-Scotton & Jake's (1995, 2000a & b, 2001a) presentations. Their research associates such as Bolonyai (1998, 2000), Schmitt (2000), Fuller (2000) and Wei (2001a, 2001b, 2002) are also cited.

The MLF is a linguistic model for determining the ML in CS that is motivated by processes and mechanisms of speech production. The model defines CS as "the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation" (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997: 4). The Matrix Language (ML) is "a label for the abstract morphosyntactic frame of an utterance" (Myers-Scotton 2002: 58). The ML is an issue of discussion if the utterance is a bilingual CP. The other participating languages are called Embedded Languages (ELs). The MLF model was formulated to handle 'classic' codeswitching. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000b: 1) define classic CS as:

codeswitching by speakers proficient enough in all participating varieties that they could engage in monolingual discourse in any of them.

Speakers of classic CS have access to conditions of well-formedness of the varieties that they can either (a) realise EL content morphemes in mixed constituents framed by the ML or (b) produce well-formed EL islands, or both (a) and (b).

The model "sees CS constraints as set by processes which operate well before the positional level at which surface orders and structures are realized" (Myers-Scotton 1997: 6). Therefore, the surface morphological realisation should be seen against the backdrop of those abstract structural processes. These processes are spelt out in the model's four definitional constructs. The definitional constructs include the Complement Phrase (CP) (cf. 2.2.1), the Matrix Language vs. Embedded Language distinction (cf. 2.2.2), the Content vs. System morpheme distinction (2.2.3), and the three types of likely constituents in bilingual speech, i.e. ML + EL, EL, and ML (2.2.4).

2.2.1 The complement phrase

The complement phrase (CP) is the accepted unit of analysis in the MLF model since the first revision of the model (Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995). A CP implies a constituent consisting of a proposition-expressing part plus an accompanying complementiser-like element that may or may not be null (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a: 1071). Further, a CP “is the syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause, plus any additional structures needed to encode discourse-relevant structure and the logical form of that clause”. According to Myers-Scotton (1997a: 107), the CP may be full or reduced. For instance, (10) is a full CP while (11) is a reduced CP. (11) is a reduced CP because its verb is deleted and its meaning is understood only from the context of the discourse.

(10) **Ni-na-lip-w-a** rate **ya chini kabisa**
1S-NONPST-pay-PASS-IND rate of low completely
'I am paid at the lowest rate.'

(11) **ingawa ile** rate **ya chini kabisa**
although that rate of down completely
'Although (I am paid) at the lowest rate.'

The CP is considered the best unit of analysis because it is within the CP that the grammars of the components of CS are in contact (Myers-Scotton 1997a).

Thus, the MLF model analyses intra-CP codeswitching and does not investigate either intra- or inter-sentential codeswitching and inter-turn switching. This is because an intra-sentential codeswitched sentence can have many structural configurations. One, a codeswitched sentence might involve two conjoined monolingual CPs or a monolingual main clause and an embedded clause in a second or third language (Myers-Scotton 2002: 55).

2.2.2 The matrix language vs. the embedded language distinction

The second tenet of the MLF model posits that when there is classic CS, the participation of the languages is not equal. One of them contributes more than the other(s) by setting the grammatical frame for the structuring of the CPs. This frame-setting language is the matrix language (ML) and the others are the embedded languages (ELs). The ML is more activated than the EL in a discourse involving intra-CP CS. The occurrence of ML morphemes is freer than morphemes of the EL. Thus a typical codeswitched CP should show ML and EL elements. In addition, typical classic CS has single EL lexeme insertions into an ML CP. Example (11) is a classic CS case. Kiswahili is the ML with a single English lexeme inserted. However, Myers-Scotton (1999b: 18-22, 2002: 68) cautions that the best way to think of the ML is **not** as a 'language' itself, but rather as the grammatical frame, a theoretical construct used to 'name' the **source** of abstract grammatical structure in a bilingual CP (mixed constituent). In other words, the ML does not have to provide surface morphemes on a CP; rather, its

presence can be seen syntactically. The ML “includes *specifications about slots* and how they are to be filled, based on directions from lemmas in the mental lexicon” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 68). For instance, the following CP was produced by a bilingual speaker of Kiswahili and English.

(12) You are where? ‘Where are you?’

All the surface morphemes are sourced from English but the abstract lexical structure is from Kiswahili. An English wh-word with “to do” assumes CP-initial position while a Kiswahili CP can have the question word at the CP- final position. In (12), Kiswahili is used to name the source of the abstract grammatical structure of the ML. According to Myers-Scotton & Jake (2001a: 87), the ML vs EL distinction is universally applicable to all CS data sets, regardless of the specific language sets involved. On balance, two main criteria can be used to identify the ML (Myers-Scotton 2002: 58). First, the ML is defined by the role it plays in ML-EL hierarchy as realised in the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme principles (cf. 2.2.5). Second, the unequal participation of languages in structuring intra-CP CS distinguishes between the ML and EL. ML is the label that identifies the language with the larger structural role.

2.2.3 The content morpheme vs. system morpheme distinction

The content morpheme vs. system morpheme distinction is the third definitional construct of the MLF model. This distinction is based on evidence from other linguistic studies which claim that not all morphemes behave alike in terms of either how easily they are learned (SLA), how they are accessed in language production (e.g. Garret 1992; Wei 2000), or how they are affected by brain disorders, especially aphasia (e.g. Menn & Obler 1990). In the same way, the morphemes do not show similar patterns of occurrence in codeswitching. Certain morphemes must be sourced from the ML while others need not. The MLF model uses the supportive 4-M model to saliently distinguish various morpheme types and the levels at which they are accessed. The supportive Abstract Level model is also used to show the various levels of accessing morpheme and processing speech. In the following, I describe the Abstract Level model and the 4-M model.

The abstract level model

The Abstract Level model is constructed around the mechanisms or processes of language production models (Levelt 1989, Bock & Levelt 1994). They distinguish four main stages of speech production, namely conceptualisation, formulation, articulation and self-monitoring. However, Myers-Scotton and her associates (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a & b, 2001a; Bolonyai 1998, 2000; Fuller 2000; Schmitt 2000; Wei 2000, 2002) recognise only three stages, namely the lexical-conceptual, the lemma and the formulator stages. Myers-Scotton (2002: 19) emphasises that “the major premise underlying the Abstract Level model is that all lemmas in the mental lexicon include three levels of abstract lexical structure. The three levels contain all the grammatical information necessary for the surface realization of a lexical entry. The three

levels refer to (i) lexical-conceptual structure, (ii) predicate-argument structure, and (iii) morphological realization patterns”.

The lexical-conceptual stage is a pre-linguistic level. The speaker forms a preverbal speech intention at this stage. Once an intention is formed, it activates language-specific semantic-pragmatic feature bundles. The bundles in turn select lemmas⁷. Myers-Scotton and Jake (2000a & b) posit that lemmas are what mediate between the intentions at the conceptual level and the production of grammatical structures, including surface structures. At the lexical-conceptual level, directly elected lemmas supporting content morphemes and indirectly elected lemmas supporting early system morphemes are activated. The ML is also selected at the conceptual level (Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997, Schmitt 2000, Wei 2002).

Once the speaker makes a choice of the ML, that ML becomes more activated than the ELs because it plays a central role in CP frame-building. The ML provides all late outsider system morphemes and most of the content morphemes in mixed speech. That is, the activated language-specific lemmas in the mental lexicon activate CP frame-building morphosyntactic procedures. Thus the differentiation of the unequal partnership of the languages of the speaker occurs at the conceptual level. In addition, through the mediation of the lemmas activated at the lemma level, the language differentiation results in language-specific morphosyntax. The ML and EL(s) are thus clearly distinguished although they do not manifest themselves in their surface forms. The lemma level appears to be synonymous with what Myers-Scotton (2002: 19) calls the predicate-argument structure. She says, “the level of predicate-argument structure deals with how thematic structure is mapped on to grammatical relations. For example, in a specific language, this level may provide for the mapping of Agent to Subject; Beneficiary to Internal Object etc.” At the lemma level, the alternatives of the switched morphemes from the ML and EL(s) are congruence matched (cf. 2.3).

At the formulator level, the lemmas activate the actual morphosyntactic procedures that result in the surface level utterances. This level includes morpheme order and agreement morphology (Myers-Scotton 2002: 19). Jake & Myers-Scotton (1997: 26) succinctly argue that the morphosyntactic procedures “include surface morpheme and constituent order and grammatical inflections and functional elements required by well-formedness conditions in a specific language. Case-marking and subject-verb agreement are examples for morphological realization patterns. Another example is the order of verbs with respect to their subjects”. The authors caution that the surface form of any

⁷ Lemmas are abstract language-specific entries in the mental lexicon which contain all structural information regarding lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure, and morphological realisation patterns required to complete the constituent projected by the content morpheme supported by the lemma (Levelt 1989).

utterance at the morphological realisation pattern depends on the grammatical configurations that the language-specific grammar requires (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a: 1064).

If the Abstract Level model is applied to language processing of a trilingual speaker, it implies that the choice of a ML at the conceptual level clearly distinguishes the speaker's languages between the ML and the ELs. Once the ML is "identified", the frame of a CP and the morpheme position available on the CP to express the intention in the ML also become salient. However, at times, the language differentiation between the ML and ELs recombines so that the language processing does not proceed as ML and EL. When there is such recombining, there is no clear ML and a composite ML results (cf. 6.1).

The Abstract Level model's fine distinctions support the hypothesis that different types of morphemes are activated at three different levels of production, i.e. at the conceptualizer, at the lemma and at the functional levels. This is illustrated in Figure 1.

The 4-M model

The 4-M model is a supportive model of morpheme classification focusing on how morphemes are elected differently during language production. As Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000b: 3) posit, the 4-M model specifies two features for morpheme classification. That is, (i) morphemes are classified as to their status with respect to conceptual activation and (ii) morphemes are classified according to how their forms participate in building larger constituents. Hence three features distinguish four types of morphemes, i.e. thematic roles, maximal projections, and co-indexing elements. According to the 4-M model, the abstract levels in the mental lexicon occasion four morpheme types, namely content morphemes, early system morphemes, and late system morphemes. The latter are further subdivided into late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes. It is on the basis of these four types of morphemes that the new supporting model is called the 4-M (four morphemes) model.

Content morphemes: These occur at the conceptual level. They assign or receive thematic roles. Thus the defining characteristic of a content morpheme is [\pm thematic role assigner/receiver]. Together with the early system morphemes, the content morphemes satisfy the speaker's intentions of speaking. Since content morphemes are chosen to reflect the intentional content of the speaker, they have the ability to occur independently. This is unlike all the types of system morphemes. According to Wei (2002) prototypical content morphemes are nouns, most verbs, descriptive adjectives, most prepositions and freestanding pronouns. Myers-Scotton (2000a) notes that discourse markers also assign thematic roles, but they only do so at discourse and not at CP level.

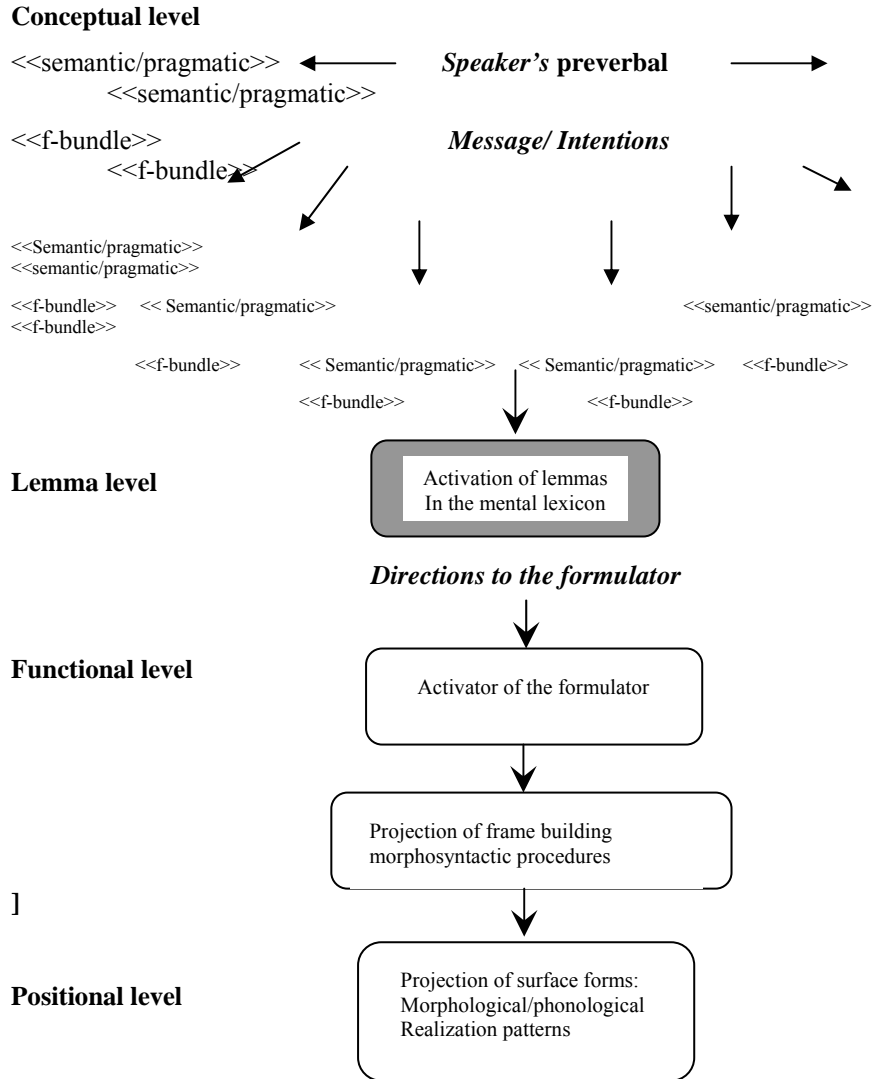


Figure 1: Levels of speech production (adapted from Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a)

She explains that the discourse markers and complementisers can be segmented together with the CP in which they occur (Myers-Scotton 2002: 70, 240 - 1). However, the discourse markers do not participate in the thematic grid of the CP. The content morphemes within a CP's grid assign and receive such thematic roles as Agent, Patient and the like (Myers-Scotton2002: 241).

Myers-Scotton & Jake (2000a: 1058) further caution that “whether or not a particular morpheme assigns or receives a thematic role is language-specific”. Therefore, the model recognises cross-linguistic peculiarities in the mapping of thematic roles onto surface morphemes. For instance, the MLF model is very cautious in its prediction about pronoun insertion among other parts of speech. The authors argue that pronouns do not fall under one classification cross-linguistically (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995, 2000a & b, 2001a). In isolating languages like English, pronouns are content morphemes. But in highly agglutinating Bantu languages such as Ekegusii and Kiswahili, free morpheme pronouns are content morphemes while bound morpheme pronouns are system morphemes. Hence free morpheme pronouns can be sourced from the EL while bound morpheme pronouns can only be sourced from the ML.

Early system morphemes: They are also activated very early in speech production at the conceptual level. They have the feature [+ conceptually activated]. Together with the content morphemes, the early system morphemes contribute to expressing the bundle of semantic and pragmatic features that satisfy the speaker’s intentions. The difference between early system morphemes and content morphemes is in the thematic roles. Content morphemes either assign or receive thematic roles, while early system morphemes neither assign nor receive thematic roles. In addition, they cannot occur independent of heads (content morphemes). Their occurrence does not depend on the speaker’s intention to communicate; rather, their occurrence depends on whether or not the content morpheme needs further conceptual information. This further conceptual information is provided by the early system morphemes.

Myers-Scotton lists the following as examples of early system morphemes: plural affixes, most determiners and verb satellite prepositions⁸. (13) below explicates early system morphemes in Ekegusii.

(13) *Aba-nto ba-kuu-re.*
CL2-person 3PL-die-PRF ‘People have died’.

The class 2 noun marker *aba-* is an early system morpheme. It cannot occur independently of the content morpheme root *-nto* (‘person’). It occurs because the content morpheme requires more conceptual information.

Late system morphemes: The late system morphemes are conceived later in the speech production process at the formulator level. Their presence is not meant to complete semantic/pragmatic feature bundles with their heads; rather, they have grammatical information. The late system morphemes are structurally assigned to

⁸ Myers-Scotton’s handouts distributed at two conferences in Germany; Hamburg, December 15-17, 2000 and Bayreuth 22-24, 2001. Whether or not a morpheme is a content morpheme is language specific.

indicate relations between elements when a larger constituent is constructed (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a: 1063). Thus late system morphemes are selected when directions are sent to the formulator to assemble large constituents, i.e. clauses and sentences. That is, they occur when the small phrases/constituents are being joined to form meaningful and complete constructions that express an intention of the speaker.

According to the 4-M model, late system morphemes are further subdivided into two, namely late bridge system morphemes and late outsider system morphemes.

Late bridge system morphemes: These are “bridges” or connectors as their name implies. They unite morphemes only or also combinations of morphemes into larger constituents, showing their hierarchical relationships. Their occurrence depends on whether the maximal projection (content morphemes expressing the speaker’s intention) requires them. Their surface form differs from language to language. They, therefore, depend on the grammatical configurations that the language specific grammar requires of that projection. The crucial point is that they do not depend on the specific semantic/pragmatic properties of a content head. Examples of bridge late system morphemes include: possessive ‘of’ and expletive ‘it’ in English. (14) exemplifies a bridge late system morpheme in Ekegusii.

(14) Ekegusii-English switching

Setting: At a meeting at Paradise Hotel, Eldoret, to organise a fund raising function for Kisii High School, a speaker explains how the semantics of words used on a card is so restrictive.

Igo ere a bit restrictive to old boys ba Kisii High School.

So it(is) a bit restrictive to old boys of Kisii High School

‘So it (the interpretation of the words on card) is a bit restrictive to the old boys of Kisii High School.’ (Mar 107/8)

The speaker is concerned about the restrictive nature of the language used on the money-collecting sheet. There is a compound NP with two NPs in (14). This is represented in old boys ba Kisii High School. The NPs are: old boys on the one hand, and Kisii High School, on the other. In Ekegusii, the ML of the CP, a bridge is needed to join these two NPs into one. This is provided by the associative *ba* (‘of’). So, Ekegusii *ba* is a late bridge system morpheme because it bridges old boys and Kisii High School to produce old boys ba Kisii High School (‘old boys of Kisii High School’). The associative *ba* is not elected when the NPs are elected by the speaker intentions; instead, it is selected later when the intention to join the two NPs into one is arrived at.

Late outsider system morphemes: They also integrate morphemes into larger constituents. But the late outsider system morphemes are anchored on

grammatical information that is outside of the immediate maximal projection in which they occur. That is, the information they require in order to occur is only available when the formulator sends directions to the formulator level for how maximal projections are unified in a larger construction in the ML of the CP in question. Therefore, they are called “outsiders” because their form depends on information that is available outside the maximal category projected by their own lexical head. Examples include: subject-verb agreement markers, tense-aspect, case in most languages and object clitics among others. Example (13) repeated here as (15) explicates late outsider system morphemes.

(15) Aba-nto ba-kuu-re
 CL2-person 3PL-die-PRF ‘People have died.’

The affix *ba-* (‘third person plural’) on the verb *ba-kuu-re* (‘they have died’) is a late outsider system morpheme for subject-verb agreement while *-re* is also a late outsider system morpheme for perfect aspect. Although *ba-* is an affix on the verb projection, it takes its surface form from the noun projection. That is, it looks outside its maximal projection to access its form. The agreement markers on the verb look outside the verb to the noun to get their surface form. Figure 2 is my impression about the different levels of accessing morphemes and the types of morphemes that are accessed at each level.

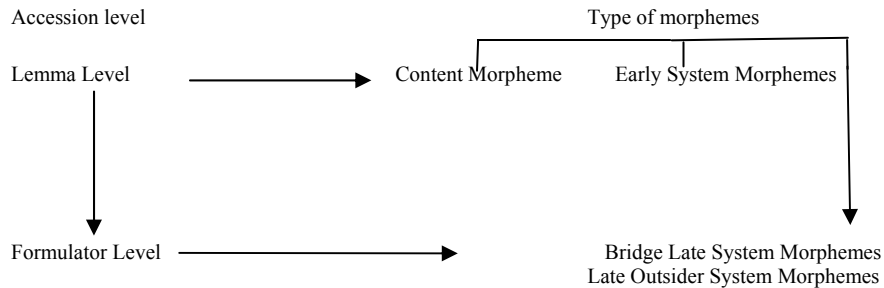


Figure 2: Classification of morphemes and their accession

The assignment of morphemes according to the supportive 4-M model is language-specific.

2.2.4 The three likely constituents

This is the fourth and final pillar of the MLF model. It predicts three types of constituents (Myers-Scotton 1997: 77-78):

- (a) Mixed constituents showing matrix language and embedded language elements, i.e. ML + EL constituents. These are typical classic CS tokens. Ideally, the EL element in a codeswitched CP should be a

single word insertion. However, there can be EL elements with more than a single word insertion. These elements surface as EL islands.

- (b) Embedded language islands are composed entirely of morphemes from the EL and are governed by EL grammar. They are phrasal constituents well-formed in the EL but their positioning in the codeswitched CP is under the control of the ML.
- (c) Matrix language islands. These are entirely composed of lexical elements from the matrix language. They also have a matrix language structure.

These three constituents are explainable through three principles governing intra-CP CS. Two of these (the morpheme order and the system morpheme principles) are the criteria for determining the ML while the third (congruence checking principle) explains why an EL element is selected.

2.2.5 Principles of the matrix language frame model

The Morpheme Order Principle: In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly-occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order will be that of the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995). According to this principle, whenever there is a conflict between morpheme order of the ML and the EL in ML + EL constituents, the ML order is paramount, for example, (16) follows the Kiswahili morpheme order. This is because the English noun *movie* is post-modified in accordance with Kiswahili morpheme order. That is, the modifying demonstrative *ile* ('that') comes after its head *movie*. The consequence here is its terminal position in the entire CP. This is contrary to English morpheme order which favours pre-modification. This makes the CP congruent with Kiswahili morphosyntax.

(16) Kiswahili-English switching

Setting: A female university student tells colleagues about how the South African film industry hired the services of a famous American actress.

Wa-le wa-tu wa South Africa **wa-li-mw-ita a-fany-e movie ile**
 CL3-IND CL3-person of CL3-PST-call 3S-do-SUBJ movie that

'Those people of the South Africa film industry invited her to act in that movie.'
(Lim 142)

The System Morpheme Principle: In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent will come from the ML (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995). This means that early system morphemes must not necessarily be sourced from the ML. But the late outsider system morphemes **must** be sourced from the ML in classic CS. In example (16), the late outsider system morphemes for subject-verb agreement and tense are all sourced from Kiswahili. They include,

wa-li- ‘third person plural’ and ‘past tense’ on the verb **-ita** ‘call’ and **a- -e** ‘third person singular’ and ‘subjunctive’ on **afanye** ‘do’.

Congruence Checking Principle: In order for an EL element to occur in the ML + EL constituent, it must be checked for congruence with its ML counterpart through the Blocking Hypothesis. The Blocking Hypothesis states:

In ML + EL constituents, a blocking filter blocks any EL content morpheme which is not congruent with the ML with respect to three levels of abstraction regarding subcategorization (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997: 120).

Congruence refers to “a match between the ML and the EL at the lemma level with respect to linguistically relevant factors” (Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995: 985). This means: having the same status in all languages, taking or assigning the same thematic roles, and having equivalent pragmatic or discourse functions. Complete congruence is not the condition for classic CS; rather, enough congruence is required. If the equivalent in the EL can clearly convey the speaker’s intentions better than the ML, then it is selected and used in the CS. When there is enough congruence between lemmas of the elements of the competing languages, then, an EL element can be integrated or nativised in a ML framed CP. This means that at the conceptual level lemmas of an ML + EL are matched.

However, if there are congruence problems, two compromise strategies are employed (Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997). If the EL element is a single word, it appears in the ML + EL constituent as a bare form. A bare form means an unintegrated EL element in its original language form and without all the function words and inflections in a CP framed by the ML. An EL island is the second compromise strategy. This involves more than a single word that is fully well-formed in the EL language inserted in a CP framed by the ML. In example (16), Kiswahili is the ML with an English noun movie inserted. It is matched for congruence with its Kiswahili equivalent **filamu**. Lexical-conceptually **filamu** implies the agricultural or political films screened in open fields at night by the Kenya Film Corporation for the public’s entertainment. To the youth, especially the university students, these are old fashioned and boring films. The English equivalent movie implies current and exciting movies that are shown in modern cinema halls at any time of the day. They could also be videocassettes that one can buy or borrow and watch in a private residence. This English noun movie matches what the speaker had in mind and it is selected. So, there is congruence between the Kiswahili and English nouns but the English noun has better connotations. The noun surfaces in its bare English form in that it is morphologically not integrated. This means that it had congruence problems but a compromise strategy in the form of a bare noun was employed to insert it. Figure 3 illustrates the various levels of accessing morphemes and what process takes place at each level.

Chapter Three

Some characteristics of the codes studied and the data

This chapter has two aims. First, it presents some morphosyntactic characteristics of Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng, which are switched in the conversations analysed. This is necessary because determining the ML in switched CPs entails an explicit understanding of the morphosyntactic similarities and differences between the switched codes. In addition, the comparative description of the codes focuses on morphosyntax because according to the MLF model, the two principle criteria for determining the ML are the switched codes' morpheme/word order and their system morphemes. The first part of the comparative morphosyntactic description of the codes involved deals with Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English. It discusses only those morphosyntactic aspects that help to determine the ML in the data of the present study. The second part is devoted to a comparative description of Sheng and Kiswahili. This is because it is necessary to establish whether Sheng is based on Kiswahili morphosyntax as it has been claimed (e.g. Osinde 1986, Echessa 1990, Mazrui & Mphande 1990, Mazrui 1995, Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997 and King'ei 2001) or if it constitutes a morphosyntactically different code. The comparison shows that Sheng's grammar is still largely based on Kiswahili, and that the deviations are not stable yet; Sheng is largely distinct lexically from Kiswahili.

The chapter also introduces the data analysed and gives background information about the speakers of the conversations. A description of each subject's biographical information focusing on how s/he became trilingual and uses her/his codes is offered. An explanation about the situational factors¹ and the codes involved in each conversation is given. Each conversation is then segmented into CPs, the ML determined and a quantitative distribution of the ML on the basis of the topic of discourse is given. Finally, the total distribution of the ML patterns in the entire data is presented.

3.1 Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English

This section presents some salient typological features of Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English regarding classification, number and word/morpheme order in noun and verb phrases. As indicated in chapter 1.1, Ekegusii and Kiswahili are Bantu languages. They are highly agglutinative languages, i.e. words typically consist of a root and one or more affixes. Each affix represents a grammatical category or meaning:

(1) Ek ²	Omari	a-ka-mw-anch-a	omw-ana.
	Omari	3S-PST-3S-like-IND	CL1-child
	'Omari liked the child.'		

¹ The situational factors include: participants, setting/context, time of day and topics of conversation.

² Throughout the analyses the following abbreviations are used: Ek – Ekegusii, Ks – Kiswahili, En – English and Sh – Sheng.

Ks Omari a-ka-m-pend-a m-toto.
 Omari 3S-PST-3S-like-IND CL1-child
 ‘Omari liked the child.’

English is a typologically mixed language with fusional³, isolating⁴ and agglutinative features. Verbs such as *went*, *sang*, *read* and *wept* show how English uses its fusional characteristic to mark the past tense of the verbs *go*, *sing*, *read* and *weep*. Isolating features in English are seen when each notion is expressed by a separate word:

(2) En I will finish this work.

Ek N-in-kor-e eme-remo eye.
 STAB-1S-finish-FUT CL4-work this
 ‘I will finish this work.’

Ks Ni-ta-i-maliza kazi hii.
 1S-FUT-OBJ-finish work this
 ‘I will finish this work.’

The subject, verb and tense in (2) are expressed with three separate words in English while the agglutinating Ekegusii and Kiswahili express the same through bound morphemes on the verb. The use of the regular plural suffix *-s*, e.g. *boys*, *girls*, *dogs* etc., is one way through which English shows its agglutinative characteristic.

Noun classes

Noun classification is one major distinguishing feature between Ekegusii and Kiswahili, on the one hand, and English, on the other. Ekegusii and Kiswahili nouns are classified into classes. A noun typically consists of a nominal prefix and a stem.

(3) Ks	Prefix + Stem	Ek	Prefix + Stem
	m- + tu		omo ⁵ - + nto
	‘person’		‘person’

³ A fusional language has affixes which often mark several grammatical categories simultaneously.
⁴ A purely isolating or analytic language contains only words that consist of a single (root) morpheme. There would be no affixes and categories such as number and tense would therefore have to be expressed by a separate word.
⁵ An Ekegusii noun class prefix is disyllabic with an augment and prefix, e.g. *omo-* in *omo-nto* can be further segmented to *o-mo-* for Augment + Prefix and stem.

Tables 3, 4 and 5 present noun class prefixes for Proto-Bantu, Ekegusii and Kiswahili respectively.

Table 3: List of Proto-Bantu noun class prefixes

- 1 *mu;
- 2 *ba;
- 3 *mu;
- 4 *mi;
- 5 *i;
- 6 *ma;
- 7 *ki;
- 8 *bi;
- 9 *n;
- 10 *n;
- 11 *du;
- 12 *ka;
- 13 *tu;
- 14 *bu;
- 15 *ku;
- 16 *pa;
- 17 *ku;
- 18 *mu;
- 19 *pi;
- (24) *(i);

Source: Meeussen (1967:97);

Table 4: List of noun classes in Ekegusii

1	omo-	omoremi ('a farmer')
1b	mo-	taata ('father')
2	aba-	abaremi ('farmers')
2b	aba-	abataata ('fathers')
3	omo-	omote ('tree')
4	eme-	emete ('trees')
5	eri-	erietta ('name')
6	ama-	amarieta ('names')
7	eke-	egesaku ('clan')
8	ebi-	ebisaku ('clans')
9	e-	ekabira ('tribe')
9a	e-n-	endaagera ('food')
10	ci-	cikabira ('tribes')
11	oro-	oroko ('firewood')
12	aka-	akaana (a small child')
14	obo-	obokoombe ('a hoe')
15	oko-	okogoro ('a leg')
16	a-	ase ('place')
21	ñ	ñamira ('a place name')

Source: Cammenga (2002: 198-200)

Table 5: List of noun classes in Kiswahili

No.	Class	
1	m-	m-tu ('a person')
2	wa-	wa-tu ('people')
3	m-	m-ti ('a tree')
4	mi-	mi-ti ('trees')
5	ji-ji-cho ('an eye')	
6	ma-	ma-cho ('eyes')
7	ki-	ki-tu ('a thing')
8	vi-	vi-tu ('things')
9	n-n-jia ('a path')	
10	n-n-jia ('paths')	
11/14	u-u-limi ('a tongue')	
15	ku-	ku-cheza ('to play, playing')
16	pa-	(definite place, position)
17	ku-	(indefinite place, direction)
18	mu-	(area, 'withinness')

Source: based on Ashton (1947)

Out of the 20 noun classes reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, Ekegusii has retained 20 noun classes (Cammenga 2002: 199) while Kiswahili has 17 noun classes⁶. Both languages share most of the noun classes between noun classes 1 and 16. However, differences exist concerning, on the one hand, noun class 12 and, on the other, noun classes 16, 17 and 18. Ekegusii differs from Kiswahili in that the Ekegusii prefix for noun class 12 *aka-* is a marker of diminutive, augmentative

⁶ The question of noun classification in Kiswahili has attracted the attention of many scholars. For an elaborate exposition see Amidu (1997) and Schadeberg (2001) among others.

and derogatory implication while Kiswahili has lost this noun class. In fact, Kihore, Massamba & Msanjila (2001: 112) have asserted that nouns classified as members of noun class 12, i.e. *katoto* (small inconsequential child), *kavulana* (small inconsequential boy) are a result of the influence of other Bantu languages. Such nouns are largely not acceptable in Standard Kiswahili. Kiswahili expresses both the diminutive and the augmentative implication through noun classes 7 and 8 (*ki-/vi-* for singular and plural respectively). Ashton (1974: 295) has noted that the *ki-/vi-* prefix “sometimes, but not necessarily always, conveys a derogatory implication as well”. In upcountry Kenyan Kiswahili, noun class 12 does exist and is notable through the use of the *ka-* affix on nouns and in subject/object-verb agreement. The use of the *ka-* affix in upcountry Kiswahili could be due to the contact of Kiswahili with other Bantu languages such as Ekegusii, which have retained noun class 12.

Ekegusii has functionally merged noun classes 16, 17 and 18 for “place” into one noun class with the prefix *a-*, which relates it to noun class 16 etymologically. Kiswahili has retained noun classes 16, 17 and 18 for “place” (with proto-Bantu prefixes **pa-*, **ko-* and **mo-* respectively). For instance, the examples given for Kiswahili in Table 1 vide prefixes *pa-*, *mu-* and *ku-* to denote “locative at”, “locative inside” and “locative to” respectively can be expressed with a prefix in Ekegusii:

Table 6: Illustration of Kiswahili and Ekegusii locative noun prefix(es)

Class	Kiswahili		Ekegusii	
16	<i>pa-</i>	<i>mahali panapofaa</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ase aisaine</i> (‘at a good place’)
17	<i>ku-</i>	<i>mahali kunakofaa</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ase aisaine</i> (‘inside a good place’)
18	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mahali mnamofaa</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ase aisaine</i> (‘to a good place’)

As Table 6 illustrates, the agreement prefixes in the NPs in Kiswahili do change across the three classes. However, in Ekegusii the surface form of the prefixes does not change. Thus the nouns in the three classes refer to locations which can be variously signalled in Kiswahili whereas Ekegusii does not do so.

Number marking

One of the functions of the noun class prefixes in Ekegusii and Kiswahili is to mark number. In most noun classes, the prefixes are grouped into singular and plural⁷. English largely⁸ marks number using a suffix:

⁷ It is traditionally argued that the classes are in pairs of singular and plural. However, this position has been challenged by some Africanists who argue that this is a European scholars’ imposition (cf. Amidu 1994).

	Singular		Plural	
(5) Ek	omo-te	omo-be	eme-te	eme-be
	CL3-tree	CL3-bad	CL4-tree	CL4-bad
	'a bad tree'		'bad trees'	
Ks	m-ti	m-baya	mi-ti	mi-baya
	CL3-tree	CL3-bad	CL4-tree	CL4-bad
	'a bad tree'		'bad trees'	
En	'bad tree'		'bad trees'	

3.2 Word and morpheme order

Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English employ the SVO word order in simple declarative sentences:

(6) Ek	Oguku	o-simek-ire	omo-te.
	Oguku	3S-plant-PRF	CL3-tree
	'Oguku has planted a tree.'		
Ks	Oguku	a-me-pand-a	m-ti.
	Oguku	3S-PRF-plant-IND	CL3-tree
	'Oguku has planted a tree.'		

En Oguku has planted a tree.

In spite of having the same word order, differences appear especially when word order flexibility is considered. English is mostly a rigidly positional language and word movement is not allowed. Some degree of word order flexibility is allowed in Ekegusii and Kiswahili. For example, there exist differences concerning the position of the question word in interrogative sentences. The question word in English always takes the sentence-initial position. However, the interrogative word takes either sentence-initial or second position in Ekegusii while in Kiswahili it usually takes the sentence-final position:

(7) Ek	John	ng'ai	a-re?	~	Ng'ai	John	a-re?
	John	INT	3S-is		INT	John	3S-is
	'Where is John?'				'Where is John?'		

⁸ Exceptions exist where an infix is used to mark plural, i.e. men, women etc.

Ks	John yu-ko wapi?	~	+Wapi yu-ko John?
	John CL1-is INT		INT CL1-is John
	‘Where is John?’		‘Where is John?’
En	Where is John? ~		+John is where?

The second example of the English interrogative sentence is ungrammatical because the question word must take the sentence-initial and not the sentence-final position. The Kiswahili example also shows that the movement of the question word from sentence-final to sentence-initial position results in ungrammaticality. However, if the context is clear, the placement of the interrogative word in the sentence-initial position is stylistically possible in Kiswahili. In addition, it appears that the placement of the question word sentence-initially is acceptable in spatial interrogative sentences. In this case, the referent must be definite:

(8) Ks	a. Wapi Juma?	b. Wapi kalamu?
	Where Juma	Where pen
	‘Where is Juma?’	‘Where is the pen?’

The phenomenon of word order flexibility is more evidently attested when the word order in phrases such as NPs and VPs is considered.

3.2.1 Noun phrases

The word order in an NP can generally be either pre-modifying (i.e. head-last) or post-modifying (i.e. head-first). Ekegusii and Kiswahili are post-modifying languages while English is a pre-modifying language:

(9) Ek/Ks	NP	→ N Modifiers
En	NP	→ Modifiers N

The modifiers considered here include adjectives, determiners (articles, demonstratives) and possessives.

Adjective:. Adjectives in Ekegusii and Kiswahili usually follow the head while in English the adjectives precede the head:

(10) Ek	omo-gaambi	omo-be	
	CL1-leader	CL1-bad	‘a/the bad leader’
Ks	ki-ongozi	m-baya	
	CL7-leader	CL1-bad	‘a/the bad leader’
En			‘a/the bad leader’

The elements before ‘bad’ in the Ekegusii and Kiswahili examples are modified by the adjectives *omobe* and *mbaya* respectively. In the example from English, the element *bad* modifies *leader*. However, there is one exception in Ekegusii and Kiswahili. The adjective *ker*a ‘every’ in Ekegusii and *kila* ‘every’ in Kiswahili precede their head:

- (11) Ek *ker*a omogaambi ‘every leader’
 Ks *kila* kiongozi ‘every leader’

Articles: Whereas English has articles for indicating definiteness (*the*) or indefiniteness (*a* and *an*), the concept of definiteness in Ekegusii and Kiswahili is interpreted contextually. In (10), for instance, it is not clear whether *omogaambi omobe* and *kiongozi mbaya* are definite or indefinite in Ekegusii and Kiswahili. But in English definiteness or indefiniteness has to be marked obligatorily.

Demonstratives: Demonstratives appear after the noun they modify in Ekegusii. In Kiswahili, there is some word order flexibility. Although demonstratives appear after the head noun, they can also appear before the head they modify. Therefore they can have the same word order as the English NP:

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| (12) a. Post-modification | | b. Pre-modification |
| Ks kalamu hii | ~ | hii kalamu |
| Pen this ‘this pen’ | | ‘this pen’ |
| Ek e-karamu eye | ~ | +eye e-karamu |
| CL9-pen this | | this CL9-pen |
| ‘this pen’ | | ‘this pen’ |
| En +pen this’ | | ‘this pen’ |

The English example in (12a) is ungrammatical since it is post-modified. All demonstratives must come before the head according to English syntax.

Possessives: Steinbergs (1998: 385) observes that there is a somewhat weaker preference for the N + Genitive order in SVO languages with respect to possessive structures. This type of possessive construction is used in all the three languages studied:

- (13) Ek omosani + bwa Agoki
 friend + of Agoki ‘friend of Agoki’
 Ks rafiki + ya Agoki
 friend + of Agoki ‘friend of Agoki’

En ‘friend of Agoki’

In addition to the N + Genitive possessive structure, English also exhibits the Genitive + N pattern of possessive construction (Steinbergs 1998: 385):

- (14) a. ‘Gesare’s dog’ b. ‘mother’s tea’
c. ‘Nyaboke’s shoes’

Possessive constructions using a clitic as in (14) are not possible in both Ekegusii and Kiswahili.

Prepositions: According to Hufford (1997: 190), a preposition is a (typically small) word that occurs before a noun phrase, making another phrase (a prepositional phrase) with it. The term itself reflects the grammatical place of prepositions, ‘positioned before’ noun phrase. Prepositions typically express relationships in time or space between things and events. English uses free morpheme prepositions to express the relationships, i.e. *to the car*, *after the research*, *for a while* etc. However, Ekegusii and Kiswahili use both monomorphemic prepositions and other strategies.

The free morpheme prepositions in Kiswahili include *kwa* (‘to’, ‘from’, ‘at’, ‘with’, ‘through’ etc.), *katika* (‘in’, ‘to’, ‘at’, ‘from’ etc.), the connectives [-*a*] and *na*. *Pasipo na* (‘without’), *karibu na* (‘near to’) etc. are examples of complex prepositions combining with the simple preposition *na*. In addition, there are complex prepositions such as *juu ya* (‘above’), *chini ya* (‘below’, ‘under’), *nyuma ya* (‘after’, ‘behind’) and *mbele ya* (‘in front of’). The free morpheme prepositions in Ekegusii include the simple preposition *ase* (‘to’, ‘from’, ‘at’, ‘with’ etc.), *ime* (‘in’), *na* (‘with’, ‘through’), and the complex preposition *igoro ya* (‘on’). Examples are:

- (15) Ek N-ko-geend-a n-re ase omosani one.
 1S-INF-go-IND S-PRS to friend mine
 ‘I am going to my friend’s place.’
- Ks Ni-na-end-a kwa rafiki yangu.
 1S-PRS-go-IND to friend mine
 ‘I am going to my friend’s place.’

Ekegusii and Kiswahili also use verbal derivations to introduce additional participants in a construction, mainly by means of the applied form of the verb:

- (16) Ek Rug-er-a aba-na
 cook-APPL-IND CL2-child
 ‘cook for children’

morpheme whereas Kiswahili can at times⁹ express it through a bound morpheme that is placed on the verb's fifth structural position.

Tense

According to Bhatt (1999: 13), tense is an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event (or situation). Tense has also been defined as the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered (Payne 1997: 236). This is because time itself does not have distinguishable marks on it. Therefore, tense has to make use of some other event which occurs before, simultaneously or after the event under consideration as the reference point for indicating its temporal location. On the basis of the foregoing, it is

Conventional to assume that there are just three basic tenses, namely past, present and future (Hufford 1999: 239). But Hufford cautions that when one looks at the different ways in which languages express distinctions related to time, one generally finds a more complicated picture, and often a picture that does not reflect the simple past, present and future division.

Different languages display differences in marking tense. For instance, the difference between an Ekegusii and a Kiswahili inflected verb becomes more evident in certain tenses. The differences between Ekegusii and Kiswahili are pronounced when marking past tense. Kiswahili has only one past tense marker, namely the prefix *-li-*:

(18) Ks	U-li-toboa	tundu	
	2S-PST-made	hole	'You made a hole.'

However, Ekegusii has four past tenses (Whiteley 1965; Kingston 1983). These include 'a long time ago', 'yesterday', 'this morning' and 'just earlier today'. These "pasts" are distinguished through prefixes or discontinuous tone-bearing morphemes before and after the verb stem:

⁹ The other form of signalling a relative clause in Kiswahili is through the use of **amba-** plus the relevant relative clause morpheme which is otherwise prefixed to the verb. The **amba-** relative also comes just before the verb like in Ekegusii.

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 8: Pasts in Ekegusii¹⁰

Time			Marker
'long time ago'	bá-a-minyog-éte 3PL-PST-run-PST	'They ran long time ago'.	-a- éte
'yesterday'	bá-a-minyoka 3PL-PST-run	'They ran yesterday'.	-a-
'this morning'	bá-á-minyog-ete 3PL-PST-run-PST	'They ran this morning'.	-á- -ete
'earlier today'	bá-á-minyoka 3PL-PST-run	'They ran earlier today'.	-á-

The Ekegusii morpheme order is different in “what is known as the Simple Perfect in English, and the *-me-* form in Swahili” (Whiteley 1965: 10). Ekegusii marks the simple perfect with a suffix while Kiswahili marks it with a prefix:

(19) Ek	O-rug-ire. 3S-cook-PRF 'S/he has cooked.'	Ks	A-me-pika. 3S-PRF-cook 'S/he has cooked.'
---------	---	----	---

The consecutive tense is marked with the same morpheme *-ka-* in both languages. The morpheme in Ekegusii is subject to Dahl's Law¹¹ for which reason it may surface as either *-ga-* or *-ka-*. If the first form turns up, Ekegusii and Kiswahili can be distinguished:

(20) Ek	A-ka-geenda mogoondo. 3S-PST-go farm 'S/he went to the farm.'	Ks	A-ka-enda shambani. 3S-PST-go farm 'S/he went to the farm.'
---------	---	----	---

Ekegusii and Kiswahili also show differences in marking the present continuous tense (NONPAST). This is because Ekegusii uses a complex form while Kiswahili uses a simple form:

(21)	Ek	N-ko-remá STAB-NONPST-dig	n-re. 1S-PRS	'I am digging.'
	Ks	Ni-na-lima. 1S-NONPST-dig		'I am digging.'

The difference in the morpheme order between Ekegusii and Kiswahili is also attested in marking the future tense:

¹⁰ Examples from Kingston (1983:42).

¹¹ According to Dahl's Law, when two adjacent consonants are aspirated, the first one loses its aspiration and becomes voiced.

(22) Ek	N-o-rem-e STAB-2S-dig-FUT	ege-sima. CL7-well	‘You will dig a well.’
Ks	U-ta-chimba 2S-FUT-dig	ki-sima. CL7-well	‘You will dig a well.’

3.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process which duplicates all or part of the base of a word to mark a grammatical or semantic contrast. Full reduplication is widely used in Ekegusii and Kiswahili. Besides signaling both grammatical and semantic contrast, it is used stylistically either to stress something or for pejorative purposes. Ashton (1947: 316-317) asserts that reduplication in Kiswahili serves four functions and three of these are achieved through full reduplication. Full reduplication in Kiswahili can express various levels of intensity, show distribution of an idea or indicate a continuous action. Reduplication also serves to lessen or intensify the force of something, i.e. *alia lia* ‘s/he whimpers’, *kutanga tanga* ‘roaming about’ etc. All these functions also exist in Ekegusii, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Reduplication in Ekegusii and Kiswahili

Function	Kiswahili	Ekegusii	Meaning
Intensity levels	vipande vipande	ebike ebike	‘in bits’
Idea distribution	-tatu -tatu	-tato -tato	‘in threes’
Action continuity	-fanya fanya	-kora kora	‘do repeatedly’
Lessen/modify	alia lia	akorera rera	‘s/he whimpers’

In addition, Ekegusii can express the intensity of an action through an inflected verb and a verbal noun:

(23)	-geenda go	oko-geenda CL15-go	‘indeed go’
	-sooma read	ogo-sooma CL15-read	‘indeed read’
	-teenga dance	ogo-teenga CL15-dance	‘indeed dance’

According to O’Grady & Guzman (1998: 143) the process of morphological reduplication is not used in English.

3.3 Sheng

As indicated in chapter 1.1, Sheng is a street language originally used in the Eastlands of Nairobi but now widespread in most Kenyan urban centres (Ngesa 2002). It has been claimed that Sheng is “basically Swahili with lots of lexical items from English, Kikuyu and Dholuo” (Kießling & Mous 2001: 8) plus innovated words. (24) exemplifies Sheng:

(24) **Ha-ko ka-dem mimi ni-ta-ka-seti**
 CL13-DEM¹² CL13-dame me IS-FUT-CL13-beat

ka-ki-ni-let-e-a noma
 CL13-COND-1S-bring-APPL-IND problems

‘I will beat that girl if she gives me problems’.
 (Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997:57)

This sentence has Sheng words from various sources. The noun *kadem* is sourced from the English noun ‘dame’ but its meaning has slightly shifted to refer to one’s girlfriend. The verb *seti* is sourced from the English word ‘set’. However, it has a new meaning, ‘beat’. The other verb *-letea* ‘bring for’ is sourced from Kiswahili but its meaning in Sheng is ‘give problem’. The noun *noma* is coined. It refers to problems in this sentence. Otherwise, its meaning fluctuates between problems and nuisance (Moga & Fee 1997). The noun *noma* is deleted in most Sheng instances and the verb *-letea* is used to imply ‘bring problems’. The demonstrative *hako* ‘that’ is used in accordance with noun class 13 for pejorative diminutivisation in some Kenyan Bantu languages or up-country Kiswahili. The noun class 13 agreement marker *ka-* is also reflected on the noun *ka-dem* ‘the inconsequential girl’ and the Sheng verbs *ni-ta-ka-seti* (‘I will beat her’) and *ka-ki-ni-let-e-a* (‘If she brings problems’).

The present section investigates whether Sheng constitutes a morphosyntactically different code from Kiswahili or it is a sociolect that is based on Kiswahili. Most studies on Sheng claim that the source of Sheng’s morphosyntax is Kiswahili (e.g. Osinde 1986, Echessa 1990, Abdulaziz & Osinde 1997, Kießling & Mous 2001, King’ei 2001). If this assertion is true, then the claim has two implications to the present study. First, an analysis of CS data involving Sheng, which invokes the Morpheme Order Principle so as to determine the ML will not lead to a differentiation between Kiswahili and Sheng. Second, late system morphemes namely, the infinitive markers, the noun class markers and the subject-verb agreement markers should all be sourced from Kiswahili and they must conform to Kiswahili grammar. I attempt a comparative examination of Sheng and Kiswahili morphosyntax based on word order, concord markers and reduplication to ascertain whether Sheng is a morphosyntactically different code from Kiswahili or not.

¹² Interlinear translation supplied by me.

3.3.1 Word order in sentences

Declarative Sentence: A simple Sheng declarative sentence shows that Sheng conforms to the SVO word order just like Kiswahili:

- (25) a. **Yu-le goli a-li-nyaka bolii fiti sana**¹³
 CL1-DEM goalkeeper 3S-PST-catch ball good very
 ‘That goalkeeper nicely caught the ball.’
goli ‘goalkeeper’ < English ‘goalkeeper’
bolii ‘ball’ < English ‘ball’
fiti ‘nice’ < English fit ‘nice’

- b. **Hedii wa hiyo shulee hu-peleka**
 Headteacher of that school HAB-take

Ka-dinga ka-zee

CL13-car CL13-old

‘That school’s headteacher drives an old car.’

hedii ‘headteacher’ < English ‘headteacher’
shulee ‘school’ < Kiswahili ‘school’
dinga ‘car’ < innovated

Copula Sentence: A copula sentence in Kiswahili typically uses the copula verb *ni*, *-wa*, or *ndi-* (Closs, Kondo & Mbaye 1967; Wesana-Chomi 1978; Abdulaziz 1996).

- (26) a. Malkia ni Valentine. b. Onu ni mwalimu.
 queen COP Valentine. Onu COP teacher
 ‘(The) queen is Valentine.’ ‘Onu is (a) teacher.’

A Sheng copula construction takes up two alternative forms. Some Sheng affirmative copula constructions overtly use a Kiswahili copula verb *ni*.

- (27) a. **Yu-le m-guy ni m-had sana.**
 CL1-DEM CL1-guy COP CL1-difficult very
 ‘That gentleman is very difficult (to deal with).’

guy ‘gentleman’ < English ‘gentleman’
had ‘difficult’ < English ‘hard’

¹³ Except for the examples whose source is indicated in brackets, all examples used in this section are taken from Echessa (1990). I have supplied the interlinear translation in all examples.

- b. **Na-fikiri huyo m-zunye ni m-tuarist**
 1S.NONPST-think that CL1-white person COP CL1-tourist
 ‘I think that white person is a tourist.’

Mzunye ‘white person’ < Kiswahili **mzungu** ‘European’
mtuarist ‘tourist’ < English ‘tourist’

However, there are other Sheng copula constructions with an innovated structure. They show an ellipsis of the Kiswahili copula verb¹⁴. On the surface, they look like a multiword NP with a chain of modifiers but a copula construction is implied:

- (28) a. **Mazee yu-le m-chiile ma-stoneface.**
 Colleague CL1-DEM CL1-girl CL6-ugly
 ‘That girl is ugly.’

mazee ‘colleague’ < Kiswahili **mzee** ‘old man’
mchiile ‘girl’ < English child ‘girl’
mstoneface ‘ugly’ < English stony face ‘ugly’

- b. **Yu-le m-guy m-tolii**
 CL1-that CL1-guy CL-tall ‘That gentleman is tall.’

mguy ‘gentleman’ < English guy ‘man’
mtolii ‘tall’ < English ‘tall’

In Kiswahili, the deletion of the copula *ni* is only acceptable if the sentence is stylistically marked. However, the occurrence of Sheng copula sentences without the Kiswahili copula verb *ni* is supposed to be unmarked.

Interrogative sentences: The interrogative word in a simple interrogative Sheng sentence takes up either the sentence-final or the sentence-initial position. These are Kiswahili word-order patterns. There exist Sheng instances where the surface form consists of all English morphemes or all Kiswahili morphemes and the sentence’s frame is set by Kiswahili grammar:

- (29) a. **It’s how?** ‘How are things?’
 b. **Ni vipi?** ‘How are things?’

- (30) **I-le watch i-me-mak-i-w-a na goro, ama?**
 CL9-DEM CL9-PRF-mark-APP-PASS-DEM with gold, or

¹⁴ Closs, Kondo & Mbaye (1967) claim that the absence of the copula is acceptable only in spoken but not written Kiswahili. In this case, the copula sentence must be signalled by intonation in order to avoid ambiguity. To my knowledge, none of the subsequent investigations talk about the absence of the copula in sentences. Instead, the studies, notably Wesana-Chomi (1967) are critical of Closs, Kondo & Mbaye’s (1967) stand.

‘Isn’t that watch marked with gold?’

goro ‘gold’ < English ‘gold’

The questions in (29) represent salutation in Sheng. Although (29a) has all English surface morphemes and (29b) has all Kiswahili surface morphemes, their word order is Kiswahili-based. That is, they both have a sentence-final question word. The two sentences can map onto each other word for word. The cliticised English *it’s* can map onto the Kiswahili copula *ni*. Kiswahili *vipi* is a direct counterpart of the English question word *how*. Although (29b) has all Kiswahili surface morphemes, it is typical of a Sheng greeting form because it is not heard in Standard Kiswahili. (30) also has a sentence-final question word. It is notable that Sheng studies have not reported instances where the interrogative word takes the sentence-initial position.

3.3.2 Word order in phrases

Noun Phrase: Word order in a Sheng NP is identical to that in a Kiswahili NP, which is typically head-first (cf. 3.2.1):

- (31) a. **wa-see** **wa-poa**
 CL2-person CL2-cool ‘good persons’
- b. **ma-nyakee** **wa-noma**
 CL6-person CL2-nice ‘nice ladies’
- c. **m-demu** **m-sawa**
 CL1-lady CL1-good ‘beautiful lady’

In addition, the Sheng NP can also have a head-last word order. This takes place in instances involving demonstratives just as is the case in Kiswahili (cf. section 3.2):

- (32) a. **U-me-dim** **hiyo buke?**
 3S-PRF-finish that book
 ‘Have you finished (reading) that book?’
- dim** ‘finish’ < English dim ‘finish’
 buke ‘book’ < English ‘book’
- b. **A-li-fos-ish-wa** **ku-marry** **huyo dem.**
 3S-PST-force-CAUS-PASS INF-marry that dame
 ‘He was forced to marry that lady.’
- fosishwa** ‘forced’ < English ‘force’
 dem ‘dame’ < English ‘dame’

3.3.3 Concord

Many Sheng surface system morphemes are apparently sourced from Kiswahili. However, Sheng constructions do not appear to have a regular pattern of the Kiswahili-type of concord. Affixes from various noun classes are arbitrarily used in Sheng sentences unlike the case in Kiswahili grammar. In the NP, there is usually no Kiswahili-type of concord:

- (33) a. *Zi-le ma-haoo ni posh.*
 CL10-DEM CL6-house COP good
 ‘Those houses are good.’

haoo ‘house’ < English ‘house’
posh ‘posh’ < English ‘posh’

- b. *Ni-bai-i-e hi-zo mi-something*
 1S-buy-APPL-SUBJ CL10-DEM CL4-something
 ‘Buy those things for me.’

-baïie ‘buy for’ < English ‘buy for’
misomething ‘valuable item’ < English something
 ‘treasure’

- c. *Basi tu-konekt ma-saa hi-zo zi-ngine*
 then 1PL-connect CL6-time DEM-CL10 CL10-another
 ‘Then let us meet at some other time.’

konekt ‘meet’ < English connect ‘meet’
masaa ‘time’ < Kiswahili *saa* ‘time’

- d. *U-ta-ni-gei hi-zo ma-ndio z-a kobole*
 2S-FUT-give DEM-CL10 CL6-banana CL10-ASS five
 ‘Will you give me bananas for five shillings.’

-gei ‘gave’ < English ‘gve’
mandio ‘bananas’ < Kiswahili *ndizi* ‘banana’
kobole ‘five shillings’ < Gikuyu *kobole* ‘five fingers’

Kiswahili grammar requires affixes in order to show subject-verb-object agreement in a construction. For example, in (33a) the NP *zile ma-haoo* has the Sheng noun *haoo* as its head. Since the noun has the *ma-* prefix for noun class 6, the correct agreement affix on the preceding demonstrative *zi-le* ‘those’ should have been *ya-* (*ya-le*) ‘those’ of noun class 6, if it were Kiswahili. Instead it is given the noun class 10 prefix. The lack of Standard Kiswahili-type of concord is also repeated in (33b), where *mi-something* is the head of the NP *hi-zo mi-something* ‘those valuables’. Since the *mi-* prefix identifies the head-word’s noun

class as 4, the correct Standard Kiswahili surface morpheme of the demonstrative should be noun class 4 **hiyo** ‘that’ and not the noun class 10 prefixed demonstrative **hizo**. The head-word of the NP **ma-saa zi-ngine** ‘other time’ in (33c) is **ma-saa** ‘time’, whose prefix is noun class 6. Standard Kiswahili grammar would require the NP’s modifier to take up noun class 6 affixes and therefore surface as **masaa hayo mengine**. (33d) further shows the mixing of noun class 6 and noun class 10 affixes. The head-word of the NP **hi-zo ma-ndio z-a kobole** ‘those bananas for five shillings’ is **ma-ndio** ‘bananas’. The root **-ndio** has a noun class 6 surface form **ma-**. So its demonstrative should be **hayo** and not **hizo** while the associative should be **ya** and not **za**. It is evident that the NPs in (33) have no Standard Kiswahili-type of concord. If indeed Kiswahili sets the frame of Sheng grammar, then, the requirement of concord in Kiswahili grammar should also be attested in Sheng. NPs lacking Kiswahili-type of concord preponderantly constitute Sheng. So far, what seems to occur frequently and regularly is that noun class 10 concord is used as a general concord marker for non-animates.

However, Kiswahili-type of concord is largely manifest in verbal phrases:

- (34) **Ni-bai-i-e zi-le bigibigi ingalao za-kost palu**
 1S-buy-APPL-SUBJ CL10-DEM big.big at.least CL10-cost pound
 ‘Buy for me the big ones which cost at least twenty shillings.’

-bai ‘buy’ < English ‘buy’
bigibigi ‘big’ < English big ‘big ones’
-kosti ‘cost’ < English ‘cost’
palu ‘pound’ < English pound ‘twenty Kenya shillings’

- (35) **Si-boong-i na yeye,**
 1S.NEG-talk-NEG.FV with her/him

a-li-jam-ish-a chiile wa mine
 3S-PST-annoy-CAUS-FV girl of mine
 ‘I do not talk with her/him because s/he annoyed my girlfriend.’

-boongi ‘don’t talk’ < coined **boonga** ‘talk’
-jam ‘annoy’ < English jam ‘annoy’
chiile ‘girlfriend’ < coined **chiile** ‘girlfriend’

In (34), the noun class 10 concord marker **za-** on the verb **za-kosti** agrees with the NP **zi-le bigibigi** ‘those big ones’. Although the head-noun of the NP is absent, the presence of the demonstrative **zi-le** that is marked for noun class 10 implies that the head-word is a noun class 10 noun. In (35), the verb **si-boongi** ‘I don’t talk’ implies that the subject is first person singular. In accordance with Kiswahili grammar, negation in the first person singular is appropriately marked by **si-**. In addition, the verb root **-jam-** in **a-li-jam-isha** ‘s/he annoyed’ is

appropriately inflected in line with Kiswahili verbal inflection positions (cf. 3.2.2) for 3S-PST-annoy-CAUS. The verbal inflection is however incomplete since it lacks the obligatory object marker **-m-** that should be placed between the tense marker and the verb root in accordance with Standard Kiswahili so as to surface as *alimjamisha*. A further blend of complete and incomplete concord in Sheng is attested in (36a) and (36b).

- (36) a. **Yu-le** *m-dem* *u-like* *ku-ji-shoo*
 CL1-DEM CL1-dame CL1.HAB-like INF-RFL-show
 ‘That girl likes showing off.’

mdem ‘girl/lady’ < English dame ‘girl/lady’
like ‘like’ < English like
shoo ‘show’ < English show

- b. *Ma-tio* *z-ake* **ni** *ka’* **za** *mi-mathee*
 CL6-breast CL10-POSS COP like CL10-ASS CL4-mother
 ‘Her breasts resemble old women’s breasts.’

matio ‘breasts’ < Kiswahili **matiti** ‘breast’
mimatha ‘mothers’ < English mothers (Echessa 1990)

The whole of example (36a) conforms to Standard Kiswahili-type of concord for both the NP and VP. The head-word of the NP **yule** *mdem* is *m-dem*, which is integrated into Kiswahili through noun class 1 with the affix *m-*. The demonstrative is appropriately marked as noun class 1 with the prefix **yu-**. In the VP, the habitual tense marker *u-*¹⁵ for noun class 1 on the verb *ulike* is also in line with the subject **yule** *mdem* ‘that lady’. (36b) partially conforms to the Kiswahili-type of concord in the entire sentence. The NP and part of the predicate are appropriately marked with noun class 10 agreement markers. However, the speaker classifies the noun *matha* ‘mother’ as belonging to noun class 4 and marks it with **mi-**. The marking for noun class 4 confirms that there is no regular classification pattern for concord in Sheng. For instance, the Sheng pattern in examples (27a & b), (28a & b) and (36a) shows that the Sheng nouns referring to human beings are marked with noun class 1 marker **m-** in their singular form. But there are other instances where nouns referring to human beings are zero morpheme marked as in the cases of *dem* (cf. example [32b]) and *chiile* (cf. example [35]). There appears to be no regular agreement pattern. It should be noted that Sheng instances with complete Standard Kiswahili-type of concord are very rare. Therefore, with a minuscule Standard Kiswahili-type of concord in Sheng, the claim that Kiswahili sets the grammatical frame for Sheng is questionable. Perhaps Mazrui’s (1995: 176) observation that “Sheng’s Swahili is

¹⁵ The surface form of the habitual marker *u-* is an allomorph of the correct form *hu-* in standard Kiswahili.

acquiring its own distinctive features” seems to be true. In addition, Sheng appears to be taking up morphological processes like reduplication that are reminiscent of other Bantu languages such as Ekegusii.

Reduplication constructions: Mutaka (2000) asserts that reduplication is a common process in African languages that provides some particular meaning to the word or the reduplicated word may also have an idiosyncratic meaning. It occurs in Kiswahili as seen in section 3.2.3. However, most reduplicated constructions reported in Sheng data are not identical to those witnessed in Kiswahili; rather, they look like those in Ekegusii. Section 3.2.3, shows that a reduplicated construction in Ekegusii can consist of an inflected verb and a cognate infinitive. Sheng also uses reduplicated constructions of a verb and a cognate infinitive to indicate the intensity of an action:

- (37) a. **A-me-tuna ku-tuna.**
 3S-PRF-sleep INF-sleep ‘He is fast asleep.’
tuna ‘sleep’ < Sheng innovation
- b. **Ni-li-soma ku-soma**
 1S-PSt-read INF-read ‘I read a lot.’
 (Mazrui 1995)

The examples in (37) can only be interpreted if one has knowledge of the Ekegusii-type of reduplication. This knowledge is also crucial in determining the ML in reduplicative codeswitched constructions in the present study. The constructions have all surface morphemes from Kiswahili and English yet they are based on the Ekegusii morphosyntax of reduplicative constructions (cf. 6.2.2). This type of reduplication is not limited to Ekegusii. It might be observable in other languages. I have only referred to Ekegusii since I know it and it is within the scope of the present study. Further, there is evidence that some features of Sheng are identical with Ekegusii grammar. For instance, there exist instances where Ekegusii can be determined as the base of Sheng since it also supplies the concord markers on Sheng words:

- (38) a. Na-ba-teeb-iri e-story e-nooma (Mnom 26/27)
 1S-2PL-tell-PRF CL9-story CL9-interesting
 ‘I have told you a good story.’
nooma ‘interesting’ < coined ‘interesting’
- b. ko-hanya tu. ‘Just roam around’ (Kem 201)
 INF-roam around just
-hanya ‘loiter’ < coined

In (38a), the Sheng adjective *nooma* ‘interesting’ in the Ekegusii-English-Sheng switched NP *e-story e-nooma* ‘an interesting story’ is used in an Ekegusii-based CP. The NP’s English head-word *e-story* is morphologically integrated into Ekegusii through noun class 9 marker *e-*. The Sheng adjective *nooma* is also morphologically integrated by the same marker (through Ekegusii noun class 9 marker *e-*). This integration shows that Ekegusii can also supply the grammatical frame for Sheng. In (38b), an infinitive VP with a Sheng verb *-hanya* ‘roam around’ is used. The infinitive verb *-hanya* is modified by the Kiswahili adverb *tu* ‘just’ while the infinitive marker is sourced from Ekegusii *ko-* and not the Kiswahili *ku-*:

Table 10. Summary of Kiswahili and Sheng similarities and differences

Feature	Kiswahili	Sheng
Agglutination	+	+
SVO declarative sentence	+	+
Use of copula Kiswahili ni	+	±
Same word order interrogative sentence	+	+
Post-modification	±	±
Kiswahili-type of concord	+	±
Only Kiswahili-sourced affixes	+	-
Reduplicative constructions	±	+
Stable lexicon	+	-

It appears that Kiswahili and Sheng share some aspects of morphosyntax. Word/morpheme order in Sheng largely conforms to the Kiswahili word/morpheme order. The positions of grammatical morphemes on inflected Sheng words also appear to be identical to those in Kiswahili words. In addition, there appears to be a shared surface form of some of the inflectional affixes on both Sheng and Kiswahili words. However, these affixes do not always follow the type of concord required by Kiswahili syntax when they are used in Sheng constructions. Furthermore, the affixes are used on Sheng lexemes regardless of whether they are sourced from Kiswahili, English, other Kenyan indigenous languages or the coined ones. As a result, it has been claimed that Sheng is not readily intelligible even to Kiswahili speakers although it sounds like Kiswahili (Ngesa 2002). Nevertheless, the presence of several morphosyntactic similarities between Sheng on the one hand, and Kiswahili and other Bantu languages such as Ekegusii on the other, implies that it is possible to identify Sheng lexemes but it is difficult to posit a Sheng morphosyntax. Based on the foregoing analyses, the present study identifies Sheng as a social code with distinct lexemes. Sheng participates in CS as another code (a social code) largely identifiable through its lexemes but it does not set the frame for any switched instance.

3.4 The data

This section introduces the subjects who participated in the research through the nine recorded conversations. I explain who the participants were, their background, the setting and the CS data in the various discourse topics in each conversation. Based on the CP's ML, I present tabular summaries of the patterns of CS CPs involved in each topic of the conversations recorded. For each ML pattern, the first language is the ML while the subsequent ones are ELs. For example, Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English means that it is a CS pattern where Ekegusii is the ML and Kiswahili and English are the embedded languages. Any CP that does not yield a clear ML is considered a case of composite CS16.

I start with those conversations which were recorded in Kisii town and then proceed to those that were recorded in Eldoret town. The characteristics of the subjects in each conversation are summarised in Table 11. In order to preserve the subjects' privacy, their real names have been changed and only pseudonyms are used.

3.4.1 The conversations

Omw Conversation

The Omw conversation took place at Kisii Bus Park. There were three participants in this conversation, namely: Omw, Dun and Kera. All the three male participants are university graduates. Kera aged 31 with a Masters' degree, went through the 7-4-2-3 system of education while Omw and Dun (both aged 25) went through the 8-4-4 system of education¹⁷. Omw had just graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree while Dun was to graduate in a week's time. All the speech participants' parents are Abagusii.

Kera was born and brought up in Gusiiland with Ekegusii as L1. He speaks Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English without any difficulty. He learnt English and Kiswahili in school but was not examined in Kiswahili at primary school level. His major subjects of study at the university were History and Kiswahili.

¹⁶ As explained elsewhere, composite ML is codeswitching where a codeswitched CP sources its abstract structure from more than one language.

¹⁷ 7-4-2-3 means seven years of primary education, four years of secondary schooling, two years of high school and at least three years of university education. 8-4-4 means eight years of primary education, four years each of secondary and university education. The 7-4-2-3 system of education was followed in Kenya from 1963 to 1984 when the 8-4-4 system of education was introduced. In the former system, Kiswahili was not examined at the end of primary level and it was an optionally taught subject in secondary schools in 1984. Hence, it was not emphasised and many of its graduates prefer English to Kiswahili. In the 8-4-4 system of education, Kiswahili is a compulsorily taught and examined subject in primary and secondary school levels.

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 11: Summary of all conversations

Conversation	Participants	Age	Gender
Omw	Omw	25	Male
	Dun	25	Male
	Kera	31	Male
Mat	Mat	42	Male
	Anan	37	Male
	Onu	31	Male
Mnom	Kef	18	Male
	And	18	Male
	Bro	17	Male
Gir	Kef	18	Male
	And	18	Male
	Omo	17	Male
	Alex	18	Male
	Deno	17	Male
Caro	Al	21	Female
	Caro	22	Female
	Jim	18	Male
	Chad	17	Male
	And	28	Male
Rash	Rash	34	Male
	Kwamb	28	Female
Mar	Prof	68	Male
	Rain	67	Male
	Oke	46	Male
	Mig	40	Male
	Keb	43	Male
	Jak	41	Male
	Bos	50	Male
	Onu	31	Male
	Sam	39	Male
Oti	43	Male	
Lim	Emi	28	Female
	Caro	22	Female
	Al	21	Female
	Kem	21	Female
	Eva	18	Female
Kem	Emi	28	Female
	Caro	22	Female
	Al	21	Female
	Beat	21	Female

Omw grew up in Gusii. He acquired Ekegusii at home while he learnt Kiswahili with playmates at home and at school too. He was examined in Kiswahili at the end of primary and secondary school levels. At the university, he was taught in English only.

Dun was born and brought up in Nairobi where his Abagusii parents lived and worked. He learnt Kiswahili and Gikuyu through peers at home as these are the predominant languages in Nairobi. His parents also mainly spoke to him in Kiswahili with very little Ekegusii. He is not fluent in Ekegusii. But at the time of

recording, he was learning it at the rural school in Gusii where he was teaching. He learnt English and French in school and was a high-school teacher of French at the time of the conversation. His closest friends are Gikuyu speakers. He therefore, uses Gikuyu, Kiswahili and English with them.

The conversation recorded at Kisii Bus Park involves Kiswahili, Ekegusii and English. Dun's Gikuyu friends pass by the place where the spontaneous recording is taking place. Dun speaks to them in Gikuyu. The Gikuyu speech, though captured, is not used as Gikuyu is out of the scope of this investigation.

The discussion has four topics. First, there is an introduction where Omw requests Dun and Kera to introduce each other as they are meeting for the first time. The second topic is about transport where Dun explains that he is looking for means to travel to his rural residence. Third, there is a discussion on Dun's impending graduation. Finally, the interactants talk about life in Kirwa - the place where Dun is presently a teacher. The distribution of CPs is as tabulated in Table 12.

Mat Conversation

This conversation was recorded in a street in Kisii town at 9.30 pm. It involves three males: Chris, Anan and Onu. Chris is a 42-year-old trained primary school teacher. He rose through the ranks to be an Education Officer (EO) and was at one time an Executive Secretary of the local branch of the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT). He was brought up with Ekegusii and learnt English and Kiswahili in school. He mainly uses Ekegusii for informal trade union interaction with teachers. However, he can speak good English and Kiswahili. He is very talkative and dominates the talk.

Anan is a thirty-seven year old civil servant in Nairobi. He holds a Bachelors degree. He was brought up using Ekegusii and later learnt Kiswahili and English in school. He uses Kiswahili with non-acquaintances outside the office in the streets of Nairobi. In the office, he mainly uses English with very little Kiswahili. He is reticent and talks very little. Onu, 31, recorded the conversation and therefore reduced his participation to mere facilitation. The garrulous Chris dominates the discussion, which goes through the following discourse topics: unequal pay between teachers and civil servants, the miserable life of teachers, corrupt District Commissioners (DCs), merry making in bars, corrupt Head Teachers, good salary for some teachers, petty corruption by Chiefs and corrupt Education Officers (EOs). The CPs are realised as in Table 13.

Mnom Conversation

Participants in the present conversation (Mnom conversation) and the next two conversations (i.e. Gir and Caro conversations) are high school and university

students. They were recorded at Nyabururu, Kisii.

The Mnom conversation took place along the Kisii-Kisumu highway at Nyabururu area in Kisii. The conversation involves three high school boys in Form 4, i.e. Kef, Andr and Bro. Kef and Andr are 18 while Bro is 17. Bro did the recording.

Bro discloses to the friends about his recording and that the interest is in code switching. Since the boys know that they are being recorded, they not only switch Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English but also introduce Sheng lexicon, which is common with youngsters of their age group. Their talk shifts through six topics. They talk about the tape-recording, make fun of some teacher, a school prefect, some car driver, their friend's behaviour and finally, they talk about Kef's uncle. The CPs are distributed as Table 14.

All the boys' parents are native Ekegusii speakers but the boys were born and brought up in Kisii town. Kiswahili is widely spoken in Kisii town unlike in the countryside because Kisii is a commercial centre where people of other ethnic groups either live or visit for business. Children brought up in Kisii town learn Kiswahili almost concurrently with Ekegusii. So did the participants in this conversation. They even prefer Kiswahili, the language of town, to Ekegusii. However, they are fluent in Ekegusii, which they use with their parents and other older people. They mainly study in English at school. They also speak Sheng.

Gir Conversation

This conversation took place along the Kisii-Kisumu highway and proceeded on to And's home in Nyabururu area of Kisii town. The participants are And (18), Kef (18), Deno (17), Omo (17) and Alex (18). All are high school boys and good acquaintances. They attend boarding schools but are at home for holidays when the recording is done. It is a Friday and schools are to open the following Tuesday.

Omo and And are walking back home from the town centre when they meet Deno on the way. Deno has an old magazine, which Omo and And admire and wish to borrow. Deno declines to lend it to them saying it is his friend's but Omo and And insist and Deno yields. Omo and And then discuss their intention to go out for a disco at night and want to know if Deno would join them. At this moment, Alex arrives. He is willing to join them to the disco if they extend him some financial support. They decline and he goes away. Meanwhile, Deno agrees to join And and Omo later on in the disco.

After this, And and Omo proceed with their walk towards And's home. They discuss about their girlfriends and Omo sends a verbal message to his girlfriend through And. He plans to meet her in the disco at Kisii Sports' Club before the

schools reopen.

All participants are native Ekegusii speakers with Abagusii parents. They learnt Ekegusii at home and some Kiswahili with friends as they live in the outskirts of Kisii town. Besides, they learnt the youth code, Sheng, which they had perfected in their boarding schools. In boarding schools young boys and girls speak Sheng and Kiswahili outside classroom although most school authorities discourage the use of Sheng (King'ei 2001). Its influence on the mastery of Kiswahili grammar is considered negative. The boys also learnt English in school. In this conversation, about four discourse topics, namely greetings, a newspaper, disco and girl are discussed in Kiswahili, Ekegusii, English and Sheng are used. The distribution of CPs is as seen in Table 15.

Caro Conversation

This recording was done at Nyabururu in Kisii. The participants include: Jim (18), And (18) and Chad (17), who are male high school students as well as Caro (22) and Ali (21), who are female university students. All have Abagusii parents. Except Caro who was brought up in Nairobi and Mombasa, the rest were brought up in Kisii town. Caro speaks fluent Ekegusii since it is predominantly used at home although she grew up in Nairobi. She also learnt Kiswahili and Sheng from playmates. At school she learnt more Kiswahili and English. The rest of the participants learnt Ekegusii from their parents and some Kiswahili and Sheng from their playmates in Kisii town. They learnt English and more Kiswahili in schools as they went through the 8-4-4 system of education. All participants can therefore understand Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng.

The conversation is about a public sales promotion organised by the Coca Cola Company, Kisii branch. Two main discourse topics are discussed, namely: "Ndombolo" dance style and public show. The CPs distribution is as shown in Table 16.

Rash Conversation

This conversation took place in a lawyer's (a native Omogusii) office in Eldoret town. The participants are: the male lawyer Rash, aged 34, and a female client Kwamb, aged 28. Both are of Abagusii parentage. Rash grew up in rural Gusii up to age nine when he joined his father, who was working in Eldoret town. He did his primary and secondary education in the 7-4-2-3 education system. His father's policy and practise at home was to use mainly Ekegusii with very little Kiswahili. This was in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when some Sheng (the youth code) had spread to Eldoret. At school, English was the official language of instruction with some Kiswahili being used for expounding issues at the primary school level. During school holidays, Rash could return to rural Gusii where he used only Ekegusii. After secondary school, he spent two years of high school in Gusii before proceeding to India where he studied law in English. In the office, he

mainly speaks English mixed with Kiswahili and/or Ekegusii with colleagues depending on whether they are Abagusii or not. He speaks Kiswahili to non-Abagusii clients who did not speak English while he uses English with those who could speak it. When dealing with Abagusii clients, he uses either a combination of Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English or English and Kiswahili depending on whether they are acquaintances or not. The client, Kwamb, is his acquaintance since she is his very close friend's wife and he often visits the client and her husband at their residence.

The female client is a holder of a Masters degree in Information Sciences. She was brought up in rural Gusii. She had a head-start in education, as both her parents were teachers who often gave her extra tuition at home. Although English was the language of education, the language used at home was Ekegusii. English was only used during tuition. In addition, although she went through the 8-4-4 system of education, Kiswahili was not given any emphasis. Kiswahili was taught as a subject but it was not examined. She passed her end-of-primary school exams well enough and joined one of the prestigious Catholic sponsored national girls' school in Limuru near Nairobi in the mid 1980s. The school still retains a colonial policy from the white sisters who started it. That is, a lot of emphasis is put on mastering English and not Kiswahili. Subsequently, she polished her English at the expense of her Kiswahili. She rarely speaks Kiswahili even to non-Ekegusii speakers unless they cannot speak English.

The conversation is conducted in a free and friendly atmosphere devoid of officialdom. The client has come to seek advice to sue her former employer who has failed to pay her for teaching in his private school. One could expect this legal issue to be conducted in English. However, their relationship enables them to conduct the business in three languages. It involves a preamble where the lawyer explains the delay in preparing suit documents. He then leads her through as she signs the documents. After this, they discuss how to open a suit file. Finally, they talk about the payment of initial legal fees. In the entire discussion Kwamb uses only one Kiswahili word, **kwanza** 'first' (Rash 19), while all the utterances with Kiswahili are attributed to the lawyer.

There are, however, two interruptions in the discourse. The first interruption is when Rash's Ekegusii-speaking colleague talks to Rash as he is leaving the office (Rash 13-16). Their talk is in three languages. The second interruption is when Rash asks his colleague to calculate the legal fee of the financial claim over which the client is suing (Rash 31-34). This is done in English and Kiswahili only as this colleague is a non-Omogusii. Table 17 shows the distribution of the CPs.

Mar Conversation

The recording was done at Paradise Bar, owned by a leading Ekegusii speaking lawyer-cum-businessman in the Eldoret town. The bar provides a hall where

Abagusii hold meetings free of charge to discuss issues such as fundraising, funeral arrangements, welfare etc. I used to be one of the faithful members and patrons of the bar. I attended almost all meetings and gave my contributions - financial or otherwise. Most people were therefore my acquaintances.

The Mar conversation recorded is a preparatory meeting for a fundraising function for Kisii High School. Present are the organiser, a 68 years old professor of education at Moi University (Prof); the proprietor of the bar, a lawyer (Rain), aged 67; three university lecturers (Mig - 40, Keb - 43, Onu - 31); an accountant (Oke - 46); a driver (Sam - 39); a mason (Bos - 50); a cleaner (Jak - 41) and a lumberjack (Oti - 43) - all men. All had at least Form Four education except the mason. The lawyer and the professor were in primary and secondary schools in the late 1950s and early 1960s when English and not Kiswahili was emphasised in education. Ethnic languages also received no emphasis. This policy was adopted at independence through the 7-4-2-3-education system. Apart from the professor and the lawyer, all the participants in this conversation went through this system.

All participants mainly use some form of Kiswahili (not Standard Kiswahili) at their places of work apart from the lecturers and the lawyer, who use English. Use of Ekegusii dominates at home and with fellow Abagusii. However, the lawyer is married to a Luhya wife and all his domestic workers are Luhya. Therefore, he mainly uses Kiswahili with them while he uses English with his wife and children. However, he is fluent in Ekegusii. The driver and the mason do not use English. The rest speak good English apart from the cleaner who makes two mistakes in this conversation. The speech of the mason, lumberjack and cleaner is not analysed in this study. This is because: (1) the mason had less than Form Four education, (2) the lumberjack uses only Ekegusii and (3) Jak's contribution is largely monolingual English. Table 18 shows a summary of the CPs in the discourse.

The discussion is dominated by the meeting organiser (Prof) and the lawyer with a few interruptions from a fourth form drop-out¹⁸ who is a cleaner of one of the buildings in Eldoret town. Whereas Prof tries to accommodate to the level of everybody by mainly speaking Ekegusii, the cleaner mainly uses English - the language of prestige. CS involves English and Ekegusii. There is no instance of Kiswahili usage except for numerals. The majority of the participants are passive.

Lim Conversation

This conversation was held in the researcher's house. All the five participants (Emi, Caro, Lise, Kem and Eva) are female. The conversation takes place in the sitting room where the speech participants are watching television, reading a

¹⁸ A drop-out is a student who stops schooling before s/he completes the course that s/he is registered for.

newspaper and relating various events in their lives. Some topics are interrupted and then continued shortly after or they are only picked up long after several other topics have been covered. Four of the participants are native Ekegusii speakers and are (at the time of recording) either university students or graduates. They are aware about the metaphors associated with the various language varieties they speak. The distribution of the CPs is as shown in Table 19.

Ema (28) is the Kwamb of Rash conversation while Caro (22) is the same Caro in Caro conversation just as Lise (21) is Ali of Caro conversation. Kem (21) is a classmate of Lise at law school. She is of Abugusii parentage and was brought up in various parts of the country where the parents worked. She learnt Ekegusii at home, Kiswahili and Sheng from colleagues and English at school. Eva is an 18 year old native Teso-speaking house help. She is a Form Four drop-out and falls outside the scope of this study. She actively participates in only two initial short discourse topics.

Kem Conversation

This conversation also took place in the researcher's residence. Three of the participants, i.e. Caro, Ali and Beat, pay the researcher and his assistant a visit. The assistant has been out of the house and the visitors only find the researcher in the house. After a brief conversation, the researcher leaves the participants in the house as he rushes to a convenient store. He switches on the concealed recorder before he goes out. As soon as he leaves, the research assistant comes in and the conversation transcribed ensues. Caro (aged 22), Beat and Al (both aged 21) are university students at Moi University at the time of recording while Emi is a Masters degree holder also from Moi University. These are the same participants as those in the preceding conversation but recorded on different days. All the participants are female. The conversation covered eleven discourse topics whose CPs are summarised in Table 20.

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 12: CP distribution in Omw conversation

DT ¹⁹	Total CPs	Ek	Ks	En	Gik	Ek/Ks		En/Ek	En/Ks	Ek/Ks/En
Introduction	17	12	3				1	1		
Transport	23	11		7		3	2			
Graduation	27	10		13		1	3			
ting	22	12	1	5			1		2	1
Kirwa	24	15	1	3	3	1	1			
Total	114	60	5	28	3	5	9	1	2	1

¹⁹ For all tables, Comp CS = Composite CS, DT = Discourse Topic, Ek = Ekegusii, Ek/Ks = Ekegusii-Kiswahili, Ek/En = Ekegusii-English, En = English, En/Ek = English-Ekegusii, En/Ks = English-Kiswahili, Gik = Gikuyu, Ks/En = Kiswahili-English, Ks/Sh = Kiswahili-Sheng, Ek/Ks/En = Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English, Ek/Sh/En = Ekegusii-Sheng-English, En/Ks/Sh = English-Kiswahili-Sheng, Ks = Kiswahili, P = Pattern, Sh = Sheng

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 13: Mat CPs summary

DT	Total	Ek	Ks	En	Ek/Ks	Ek/En	En/Ek	Ek/Ks/En	Comp CS
Unequal pay	25	16		2		7			
Life misery	45	32			8	5			
Corrupt DCs	41	23	4	2		12			
Bars	19	14		4			1		
Corrupt teachers	57	36		1		18	2		
Good pay	9	4		2		2	1		
Petty corruption	29	23			3	3			
Corrupt Os	67	56		2	4	8		1	1
Total	297	204	4	13	15	55	4	1	1

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 14: CP distribution in Mnom conversation

DT/P	Total	Ek	Ks	En	Ek/Ks	Ek/En	Ks/En	Ks/Sh	Ek/Ks/En	Ek/En/Sh	En/Ks/Sh
Taping	7	3	1			3					
Omogusii	10	5	3				2				
MT interference	14	1	2	3	1	1	3	2	1		
Driver	6	3				2		1			
Funny boy	14	1	8			1		3		1	
Uncle	13	4	5	1	2						1
Total	64	17	19	4	3	7	5	6	1	1	1

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 15: CP distribution in Gir conversation

DT/P	Total	Ek	Ks	En	Ek/Ks	Ek/Sh	Ek/En	Ks/Sh	Ks/En	Ek/Ks/En	En/Ks/Sh
Greetings	18	11	3	1		1	1	1			
Newspaper	19	9	2		1		2	1	5		
Disco	43	4	27	2	2		3	2	6		
Girl	88	8	35	12	1				27	1	1
Total	168	32	63	15	4	1	6	4	37	1	1

Table 16: CP summary in Caro conversation

DT	Total	Ek	Ks	En	Ek/Ks	Ek/En	Ks/En	Ks/Sh	Ks/Ek	En/Ek	Ks/En/Sh	Comp
Ndombolo	9	5	1		1	2						1
Coca cola	99	43	19	6	4	15	7	1	2	1	1	2
Total	111	48	20	6	5	17	7	1	2	1	1	3

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 17: CP distribution in Rash conversation

DT	Total CPs	Ek	Ks	En	Ek/Ks	Ek/En	En/Ek	Ek/Ks/En	Comp
Preamble	14	7		3	1	3			
Signing Document	11	1		5	3	1		1	
Interruption	10	4	2	3		1			
Opening File	20	6	1	10	1	1		1	1
Interruption	5		4	1					
Initial Payment	44	22		13		5	3	1	
Total	105	40	7	35	5	11	3	3	1

Table 18: CP summary of Mar conversation

Discourse Topic	Total CPs	Ek	Ks	En	Ek/Ks	Ek/En	En/Ek
Background	66	41		1	3	21	
Suggestions	54	21		10	1	20	2
Reorganisation	37	17		8	1	10	1
Choice of date	22	8		8		5	1
Advert Format	38	10		12		12	4
Total	217	97		39	5	68	8

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 19: CP distribution in Lim conversation

	Total	Ek	Ks	En	Ks/En	Ek/En	Ek/Ks	Ks/Ek	Ks/Sh	En/Ek	En/Ks	Ks/Sh/En	Comp
Welcome	13	4	9										
Pants	75	2	44	14	14						1	1	
Newspaper	17		12	2	3								
Pageant	47	2	7	32	1	1					4		
Interlude 1	9		3	5				1					
Vacation	29	3		19	3						4		
Matrimony	43	2	14	17	6				1		3		
Interlude 2	9	2	5		1								
Uganda	14	3	3	7	1								1
Peacekeeping	84	6	16	55	4	1		1			2		
Food burning	5	1	3				1						
Television 1	8	1	1	2	4								
Exams	10	1		8	1						2		
Baby	1			1									
Whoopy	22	1	6	12	4							1	
Sudanese	15		5	7	2						1		
Pageant	29		5	17	3						4		
Interlude 3	9	4	3	1	1								2
Television 2	11	1	1	4	5								
Baby 2	15	8	2	4	1								
Peacekeepers	41	2		32		5				3	2		1
Total	502	43	123	240	54	7	1	2	1	3	23	2	4

Characteristics of the codes studied and the data

Table 20: CP distribution in Kem conversation

DT	Total	Ek	Ks	En	Ks/Sh	En/Ks	Ek/Sh	En/Ek	Ek/Ks	Ek/En	Ks/En	En/Sh	Ek/Ks/En	Ks/Sh/En	Comp
Welcome	17	7	5	1						2	2				
Baby	16	5	6	4											
Exams	33	4	3	15		1	1		3	2	2				
Pants	82	17	9	15		2		1	2	3	32		1		1
Off Uni.	7		1	3							3				
Hair dress	77	4	19	34	1	5		1	4	8		1			1
So lost	19	2	10	1					1	2					
Reading	36	19	2	10	1					1			1		1
Joblessness	7	2	2							1	1			1	
Mature Uni. entry	59	8	1	35			2	1		5	5				
Problems	111	34	7	43	4	1		1	2	9	6	1			
Total	454	106	57	167	6	10	3	4	12	33	51	2	2	1	3

I have presented a picture of the conversations that have provided the data for this inquiry. The description of the speech participants in the various conversations shows that all the active interlocutors have a good trilingual level of competence. But their proficiency can only be vouched for based on Kenyan varieties of English (cf. Skandera 1999; Schmied 2000) and upcountry Kenyan Kiswahili. Skandera (1999) and Schmied (2000) concur that a lot remains to be done to document not only Kenyan English but also various varieties of this English. However, their preliminary studies reveal some structural and semantic deviations between the English that is spoken and written in Kenya (including newspapers) and Standard English. In addition, Kenyan English also varies depending on one's ethnic background (Schmied 2000: 616).

3.4.2 Summary of the switched material

The data from all the foregoing conversations in terms of the total quantity of CPs involved and their patterns is summarised in tables. Tables 21 to 23 give a picture of the total distribution of CPs in the entire corpus. Table 21 shows the number of bilingual CP patterns deduced in the data and their distribution. Table 22 shows the number of patterns of trilingual CS CPs realised and their quantitative distribution. Table 22 shows the total amount of monolingual CPs that were used alongside the codeswitched CPs in the entire corpus.

Table 21: CP patterns in bilingual CS

CS CP Pattern	Frequency Count	%
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	55	11
Ekegusii-English	206	41
Kiswahili-Ekegusii	4	0.8
Kiswahili-English	148	29
English-Kiswahili	34	6.7
English-Ekegusii	24	4.7
Ekegusii-Sheng	4	0.8
Kiswahili-Sheng	18	3.5
English-Sheng	2	0.4
Composite CS	7	1.4
Total	502	

Table 22: Trilingual CS CP patterns

CS Pattern	Number of Tokens	%
Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English	8	44
Ekegusii-Kiswahili-Sheng	1	6
Ekegusii-English-Sheng	1	6
Kiswahili-English-Sheng	6	33
Composite CS	2	11
Total	18	100

Table 23: Monolingual CPs

Code	Tokens	%
Ekegusii	647	43
Kiswahili	302	20
English	547	36
Gikuyu	3	0.2
Total	1499	100

For the remaining part of this thesis, I analyse the CS data based on the predictions of the MLF model. Although I have presented quantitative details of my data, qualitative considerations are more central than quantitative considerations. A quantitative analysis makes sense when dealing with a much more extensive corpus (Nortier 1989: 155) than mine. In total, I have 520 codeswitched CPs out of a corpus of 2019 CPs. In my analysis, the occurrence of

a phenomenon is considered crucial whether or not the occurrence constitutes a higher or lower percentage. When a constituent occurs only once, it is not given too much weight.

Chapter Four

Analysis of trilingual codeswitched data

This chapter tests the predictions of the MLF model on trilingual CS CPs with two aims in mind. First, it attempts to determine the matrix language in the trilingual codeswitched CPs. Second, it tries to explain the speech production mechanisms a trilingual speaker employs in order to realise a trilingual switched CP. The determination of a CP's ML is based on the MLF's principles, namely the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme principles (cf. 2.3). I invoke the MLF model's Abstract Level and 4-M supportive models to explain the speech production processes which a CP goes through before it surfaces.

4.1 Patterns of trilingual codeswitching

Altogether 18 trilingual CS CPs involving four codes, namely Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng have been found in the data. The 18 CPs represent 3 % (N = 18 out of 520) of the entire codeswitched CPs. They are classified into five patterns. The first language mentioned in each pattern is the ML:

Table 24: Trilingual CS patterns

<u>Pattern of CS</u>	<u>No of CPs</u>
Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English	8
Ekegusii-Kiswahili-Sheng	1
Ekegusii-English-Sheng	1
Kiswahili-English-Sheng	6
Composite	2
Total	19

Table 24 shows all the 18 trilingual CS CPs. They comprise switches involving the three languages with stable grammars (Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English) and the fourth language (Sheng), which has no stable independent grammar. The table also shows that 2 out of the 18 trilingual CS CPs have a composite ML. Meanwhile, Table 25 summarises the CS CP patterns involving Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English excluding Sheng:

Table 25: Patterns of trilingual CS CPs excluding Sheng

<u>Pattern of CS</u>	<u>No of CPs</u>
Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English	8
<u>Composite ML</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>10</u>

Table 25 shows that the largest share of trilingual CS CPs (N = 8) has Ekegusii as the ML. These appear in five out of the nine transcribed conversations, namely Mat, Rash, Omw, Mnom and Lim. The English ML pattern has two CS instances which were realised in Lim and Gir conversations (cf. 3.4.1) while the composite ML pattern has two codeswitched CPs.

4.2 Trilingual CS between Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English

In the following sections, I test the ML prediction on the trilingual CS CPs. The ML in CS refers to a language whose morphosyntax determines the structure of a codeswitched CP while the other participating languages (ELs) are less dominant in determining CS structure. The ML vs. EL relationship in a codeswitched CP can be summarised as:

$$\text{CS CP} = \frac{\mathbf{A + B + C}}{\mathbf{A}}$$

A, B and C are labels of different codes in a CS CP. The denominator A is the CP's ML upon which all the switched languages are structured while B and C are ELs. The analyses in this study are based on morphosyntax in line with the MLF model. I invoke two criteria to determine the ML:

1. The ML is the language whose morpheme (lexical and/or grammatical) order sets the frame of the switched CP.
2. The ML is the language which provides the late outsider system morphemes in the switched CP. Examples of late outsider system morphemes include markers for person, number, tense/aspect, infinitives and stabilisers¹.

¹ Zima (1998) defines stabilisers as morphemes or sets of morphemes either of a free or bound nature which assume either certain grammatical features of a nominal character (gender, number or concord with their nominal heads if standing in a noun phrase or of a verbal character if standing in a verbal phrase. Stabilisers express a sort of absolute existence or non-existence vaguely located in the real world or any area in it. Often they are translated in English constructions as "it is". For example, *n-omoibi* (STAB-thief) translates to "It is a thief." A stabiliser in Ekegusii emphasises the existence. It appears to be pre-modifying in that it precedes the morpheme it stabilises. (For an elaborate exposition see Zima 1998).

Phonological analyses, especially regarding tone, are not provided in the MLF model as well as in the present study. In addition to determining the ML, I also explain how the switched CP is produced on the basis of the MLF's supportive Abstract Level and 4-M models. Three stages of speech processing are identified, namely (i) the conceptual level, (ii) the lemma level and (iii) the formulator level (cf. 2.2.3).

The first part of the analysis (4.2.1) focuses on the trilingual CS CPs involving the languages with stable grammars, namely Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English. The second part (4.2.2) deals with the trilingual CS CPs involving languages with stable grammars, on the one hand, and Sheng, on the other. The composite codeswitched CPs are analysed in Chapter 6.

4.2.1 Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English codeswitching

There are 8 instances of the Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English CS ML pattern. This is 80 % (8 out of 10 including composite CS CPs) of the total codeswitched CPs involving the grammatically stable codes in the study. The speakers' choice of Ekegusii as the ML tallies with claims that if the participants share a first language, then that first language is often the ML (Myers-Scotton 1997a: 96). The eight Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English CS CPs are now analysed one after the other.

Setting: An approved graduate teacher² and former executive secretary of the Kisii branch of the teachers' union talks to two friends, both educated up to the university, in a Kisii town street about the union's feeling about corrupt education officers.

(1) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

e-union e-ko-go-**tangaasa**³ (Mat 138/9)

CL9-union CL9-NONPST-2S-announce

'The teachers' union will scandalise you.'

(1) is a full SVO CP where the speaker inserts an English

² In the Kenyan context, an approved graduate teacher is one who does not have university qualifications but after several years' teaching experience, s/he is promoted to the approved teacher status which gives him/her equivalent status to that of a teacher with university qualifications.

³ This is not Standard Kiswahili orthography; rather, it represents the Ekegusii pronunciation by the participant.

noun union and a Kiswahili verb **-tangaasa** ('announce/scandalise') into positions that would be filled by Ekegusii equivalents *ekeombe* (for union) and *raria* (for **-tangaasa** 'announce') respectively. The CP's frame is Ekegusii since all the late outsider system morphemes for subject-verb agreement, which according to the ML prediction must come from the ML, are from Ekegusii. The late outsider system morphemes include the subject marker *e-*, the nonpast tense marker *-ko-* and the second person singular object marker *-go-* on the verb **-tangaasa**.

The Abstract Level and 4-M models help to explain how the CP is processed. According to the morpheme classification of the 4-M model, the inserted noun union and the verb **-tangaasa** are content morphemes. The inserted English and Kiswahili words have Ekegusii integrating⁴ affixes, which are early and late system morphemes respectively. According to the MLF theory's supportive Abstract Level model, the CP goes through three stages of speech processing. At the conceptual level, the speaker forms an intention to talk about the teachers' union and how it denounces corrupt education officers. Lemmas⁵ representing the speaker's three codes are activated but not equally. According to the MLF model, language separation and therefore the choice of the ML also occurs at the conceptual level (Wei 2002: 11). So, Ekegusii is elected as the ML at the conceptual level. According to the Abstract Level model, language processing moves to the second level, namely the lemma level. Here, lemmas supporting the semantic-pragmatic bundles of the participating codes are activated for the switched English noun union and the Kiswahili verb **-tangaasa**. At the same level, lemmas for the noun union indirectly elect the relevant Ekegusii noun class 9 marker as an early system morpheme for morphological integration into Ekegusii. Therefore, two processes occur at the lemma stage. First, lemmas supporting the content morphemes union and **-tangaasa** are directly elected. Secondly, lemmas underlying union indirectly elect the early system morpheme *e-*, which is affixed on union.

⁴ Integration can be phonological and/or morphological. A phonologically integrated EL element takes on the ML pronunciation so that its syllable structure is also identical with that of the ML. Morphologically, the EL element takes on the ML affixes if the ML requires them.

⁵ Myers-Scotton & Jake (1995: 987) have defined a lemma as a carrier of lexical structure and an associated predicate-argument structure and concomitant morphological realisation patterns. So a lemma is not a lexical item; rather it supports such an item. In this thesis, a lemma is what underlies a morpheme. It is used in its plural form to refer to various morphemes either from one language source or more than one language source.

Since more than one code is involved in structuring the CP a third process occurs at the lemma level. The process involves congruence checking⁶ of the semantic-pragmatic features of the English noun union and its Ekegusii and Kiswahili equivalents, on the one hand, and the Kiswahili verb **-tangaasa** against its Ekegusii and English equivalents, on the other. The inserted English noun union is matched for congruence against its counterparts, namely Ekegusii *ekeombe* and Kiswahili **muungano/umoja**. The English noun union is selected as opposed to its Ekegusii and Kiswahili equivalents. This is because union is semantically unambiguous as opposed to the Ekegusii *ekeombe* and the Kiswahili **muungano/umoja** equivalents. When one talks about union in the context of the teaching profession in Kenya, it is clear s/he is referring to the giant national union of teachers (KNUT). However, when one talks about *ekeombe* it reminds one of the small-scale communal groups working together on traditional village farms. The Kiswahili counterpart is also ambiguous since the language uses either **muungano** or **umoja** for union. **Muungano** has political connotations such as referring to the union of Zanzibar and Pemba islands plus Tanganyika mainland to form Tanzania. **Umoja** is ambiguous because it could also refer to 'unity' and not necessarily 'union'. Against the backdrop of the foregoing congruence matching, the English noun union has better and clear semantic-pragmatic connotations. This content morpheme union is morphologically integrated into Ekegusii through the attachment of the early system morpheme *e-* (noun class 9 marker) and it surfaces as *e-union*.

The MLF model predicts that, as the foregoing language processing for the noun **union** is happening, there is simultaneous congruence matching between *-raria* ('announce'), its Kiswahili-origin equivalent **-tangaasa** and the English counterpart announce. *-raria*, which is the Ekegusii equivalent of **-tangaasa**, is commonly used in radio broadcasts for obituary announcements. It is rarely heard in day-to-day conversations and especially among the youth. Instead, the nativised Kiswahili verb **-tangaasa** is used. Among the Abagusii, the English content morpheme announce is associated with the formal channel of spreading information, i.e. radio or newspapers. So the integrated Kiswahili verb **-tangaasa** is the most plausible content morpheme to use as it does not imply using public address systems or any other formal channel. Hence **-tangaasa** is selected. Ekegusii grammar requires that there must be subject-verb agreement between the subject union and the verb **-tangaasa**. Ekegusii grammar further requires that the surface form of the agreement markers is determined by the subject (noun).

⁶ 'Congruence' is "a match between the ML and the EL at the lemma level with respect to the linguistically relevant features" (Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995: 985). It is a match for the semantic-pragmatic feature bundles of the EL content morphemes against their equivalents in the ML. Congruence matching helps to explain what motivates the selection of an EL and not an ML element. As seen in section 2.2.5, there must be sufficient/enough but not total congruence between the EL and ML equivalent items before the EL element is selected. Congruence checking ensures that the EL word has the same status, takes or assigns the same thematic roles and has equivalent semantic-pragmatic functions with the ML equivalent. If there is total congruence, then no EL element is inserted. Instead an ML element is selected.

Subsequently, the late outsider system morpheme *e-* for subject, *-ko-* for tense and *-go-* for the object are sourced from Ekegusii and affixed to **-tangaasa**. The processing of the CP moves to the third level (formulator level) where it surfaces as a trilingual CS CP with Ekegusii as the ML.

A similar procedure of language processing is followed in (2):

Setting: In a lawyer's office in Eldoret town, a lawyer tells a client to sign a second document.

(2) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

Peke yake o-sign eye **peke yake** (Rash 15)
only 2S-sign this only
'Sign this one [document] only.'

Ekegusii is the CP's ML. Ekegusii word order is not only followed but the CP's late outsider system morpheme *o-*, which is a morpheme for second person singular subject-verb agreement that is affixed on the English verb sign is also sourced from Ekegusii.

The CP has a Kiswahili discourse marking⁷ phrase **peke yake**, a single inserted English verb sign and an Ekegusii noun that is substituted for by a pronoun *eye* ('this'). As earlier shown (cf. 2.2 under content morphemes), discourse markers, verbs and free morpheme pronouns are content morphemes according to the MLF model's supportive 4-M model. The model however distinguishes discourse markers as content morphemes at the discourse level.

The insertion of the switched morphemes into the Ekegusii-framed CP is realised after going through the processes of the Abstract Level and the 4-M models as follows. The CP analysed is a response to the other interlocutor's question whether the present listener is expected to sign another document besides what she had already signed. The speaker responds in the affirmative by stressing what is to be signed using the Kiswahili discourse phrase **peke yake** ('only'). First, one language, here Ekegusii, is selected as the ML at the conceptual level. At the lemma level, a lemma pointing to a discourse phrase for stress is activated and those lemmas pointing to the addressee (object) and the expected action (verb) are elected. Lemmas for the Kiswahili discourse phrase **peke yake**, its Ekegusii equivalent *yooka* and the English equivalent only are activated. The lemmas for the verb are activated for the English verb sign, its equivalent Ekegusii *-beeka egetoore* ('put finger print') and the Kiswahili equivalent **-tia sahihi** ('sign'). Lemmas for the Ekegusii pronoun *eye* ('this') and its Kiswahili **hii** and English

⁷ According to Fraser (1990), a discourse marker is a well-defined pragmatic category within the grammar of a language which signals a sequential relationship between the current basic message and the previous discourse. Fraser distinguishes the discourse markers such as *well, in fact, so, and, y'know* etc. from what he terms interjections, i.e. *oh, ok, man, nah, no* etc.

this counterparts are also activated.

The next operation is congruence checking for the semantic-pragmatic features of the equivalents of the discourse phrase, the verb and the pronoun. So there is congruence matching between the Kiswahili discourse phrase **peke yake** ('only this'), its Ekegusii equivalent *yooka* and English only for the speaker's intention of stressing. The Kiswahili discourse marker is chosen because it conveys the speaker's emphasis better than does either the Ekegusii or English equivalents. The use of two words by Kiswahili has more emphatic weight than the single word used in Ekegusii and English. In addition, the repetition of the Kiswahili discourse marker at the end of the CP shows that it is a good choice for emphasis. Further, there is a trend where Kiswahili provides discourse markers to Ekegusii as opposed to English. So the Kiswahili discourse marker **peke yake** ('only this') is selected as a fixed phrase with its two words **peke** and **yake**.

At the same time, the congruence checking between Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English verb lemmas shows a sufficient level of matching. However, the English verb sign has better connotations than the Ekegusii *-beeka egetoore* ('put finger print') and the Kiswahili **-tia sahihi** verbal phrases. *-beeka egetoore* connotes a thumbprint sign that is used by people who cannot read and write. But sign implies the ability to read and write. In the Ekegusii context, the Kiswahili verbal phrase **-tia sahihi** ('sign') is used interchangeably with putting a signature and a thumbprint sign. It is not explicit whether the 'sign' is for a person with the ability to read and write or one without the reading and writing ability. In addition, the Ekegusii and Kiswahili equivalents are verbal phrases while English uses a single lexeme. English is economical and so the English verb sign is selected.

As the foregoing processes (congruence matching for the verb and the discourse phrase) continue, the lemmas underlying the Ekegusii pronoun *eye* ('this') are congruence checked against the equivalent Kiswahili **hii** and English this. As mentioned earlier (cf. 2.3), there is no codeswitching if there is total congruence between a ML word and its equivalents. Instead, the ML word is selected. In (2), there is total congruence between all the three pronoun counterparts since they equally connote the referent ('document'). Since Ekegusii is the ML the Ekegusii pronoun *eye* is selected. First, the pronoun's root *-y-* is selected. Then the root receives a discontinuous late outsider system morpheme *e-e* in order to achieve its full form *eye* ('this').

The final processing stage occurs at the formulator level, where the morphological realisation pattern brings out a CP that has morphemes from three codes but all of them are subsumed under Ekegusii syntax. It is Ekegusii syntax that projects the positions into which the morphemes from the participating languages are mapped.

Example (3) was also produced by the speaker of the preceding CP. It came about after the signing of the document.

Setting: In the lawyer's office in Eldoret, the lawyer tells the client the next course of action.

(3) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching
Saasa, e-file to-ko-igora (Rash 20)
now, CL9-file 1PL-NONPST-open
'Now, we open a file.'

The CP's morpheme order conforms to Ekegusii syntax. The early system morpheme *e-* on file is also sourced from Ekegusii. In addition, the late outsider system morphemes are all from Ekegusii. These are the first person plural subject prefix *to-* and the non-past tense prefix *-ko-*. The CP has a single Kiswahili word, the discourse marker **saasa**⁸ and a single English noun file. The inserted words from Kiswahili and English, i.e. **saasa** ('now') and file respectively are content morphemes. The CP's verb *-igora* ('open') comes from Ekegusii.

The procedure for realising this CP is explained on the basis of the MLF model's supportive 4-M and the Abstract Level models as follows. Ekegusii is selected as the ML at the conceptual level and is therefore activated at a higher level than Kiswahili and English. The speaker intentions, in addition, activate lemmas pointing to the CP's three content morphemes at the lemma level. That is, there is activation of lemmas underlying the semantic-pragmatic features of the discourse marker **saasa** ('now') for sequence, the subject file and the verb *-igora* ('open'). This results in competition between lemmas underlying the Kiswahili **saasa**, and its equivalent, namely discourse markers *boono* ('now') in Ekegusii and English now. Lemmas for the noun also compete between English file, Ekegusii *egesibaeri* and Kiswahili **faii/jalada**.

The congruence matching between Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English selects the Kiswahili discourse marker **saasa**. I find no CP-internal motivation for the selection of the Kiswahili alternative. However, from the context of the CP, this selection may be triggered off by the previous discourse turn of the lawyer to the client, which ends with a Kiswahili discourse marking phrase **peke yake**. It is also possible that the Kiswahili discourse marker is selected as opposed to the Ekegusii and English discourse equivalents because, as earlier mentioned, there is a tendency among Abagusii (including monolinguals) to prefer Kiswahili discourse markers to the Ekegusii discourse markers.

The competition between the noun lemmas selects the English noun file against Ekegusii's *egesibaeri* and Kiswahili's **faii/jalada**. This is perhaps because file

⁸ The orthography of **saasa** is as pronounced by the speaker. Standard Kiswahili orthography is **sasa**.

has clear semantic-pragmatic features of the speaker's immediate intentions. The English word also has morphological simplicity since it is one syllable. Kiswahili uses either **faili**⁹ or **jalada**. The latter (**jalada**) is ambiguous and very few Abagusii are likely to know it. The Ekegusii noun *egesibaeri* is rarely used and is ambiguous to many speakers, in contrast with the English word file, which is common and unambiguous. Thus file wins because of its semantic clarity. The Ekegusii verb *-igora* ('open') and its competing Kiswahili **-fungua** ('open') and English open refer to common daily actions that are readily and clearly expressed by a single word in each of the languages participating in the switched CP. So there is total congruence matching and there is no motivation for selecting an EL verb. Instead the ML verb *-igora* is selected. At the same time, the English noun file activates noun class 9 marker *e-*. This is an early system morpheme that adds conceptual information to its head noun. The *e-* marker contributes to the head noun's complete morphological integration into Ekegusii as required by Ekegusii syntax.

The syntax of Ekegusii requires verbs to have subject-verb agreement. Subsequently, lemmas for the late outsider system morphemes are activated for the first person plural subject prefix *to-* and the tense marker *-ko-* that are affixed on *-igora* ('open').

The final morphological realisation of the language processing at the formulator level is seen in the surfacing of the CP with a Kiswahili discourse marker that has a long vowel in the first syllable [**sa:sa**] ('now') and a morphologically integrated English noun *e-file* ('file'). The lengthening of the vowel in the Kiswahili discourse marker is a way of phonologically integrating it into the ML (Ekegusii), which has long vowels. All the inserted content morphemes in this CP (**saasa** and *e-file*) sufficiently pass the congruence test and get integrated into the Ekegusii-framed CP.

There are instances when the EL morphemes are not integrated. (4) has two bare¹⁰ morphemes from different sources in an Ekegusii-framed ML:

Setting: In the same lawyer's office as in (3), the lawyer tells the client to pay filing fees for the suit he has been preparing.

(4) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

Kora akana echi chi-a filing **kwanza**.
First pay this CL10-ASS filing first
'Pay filing fees first.' (Rash 53)

⁹ The Kiswahili noun **faili** is borrowed from English.

¹⁰ A bare as discussed in 2.3 under congruence checking, means an unintegrated EL element, which surfaces in its original language form in a CP framed by a ML. Integration is phonological and/or morphological.

Echi is a pronoun for the Ekegusii noun *chibeesa* ('money'). The full form of the reduced CP in (4) should have been:

(4') Kora akana chi-beesa echi chi-a filing
First pay CL10-money this CL10-ASS filing

kwanza.

first 'Pay filing fees first.'

The CP satisfies the syntactic requirements of Ekegusii word and morpheme order. But it has two bare EL morphemes: one in English filing and the other in Kiswahili **kwanza** ('first'). The English bare form should have surfaced as *ogofile* if it were morphologically integrated into Ekegusii. The Kiswahili bare adverbial should have surfaced as *kwaansa* if it were also integrated into Ekegusii. The CP in (4) is a follow up to the CP analysed under (3) by the same lawyer as he goes through various legal processes with his client. In order to show the sequence of the events, he uses various adverbial and discourse markers to have a coherent CP.

The speaker selects Ekegusii as the ML when he conceives the present speech act at the conceptual level. He activates lemmas supporting the semantic-pragmatic content morphemes for his action represented by the Ekegusii discourse marker *kora* ('first') and the verb *-akana* ('pay'), the noun *chibeesa* ('money') and the pronoun *echi* ('these') at the lemma level. The Ekegusii discourse marker *kora* ('first') is matched for congruence against Kiswahili **kwanza** and English first. *Kora* literally means "do", which could be translated as **-fanya** ('do') in Kiswahili and do in English. However, when it is used sentence-initially in Ekegusii, it means "first" and it is functionally a discourse marker. Although Ekegusii tends to use Kiswahili discourse markers as earlier indicated, *kora* is usually preferred in a CP such as (4). The sequencing, which the speaker has in mind can only be expressed by the Ekegusii *kora* and not the literal Kiswahili equivalent **-fanya** or English do.

There is total congruence between the ML content morphemes *akana* ('pay'), *chibeesa* ('money') and *echi* ('these') on the one hand, and their Kiswahili **lipa** ('pay'), **pesa** ('money') and **hizi** ('these'), and English pay, money and these, on the other, respectively. So the ML content morphemes are selected. The Ekegusii associative *chia* ('of') is a late bridge system morpheme, which links the pronoun *echi* to filing. The Kiswahili and English equivalents of the Ekegusii associative *chia* ('of') are **ya** and of. Semantically, these equivalents connote the same meaning and are totally congruent. Therefore, the Ekegusii associative is preferred to the Kiswahili and English counterparts.

At the same time, lemmas supporting the English verb filing and its Ekegusii and

Kiswahili equivalents *koigora* ('opening') and **kufungua** ('opening') respectively, are also activated. There is competition between the languages of the lemmas activated and congruence checking is invoked. The verbalisation concept of the noun file to realise filing in English is not connotatively equivalent to the Ekegusii *okoigora* ('opening'). Ekegusii *okoigora* implies physically opening something, e.g. a door, a book etc. Similarly, the Kiswahili word **kufungua** implies the physical act of opening. In addition, the Ekegusii and Kiswahili equivalents require elaboration in order to show what is being opened. The English verb filing does not require the elaboration. The English verb filing is an expanded function of the noun file. A case is considered filed according to legal practice, when details of the suit have been compiled and a file opened for the suit proceedings. So English filing is preferred to the Ekegusii and Kiswahili equivalents. However, it is inserted as a bare form to solve the problem arising from congruence matching. There is a problem because filing is a present participle that is neither a verb nor a noun. The English concept of 'filing' is not captured in either Ekegusii or Kiswahili and it is therefore unimaginable how it could have been integrated.

At the same lemma level, the lemma of the Kiswahili adverbial **kwanza** is matched for congruence against the Ekegusii and English equivalents *ritang'ani* and first respectively. The Kiswahili adverbial **kwanza** is preferred to the Ekegusii *ritang'ani* and English first. The selection of the adverbial is in line with what seems to be an established pattern of Kiswahili adverbials and discourse markers in Ekegusii as has been outlined before. That is, Ekegusii-based switched CPs prefer Kiswahili adverbials and discourse markers to Ekegusii adverbials and discourse markers. The discourse marker *kora* ('first'), which appears sentence-initially in (4) seems to be an exception. The Kiswahili discourse marker **kwanza** that is selected in (4) surfaces in its bare form without integration into Ekegusii. Otherwise, if it were phonetically integrated, it should have surfaced as *kwaansa* without voicing on the prenasalised alveolar fricative and with a long first syllable vowel.

A Kiswahili bare discourse marker and an English bare noun are also seen in (5):

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student tells her colleagues about the randy escapades of a mature university student.

(5) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

Ere **kwanza** n-na-a-igw-ete rumours
3S first STAB-1S-PST-hear-PRF rumours
'To begin with, I heard some rumour about her.' (Lim 233)

The CP has an Ekegusii grammar and its verbal inflection follows Ekegusii morpheme order. In addition, all the late outsider system morphemes are from Ekegusii. The inserted Kiswahili and English morphemes (**kwanza** and rumours)

are bare forms.

The speaker selects Ekegusii as the ML at the conceptual level. She then activates lemmas for morphemes underlying contentful and discourse information at the lemma level. In reference to the subject, the speaker activates a lemma underlying the Ekegusii pronoun *ere* ('s/he'), which competes with its equivalent Kiswahili **yeye** (s/he) and English him/her. Semantically, *ere* and **yeye** are totally congruent since the two languages do not overtly mark sex differences. However, the English pronouns *him* and *her* are not congruent because English overtly differentiates sex on these pronouns. The Ekegusii pronoun is selected because there is no motivation to switch the Kiswahili pronoun, which is totally congruent while the overt marking for sex in the English pronoun is not necessary in Ekegusii grammar.

The discourse organisation in (5) requires a word that expresses sequence. So the lemmas underlying a discourse marker for sequence point to semantic-pragmatic features of a discourse marker in Kiswahili, the ML (Ekegusii), and English. There is competition for the Kiswahili discourse marker **kwanza** ('first') and the equivalent Ekegusii *ritang'ani* ('first') and English first discourse markers. The results of congruence checking at the lemma level imply that the Kiswahili discourse marker **kwanza** is a better choice in comparison with its equivalent Ekegusii *ritang'ani* and English first. The preference of Kiswahili **kwanza** to Ekegusii *ritang'ani* is perhaps due to the fact that English and Kiswahili discourse markers have highly infiltrated Ekegusii discourse strategies as indicated in (2) and (3). Thus, the Kiswahili discourse marker is selected to show sequence in (5). But it is not phonetically integrated into Ekegusii, where it could surface as *kwaansa*.

At the same level, an Ekegusii verb *-igw-* ('hear') is also selected. It is preferred to its Kiswahili **-sikia** ('hear') and English hear equivalents. They all refer to a simple everyday action that can be appropriately expressed in all the competing languages. Thus the speaker does not need to select an EL item. The selected verb *-igw-* takes on Ekegusii late outsider system morphemes *n-na-a-*, *-ete* for the stabiliser, first person singular subject, past tense and perfective aspect respectively.

Finally, at the same lemma stage, the lemma underlying an English word rumour is selected to fill in the object position in the CP. The lemma competes with lemmas for the equivalent Ekegusii *amang'ana* (literally 'words') and Kiswahili **uvumi** ('rumour'). This content morpheme rumour calls an early system morpheme -s to mark plural. At the same time, checking for congruence is set in motion for the competing content morpheme whose lemmas have been selected.

Matching for congruence also shows that the English word rumour is preferred to the equivalent Ekegusii *amang'ana* and Kiswahili **uvumi**. *Amang'ana* simply

means “words”. These can be any words and therefore *amang’ana* does not necessarily imply “hearsay”. However, the English noun rumour precisely refers to “hearsay”. This is perhaps what the speaker had in mind. The Kiswahili noun **uvumi** also implies “hearsay”. However, “hearsay” in Kiswahili **uvumi** does not imply a countable thing/object yet the “hearsay” in the speaker’s first language (Ekegusii) is countable. Although the noun for rumour in Ekegusii *amang’ana* is ambiguous, one can talk about *eng’ana* (‘word’) to refer to one “piece” of rumour or *amang’ana* (‘words’) for many “pieces” of rumour. Perhaps the speaker finds the English choice rumour easier to inflect with a plural marker -s to express her Ekegusii-based concept of “hearsay” in plural. So, English rumours carry better semantic-pragmatic information. Nevertheless, rumour is not a result of sufficient congruence. Hence, a bare-form compromise strategy is employed. Had it been integrated, rumour could have morphologically taken on the Ekegusii plural affix *chi-* for noun class 10 and phonetically surfaced with a long vowel as *chiruuma*.

A final example with a bare form of a Kiswahili discourse marker and an English island is seen in (6):

Setting: At Kisii bus park, the speaker, is telling a male university student about the former’s brother, who studies in India.

(6) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

Lakini a-a-ch-ete very briefly
but 3S-PST-come-PRF very briefly
‘But he (my brother) came home very briefly.’ (Omw 32)

The CP’s ML is Ekegusii because it follows Ekegusii morpheme order. In addition, the late outsider system morphemes on the verb are sourced from Ekegusii, namely *a-* for third person singular subject, *-a-* for the past tense and *-ete* for the perfective aspect.

The Kiswahili discourse marker **lakini** and the English adverbial phrase very briefly are inserted in a frame structured by Ekegusii. When the speaker forms the intention to speak, he selects Ekegusii as the ML at the conceptual level. He then selects a lemma supporting a discourse marker and a verb. The discourse marker lemmas point to Kiswahili **lakini** (‘but’), its equivalent Ekegusii *koreende* and the English counterpart but. These are matched for congruence. The Kiswahili word **lakini** is selected against its Ekegusii and English counterparts perhaps because Kiswahili discourse markers are so predominantly used in Ekegusii discourse, as earlier outlined. **Lakini** is preponderantly used in Ekegusii to the extent that it has overshadowed the Ekegusii counterpart *koreende*.

At the same level, the lemma underlying the verb selects the Ekegusii verb root *-ch-*. It is matched for congruence with the equivalent Kiswahili verb root *-j-* and English come. The three counterparts (*-ch-*, *-j-* and come) achieve total

congruence matching since they express a common action which the ML word can appropriately express. The selected Ekegusii root *-ch-* requires late outsider system morphemes for subject-verb agreement. So the lemmas for late outsider system morphemes representing the subject-verb agreement markers are activated. These are: *a-a-* for third person singular subject and past tense respectively plus *-ete* for the perfective aspect. The structure of the CP is completed when the verb root *-ch-* gets its subject-verb and tense affixes and surfaces as *a-a-ch-ete* ('he came').

At the same time, the verb needs more contentful information. This is supplied by an adverbial phrase. The lemmas underlying this adverbial phrase point to the English adverbial phrase very briefly and its equivalent Ekegusii *engaki enke igo* and the Kiswahili counterpart **Kwa muda mfupi**. Ekegusii and Kiswahili do not appear to have words for expressing the extent of brevity. They skirt around and have to state that the subject came home briefly using a temporal word *engaki* ('time/period') and **muda** ('time/period') in Ekegusii and Kiswahili respectively so as to avoid ambiguity. By explicitly mentioning time, the Ekegusii and Kiswahili adverbials end up being uneconomical as they use three words but still remain ambiguous while English uses only two words. Hence the speaker prefers the English adverbial phrase to either the Ekegusii or the Kiswahili phrases. Due to the ambiguity of the Ekegusii and Kiswahili adverbial phrases, there is no sufficient congruence between the chosen English adverbial phrase and the Ekegusii adverbial phrase. So the adverbial phrase is accessed as a fixed unintegrated EL island very briefly.

From the six examples analysed so far, one may conclude that where Kiswahili plays a role as a discourse marker in trilingual codeswitching with Ekegusii as the ML, Kiswahili discourse markers surface in their bare unintegrated form. For instance, in two of the three examples involving Kiswahili discourse markers (cf. examples 2, 3 and 5) the inserted discourse markers are both phonologically and morphologically unintegrated. The discourse marker is only integrated phonetically in (3), where the first syllable in **saasa** has a long vowel. However, a long vowel can also be used in Kiswahili if the speaker is stressing the sequence. (7) Shows a Kiswahili morpheme, which is inserted and integrated into Ekegusii.

Setting: Along the Kisii-Kisumu highway, a high school boy tells his friends about a colleague in school.

(7) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English switching

Aga-**zee** akuo ga-ka-mo-imitate. (Mnom 12)

CL13-old man those CL13-PST-3S-imitate 'That colleague imitated the teacher.'

The high school boy in (7) is speaking in reference to a colleague at school. The colleague imitates a teacher in their school who speaks English with heavy

mother tongue interference (7) is an Ekegusii ML CP. All the inflectional morphemes classified in the MLF model as late outsider system morphemes as well as their order of affixation follow Ekegusii syntax.

The mechanisms of the CP's construction are explained as follows. When the speaker conceives of an intention to speak at the conceptual level, all the three participating codes are activated. He selects Ekegusii as the ML. He then activates lemmas tagged for the noun's semantic-pragmatic information in Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English. These are **-zee**, *omogaaka/omong'ina* and old man/woman in Kiswahili, Ekegusii and English respectively. For the demonstrative, lemmas are activated for *akwo*, **huyo** and that from the three participating languages. For the verb, lemmas tagged for information in Ekegusii *-ega* and its equivalent English imitate and Kiswahili **-iga** are activated.

Congruence checking of the competing lexemes occurs at the lemma level. The subject position is competed for by Ekegusii *omogaaka/omong'ina* ('old man/woman'), Kiswahili **mzee** and English old man. *Omogaaka/omong'ina* refers to a respectable old man/woman. It could also be used in reference to any respectable and admirable man or woman even if s/he is young. **Mzee** in Kiswahili means an old man/woman and a title of respect derived from an elder statesman but not stateswoman if applied in the Kenyan context. A respectable woman is **bibi** or **bi**. **Mzee** is for example used widely in reference to independent Kenya's founding president, the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. The speaker in (7) is referring to a male subject. He prefers the Kiswahili **mzee** to Ekegusii *omogaaka* and English old man. Perhaps this is because **mzee** is commonly used among the Kenyan male youths to praise each other. The Ekegusii equivalent *omogaaka* is not used since it does not connote modernity according to the youth. English does not convey the speaker's intention of praise and respect. The integration of the noun **-zee** with *aga-* is a sign that there is sufficient congruence matching between the ML Ekegusii and Kiswahili equivalents.

At the same time, the lemma for the Kiswahili noun **-zee** calls a lemma pointing to noun class 13 marker *aga-* in order for the noun to get more conceptual information in the ML. The old person **-zee** is diminutivised and pejorated. Kiswahili marks both diminutivisation and pejoration with noun class 7 and 8 **ki-/vi-** prefixes. For instance, **kizee** refers to an old woman and not an old man especially when used in narratives. This marking does not foreground the pejoration as does the Ekegusii noun class 13 *aga-/aka-*, which is specifically for diminutivisation and pejoration. So the Ekegusii noun class 13 marker precisely supplies the required conceptual information for the noun root. However, in (7) noun class 13 *aga-* is not used for pejorative diminutivisation; rather, it is used stylistically to show admiration.

Tari (he is not) bears the discontinuous and fused verb *t--ri* of the verb 'is' representing the present tense of 'be' in negation. *Tari* also has the late outsider system morpheme *-a-* for third person singular. All these morphemes are sourced from Ekegusii. Thus the ML of the CP is Ekegusii.

During speech processing, a lemma pointing to the content morpheme **kijana** in Kiswahili is activated. This development calls for congruence matching between the ultimately selected Kiswahili **kijana**, its equivalent Ekegusii *omosae* and English young man. Ekegusii's *omosae* refers to any unmarried man. English young man connotes one's youthful age and has no connotations of one's marital status. Kiswahili **kijana** implies a mature young man who could marry. In its expanded meaning and as used among Abagusii, **kijana** is a disciplined and perhaps educated man in contrast with the Ekegusii noun *omosae* or English noun young man. The Kiswahili noun **kijana** is selected perhaps because it has connotations of qualifying for a boyfriend. It is morphologically integrated into Ekegusii with an early system morpheme through noun class 9 marker *e-*.

At the same lemma level, a lemma underlying the English adverbial in fact is activated. In fact is matched for congruence with its Ekegusii *yaani* and Kiswahili **kwa kweli** ('in fact') equivalent. The Ekegusii adverbial *yaani* is ambiguous because it can also mean 'that is'. It therefore does not straight away convey the meaning expressed by the English counterpart in fact. The Kiswahili **kwa kweli** could be used unambiguously. However, it is not as emphatic as English infact. So the English alternative in fact is selected because it conveys the speaker's intentions unambiguously. It is retrieved holistically as a fixed phrase from English. At the final morphological realisation pattern, there is a trilingual Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English CP.

4.2.2 English-Ekegusii-Kiswahili codeswitching

Switching between a highly isolating language and a highly agglutinative language tends to have the latter as the ML according to existing studies (e.g. Kamwangamalu 1997; Backus 1996; Halmari 1997). However, there exist instances in my data when the isolating language is the ML.

Setting: A female university student tells her colleagues, also educated up to university, that she cannot trust all that her colleague at the university as she also reports about a randy mature female university student.

(9) English-Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching

Ng'a **lakini** I can't trust. (Lim 234/5)
that however 'That, however, I cannot trust (which she says).'

English syntax is the ML in (9) as it provides the content morphemes, which are

required to present the CP's basic content. According to predictions of the Abstract Level and the 4-M models, the speaker selects English as the ML at the conceptual level. At the lemma level, the speaker elects a complementizer whose lemmas point to Ekegusii *ng'a*, Kiswahili **kwamba** and English that. These alternatives are matched for congruence. It is not possible to get a CP internal suggestion why Ekegusii *ng'a* is preferred to its Kiswahili and English counterparts. However, it is possible that the selection of Ekegusii *ng'a* is triggered by the preceding CP, which is Ekegusii-based as analysed under (5). The two CPs appear as follows in the conversation:

(9')

[[Ere **kwanza** n-na-a-igw-ete rumours]
 3S first STAB-1S-PST-hear-PRF rumours

[ng'a **lakini** I can't trust]

that however

'To begin with, I heard rumour about her that.. however I cannot accept (it) .'

At the lemma level too, the speaker activates lemmas for discourse markers to organise a cohesive CP. Lemmas for the subject plus the expected actions are activated. For the discourse marker, lemmas supporting Ekegusii *koreende*, English however and Kiswahili **lakini** are activated. Congruence matching occurs for the semantic-pragmatic features expressed by the Ekegusii *koreende*, the English discourse marker however and the Kiswahili discourse marker **lakini**. The speaker prefers the Kiswahili discourse marker **lakini** to the English discourse marker however and the Ekegusii *koreende*. As has been mentioned earlier, this is perhaps because there is a tendency for Ekegusii speakers to select Kiswahili discourse markers. On the whole the contribution of Ekegusii and Kiswahili to the CP's structure is not core. They (Ekegusii and Kiswahili) can be deleted and the CP's basic message remains intact. This cannot be true if the English phrase I can't trust is deleted.

Another English-based trilingual CS CP is exemplified by (10).

Setting: A high school male student sends his colleague with instructions to his girlfriend that she should meet him the following day over some issue.

(10) English-Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching

Ng'a he has got something **kesho**. (Gir 53)

that tomorrow

'Tell her that he has got something for her tomorrow.'

A similar strategy as in (9) is involved in (10). The main CP is in English but with an Ekegusii complementizer *ng'a* ('that') and a Kiswahili adverb **kesho** ('tomorrow'). The Ekegusii complementizer *ng'a* competes with Kiswahili

kwamba and English that. I find no plausible CP internal reason for the choice of the Ekegusii *ng'a*. However, the setting of the conversation helps to account for its choice, namely *ng'a* is selected because it is triggered off by the previous discourse that ends in Ekegusii:

(10') [[O-many-e ko-mo-teebia]
2S-know-IND INF-3S-tell

[ng'a he has got something **kesho**]

that tomorrow

'Then tell her/him that he has got something tomorrow.'

The next phrase after *ng'a* is he has got something. This is the kernel of the CP. It is not only well-formed in English but it also carries the CP's basic content. Tense (a late outsider system morpheme) in the verb got is also from English. The Ekegusii and Kiswahili elements can be deleted and the CP's message shall remain intact.

Finally, the Kiswahili adverbial **kesho** competes with Ekegusii *maambia* and English tomorrow. I also find no plausible language internal reason for the choice of the Kiswahili adverbial because the three competitors have identical connotation. However, it is possible that the Kiswahili word is intentionally selected because the CP occurred in the conversation (Gir conversation), where the speakers were aware that they were being recorded so as to analyse their codeswitching. So the speaker could have intentionally switched from Ekegusii to English and Kiswahili in the CP analysed.

In (9) and (10), it is clear that the message of the CP is carried in English while Kiswahili and Ekegusii morphemes supply discourse content morphemes. It is also clear that the Ekegusii and Kiswahili EL forms inserted appear as though they are bare unintegrated forms because English does not have a rich inflectional morphology. Otherwise, there is no perceivable way in which a highly isolating language can phonologically and/or morphologically integrate elements from a highly agglutinating language.

4.3 Trilingual codeswitching with Sheng

As indicated in chapter 3.4, the conversations involving the youth tend to have Sheng lexemes switched with Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English. All the eight instances of trilingual CS involving Sheng were made by the youths in Mnom, Lim, Gir, Kem and Caro conversations (cf. 3.4). Speech participants in these conversations know four codes, namely the grammatically stable Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English plus the grammatically unstable Sheng. In my analyses of the CPs that show trilingual codeswitched involving Sheng, I provide competing equivalents of the codes, which provide the CP's surface morphemes. Sheng is

not the ML in any of the eight CS CPs with Sheng (cf. 3.3.1 - 3.3.2). Its grammar is not yet consistently different from that of Kiswahili. Three ML patterns involving trilingual CS with Sheng are noted. Kiswahili as the ML takes the largest share of trilingual CS CPs as indicated in Table 26:

Table 26: Trilingual CS patterns with Sheng

Pattern of CS	No of CPs
Ekegusii-English-Sheng	1
Ekegusii-Kiswahili-Sheng	1
Kiswahili-English-Sheng	6
Total	8

4.3.1 Ekegusii-English-Sheng

The trilingual Ekegusii-English-Sheng CS pattern has one example. It has been mentioned as (38a) in chapter 3.3.3 and is reproduced here as (11):

Setting: A high school boy has just finished narrating a story to his friends. He wants them to do him a favour in return. Here he reminds them that he has entertained them with a story.

(11) Ekegusii-English-Sheng switching

Na-a-ba-teeb-iri e-story e-nooma.
 1S-NONPST-2PL-tell-PRF CL9-story interesting
 ‘I have told you a very interesting story.’ (Mnom 26/27)

The ML in (11) is Ekegusii according to both the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme principles. The CP has an SVO word order. All the system morphemes on the verb are sourced from Ekegusii.

The Abstract Level and 4-M models explanation would be as follows. The speaker selects Ekegusii as the ML at the conceptual level. Lemmas underlying content morphemes for *-teeba* (‘tell’), *story* and *nooma* (‘interesting’) are selected. The English and Sheng lexemes are checked for congruence against their Ekegusii equivalent content morphemes. The Ekegusii verb *-teeb-* is matched for congruence against its equivalent Sheng *-shtua* (‘tell’) and English *tell*. All the alternatives refer to an ordinary day-to-day action. So the Ekegusii alternative is selected as it is the ML and it can effectively convey the speaker’s message. It is appropriately affixed late outsider system morphemes, namely *na-* for first person singular subject, *-a-* for nonpast tense, *-ba-* for second person plural object and *-iri* for the perfective aspect.

At the same level, lemmas pointing to Ekegusii *omogano* (‘story’), English *story*

and Sheng *riisto* ('story') are activated. English *story* is preferred to its equivalents. *Omogano* usually refers to those oral narratives that have been passed down from generation to generation. It is rarely used to refer to a narration of a real incidence. The Sheng equivalent *riisto* is English sourced. It could convey the speaker's intentions appropriately as does the English noun story. However, it (*riisto*) is a recent innovation in Nairobi (Ngesa 2002). Until recently, the Sheng noun was *storii* but its (*storii*'s) syllables have now swapped places in what Githiora (2002: 167) calls Pig Latin¹¹ to yield *riisto*. Perhaps at the time of recording, the new Sheng noun *riisto* might not have spread to Kisii which is about 500 kms away from Nairobi. However, it is not clear why the then available Sheng lexeme *storii* was not selected.

The exact language source of the Sheng adjective *nooma* is not clear. It is definitely not Kiswahili or English. Used in this context¹², *nooma* means 'interesting'. It is here an attributive adjective and conforms to Ekegusii syntax as it comes after the English switched noun story. The Sheng adjective *nooma* ('interesting') is elected as opposed to its Ekegusii equivalent *gookia* ('interesting') and English interesting. *Gookia* means 'make happy' without necessarily implying how this making happy is done. English interesting implies simply exciting but it does not connote how extraordinary the excitement is. Sheng *nooma* means making happy through telling an extraordinarily exciting tale. So it reflects what the speaker wants to convey and is selected.

The selected content morphemes are integrated into the Ekegusii morphosyntactic structure. For instance, the content morpheme story is integrated through an indirectly elected early system morpheme, namely the Ekegusii noun class 9 marker *e-*. The Sheng adjective *nooma* looks outside its projection to the noun for a late outsider system morpheme *e-* so that it has concord with the head-noun in its surface form. The eventual surface realisation is the trilingual switched CP with Sheng and English insertions integrated into Ekegusii.

4.3.2 Ekegusii-Kiswahili-Sheng

This pattern occurs only once. The short infinitive CP, which constitutes a whole sentence and has been mentioned before in chapter 3.3.3 as (38a) is reproduced here as (12).

Setting: A university female student tells her friends, also educated up to the university about a colleague's husband.

¹¹ Githiora (2002: 167) explains that Pig Latin deals with syllable transposition.

¹² The meaning and classification of the Sheng word *nooma* depends on the context of its use. While it is used as an attributive adjective in this context, it can be an intensifier replacing *sana* (very) in the Dar es salaam variety of Sheng according to Kießling (personal communication).

- (12) Ekegusii-Kiswahili-Sheng switching
 Ko-***hanya*** **tu.** (Lim 201)
 INF-loiter just 'Just loitering around.'

The CP is Ekegusii-based since the infinitive marker *ko-*, which is a late outsider system morpheme is sourced from Ekegusii. The CP's verb ***-hanya*** is Sheng sourced. Its original source is not clear. As used in this example ***-hanya*** means loiter around.

When lemmas for ***-hanya*** are activated, lemmas underlying its counterparts, namely Ekegusii ***-ombogana*** ('loiter'), and Kiswahili ***-tanga/-zurura/randa*** (loiter') are also activated. The three alternatives are congruence matched. ***-ombogana*** connotes a person who loiters and may be mentally deranged. Not many Abagusii youth could know this word. The failure to use the Ekegusii verb ***-ombogana*** could have been motivated by the need to fill in a lexical gap on the part of the youthful speaker. The most frequently used Kiswahili equivalent of ***-hanya*** is ***-tanga***. However, it has another connotation, i.e. to sail. So it can also be ambiguous. Sheng ***-hanya*** simply connotes "loiter around" looking for "suitors" but ***-ombogana*** and ***-tanga*** have no connotations of lust. The result of congruence matching is that the Sheng lexeme ***-hanya*** is chosen as it more current and shows the cause of roaming about. Thus the Sheng verb ***-hanya*** conveys the speaker's intentions better.

The Sheng lexeme selected gets further conceptual information about how the act of loitering occurs. This information is provided by a Kiswahili adverb **tu** ('just'). A free adverb is a content morpheme and according to the MLF model's System Morpheme principle it is permissible to source a content morpheme from the EL. Therefore, the lemmas for **tu** are activated from the EL (Kiswahili). However, before selecting **tu**, lemmas underlying the equivalent Ekegusii *bosa igo/oka igo/igo* are also activated. To my knowledge, Sheng has no equivalent of the adverb **tu**. There is competition among the lemmas for the adverb position involving Kiswahili **tu** and its Ekegusii equivalent. It is notable that the concept of the adverb **tu** in (12) does not exist in Ekegusii. It can only be expressed by several words in Ekegusii, namely *oka igo*, *bosa igo* and *igo*. Some of these words like *bosa igo* also mean "just empty" or "just naked". So the Ekegusii alternatives are ambiguous. Kiswahili **tu** surfaces as the best choice. The final product at the formulator level is the trilingual Ekegusii-based CP in (12).

4.3.3 Kiswahili-English-Sheng

The Kiswahili-English-Sheng pattern has six CPs as seen in (13) to (18). The choice of the type of switched morphemes and the level of integration for each CP is unique:

Setting: At Nyabururu, Kisii, a high school boy narrates to a colleague how he met his girlfriend for the first time.

(13) Kiswahili-English-Sheng switching

Anyway, **ni-li-anza ku-boonga na yeye.** anyway 1S-
PST-start INF-speak with PRO
'Anyway, I started talking with her.' (Gir 40)

The ML of (13) is Kiswahili as it dictates the CP's morpheme order and also supplies all the late outsider system morphemes, i.e. **ni-** for first person singular subject and **-li-** for past tense on the Kiswahili verb **-anza** and the infinitive marker **ku-** on the Sheng verb **kuboonga**.

(13) has a discourse level content morpheme from English, i.e. anyway. As a content morpheme, its lemmas are activated at the lemma level and it is congruence matched with its Kiswahili equivalent **vyo vyote vile**. I am not aware of a Sheng equivalent discourse marker. Very few upcountry Kenyans know the Kiswahili equivalent **vyo vyote vile**. It is also rarely used even among those who know it. The English discourse marker anyway is preponderant even in the speech of trilinguals whose competence in English is not high. So English anyway is selected as a fixed phrase.

The Kiswahili verb **-anza** ('start') is congruence checked against its English equivalent start. To the best of my knowledge, no Sheng equivalent of the verb exists. As mentioned earlier, the verb of the ML is chosen when the action of a CP is one that can be satisfactorily expressed in all the competing languages. This holds for the concept "to start" and so the ML's verb **-anza** is selected. The verb is also affixed late outsider system morphemes for subject-verb agreement from the ML. These morphemes include **ni-** for first person singular subject and **-li-** for the past tense.

The main verb **-boonga** ('talk') in (13) is a Sheng lexeme whose exact source is not clear. However, it is neither Kiswahili nor English. The verb **-boonga** is matched for congruence with its counterpart Kiswahili **-onzea** ('talk') and English talk. **-boonga** not only means talk; but also implies persuading your listener to accept your opinion. Kiswahili **-onzea** and English talk do not have this connotation. The Sheng verb **-boonga** is preferred to the Kiswahili and English equivalents as it better conveys the speaker's intentions. As earlier explained, the Sheng verb **-boonga** is integrated into Kiswahili through the Kiswahili infinitive marker **ku-**.

Finally, the CP sources the preposition **na** ('with') and the object pronoun **yeye** ('him/her') from Kiswahili. The preposition is congruence matched with the English equivalent with. I have no knowledge of an equivalent Sheng preposition. It is possible for Sheng to also use **na**. The preposition **na** can be ambiguous as it

appears not only in Kiswahili and Sheng but also in Ekegusii. In all the languages, it is semantically ambiguous because it can also mean “and”. However, it is selected in (13). Perhaps its connotation is the same as what English with could mean. Subsequently, there is total congruence between English with and Kiswahili **na**. In this case, the ML **na** is selected. The free morpheme **yeye** (‘him/her’) is a pronoun. It is checked for congruence against its English counterpart him/her. I am also not aware of a Sheng equivalent. The English pronoun him/her explicitly indicates sex while the Kiswahili equivalent does not. These Kiswahili and English counterparts do not have total congruence. The Kiswahili pronoun **yeye** is selected perhaps because sex differentiation is not required. The MLF’s congruence checking argument does not assist in suggesting why the pronoun is chosen.

Whereas the English insertion in (13) is a discourse marker with a peripheral role, the inserted English morpheme in (14) plays a central role as an attributive adjective.

Setting: In Nyabururu, a high school boy narrates to his friends about a friend at school.

(14) Kiswahili-English-Sheng switching

Huyo beste ni m-funny sana.

DEM friend COP CL1-funny very

‘That friend is very funny indeed.’ (Mnom 35)

The morpheme order of (14) is Kiswahili-based. There is insertion of a Sheng noun **beste** (‘friend’) and an English adjective funny. The demonstrative **huyo** (‘that’) is an early system morpheme, whose equivalent in English is that. Sheng does not have an equivalent demonstrative. Both the Kiswahili and English demonstratives are checked for congruence. They have identical connotations and can appropriately convey the speaker’s intentions. Here the Kiswahili alternative is selected.

The source of the Sheng noun **beste** is the English adjective best but it has an expanded meaning in Sheng where it means ‘friend’. Its surface form is almost congruent with its English form ‘best’. One might call it a bare Sheng form. However, it is reanalysed as a class 1 noun when used in a CP. This is because as the head-word of the NP, it determines the surface form of the late outsider system morphemes. **Beste** is selected after competing with its equivalent Kiswahili **rafiki** and English friend. The three alternatives refer to ‘friend’. However, Sheng’s **beste** carries connotations of intimacy, which Kiswahili’s **rafiki** and English friend do not connote. The speaker wants to convey intimacy. For Kiswahili and English to convey intimacy, they need modifiers, i.e. **rafiki mzuri sana** (‘very dear good friend’) and very dear friend. **Beste** is preferred to the Kiswahili **rafiki** and English friend as it is economical with a single word

Morpheme principle must come from the ML. They have a Kiswahili surface form and they conform to Kiswahili morpheme order where the negation morpheme **si-** precedes the subject morpheme **-na**.

The CP has a Sheng noun *baanye* ('underpants'), and an English adjective black. The selection of the Sheng noun *baanye* and the English adjective black results from competition and congruence checking. The Sheng noun competes for selection with the ML's **chupi** and English underpants. There are two possible explanations for the choice of *baanye*. First, although Kiswahili **chupi** is the correct equivalent of underpants few upcountry Kenyans know the word **chupi**. Instead, they use **suruali ndogo**, which could also imply 'short trousers'. So it is ambiguous. Second, the English noun underpants and the Kiswahili noun **chupi** may not be selected because the speaker wishes to be euphemical. It is uncultured among the Abagusii to either expose or talk about underpants in public. Using the words **chupi** and underpants is not euphemical. Sheng could be considered euphemical because Sheng is used among a restricted speech community. The adjective black competes with Kiswahili **-eusi** only as there is no Sheng equivalent. Black is selected because it foregrounds the speaker's focus on blackness. Had the speaker said *baanye nyeusi* (black pants), the focus could have been the underpants. However, the stress she intended was on the colour. So a switch to English enhances the focus of the stress on the black colour.

The two nouns *-baanye* and black – are joined by a multimorphemic associative **ya** 'of'. It is multimorphemic because its root **-a** is a late bridge system morpheme and it only gets its surface form after it has joined *baanye* and black. The root **a-** has the morpheme **y-** which is a concord marker of the surface form **ya**. The **y-** is a late outsider system morpheme because it looks outside to the noun class of the noun *baanye* to get directions for its surface form. The Sheng noun is reanalysed as class 9 and this is why the surface form of the late bridge system morpheme is **ya**.

Example (16) gives further evidence of Kiswahili-English-Sheng switching:
Setting: At Nyabururu, Kisii, a female university student tips her colleagues on how to succeed at a dance contest.

(16) Kiswahili-English-Sheng switching
U-na-get *quoroo* **y-ako** (Caro 14)
2S-NONPST-get cheerleaders CL1-POS
'You have to mobilise your own cheerleaders.'

Kiswahili is the ML of (16) based on the order of morphemes and the source of all late outsider system morphemes. The CP has two inserted content morphemes, namely the English verb get and the Sheng noun *quoroo* ('cheerleaders'). The source of the Sheng noun *quoroo* is the English noun 'quorum'.

The language processes for realising the CP are as follows. At the conceptual level, the speaker forms an intention to speak and she activates Kiswahili, English and Sheng. She selects Kiswahili as the ML of the CP. At the lemma level, she activates lemmas underlying a verb, a noun and an adjective. Congruence matching is instituted for lemmas supporting the English verb get and its equivalent Kiswahili verb **-pata** ('get'). There is no Sheng competitor because, to my knowledge, Sheng does not have its own verb for 'get'. The closest equivalent Sheng verbs, *chomoa* and *omox* (Moga & Fee 1997), mean 'get out'. So they imply pulling a group of cheerleaders out of something, say a can or bag. The Kiswahili verb **-pata** implies get or just meet something. In the current CP's context, the English verb get implies making an effort to mobilise support for oneself. This is what the speaker had in mind. Get conveys her intentions better than the Kiswahili verb. So the English verb get is selected. Kiswahili appropriately supplies the late outsider system morphemes for subject-verb agreement to the verb. The verb surfaces at the formulator level integrated into Kiswahili as **u-na-get**. It is prefix-marked for second person singular subject and non-past tense respectively.

There is simultaneous congruence checking for the Sheng noun *quoroo* ('cheerleaders'), the equivalent Kiswahili **mashabiki** and English fans. In the Kenyan context, both the Kiswahili noun **mashabiki** and the English noun fans are largely used in the context of football to imply cheerleaders of various teams. The nouns are rarely used in the context of dancing. Sheng *quoroo* is used by the youth to imply one's supporters, usually one's peers, in any event involving teamwork. A dance competition is one such an event that calls for support of cheerleaders. *Quoroo* as used in (16) refers to one's supporters in a dancing event. It is more appropriate to use it than to use fans or **mashabiki**. So *quoroo* is selected. This noun *quoroo* gets more conceptual information through the Kiswahili possessive **yako** ('yours'). **Yako** competes with the equivalent English yours. There is no competition from Sheng because it could also use the Kiswahili morpheme **yako** or the English equivalent yours¹³. The alternatives from the three languages equivalently convey possession and therefore there is no motivation to select an EL element. Instead the ML alternative **yako** is selected.

The Kiswahili-English-Sheng trilingual codeswitching is further exemplified in (17):

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student tells colleagues her views about a famous American actress.

¹³ Mazrui and Mphande (1990: 9) analyse possessive noun phrases in Sheng, where they give examples such as *mabits ya his* ('his bits'), *maskani ya theirs* ('their place'), *kitu ya mine* ('my thing') and *chalii wa mine* ('my friend'). These examples imply that Sheng could use the possessive "your".

(17) Kiswahili-English-Sheng switching

Me I think she is the predominant factor in the house

mpaka hasii can't stand it (Lim 145)

until husband

'I think she is overassertive in the house that no husband can withstand it.'

There are two CPs in (17). The first CP is monolingual English while the second one is trilingually codeswitched. The Kiswahili conjunction **mpaka** ('until') is a content morpheme whose role is to connect the previous monolingual CP to the following one. The current switched CP has an English island can't stand it that is inserted into a frame, which conforms to Kiswahili grammar. If English were the ML, then, the subject **hasii** should have been preceded by a determiner either "a" or "the" to show definiteness or indefiniteness. However, Kiswahili grammar does not require a determiner, which is the case in (17). So this CP is Kiswahili-based.

Kiswahili is selected as the ML at the conceptual level. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying the Kiswahili conjunction **mpaka** ('until') and the English equivalent until are activated. The Kiswahili conjunction **mpaka** is selected after congruence matching with its English equivalent until. Sheng does not provide any competitor as it has no equivalent lexeme for the conjunction. It appears that both conjunctions, **mpaka** and until, have total congruence between them and there exists no motivation to select an EL alternative. The ML alternative **mpaka** is thus selected.

The preference of the Sheng noun **hasii** to the equivalent Kiswahili **mume** or English husband occurs after congruence matching. The Kiswahili alternative **mume** refers to one's marital partner. The English noun husband unambiguously refers to a married person's male partner. I find no CP internal motivation for the preference of Sheng **hasii** to English husband or **mume**. Perhaps the speaker wishes to focus on the husband and by switching to Sheng **hasii** her focus is enhanced. The switch to **hasii** so as to focus in turn triggers the English EL island clause can't stand it to focus on new information. I do not know what the Sheng equivalent of the clause could be. Its possible Kiswahili counterpart could be **hawezi kuhimili**. The Kiswahili clause could not be selected for two possible reasons. First, there is no direct Kiswahili translation of the English idiomatic clause can't stand it. Although **hawezi kuhimili** could be a possible equivalent, the verb **kuhimili** is not known by many upcountry Kiswahili speakers. Thus the speaker may not have known this possible Kiswahili translation of can't stand it. Secondly, by switching to English and selecting the EL island as a fixed phrase, the speaker succeeds in focusing on new information, namely "a husband cannot stand the actress's assertiveness". The CPs preceding the one analysed show that the topic of the discourse revolves around the actress and a husband. The implication here is that mention of the husband is old information. The switched

CP's new information is the husband's reaction. That new information is carried in the English island can't stand it. This is achieved by switching to the English island.

Switching within a verbal phrase in a Kiswahili-based CP is attested as the following example shows:

Setting: A female university student at Kapsoya explains to her colleagues the storyline of a film they are watching on television.

(18) Kiswahili-Sheng-English switching

A-li-rape dame w-ake. (Lim 17)
3S-PST- CL1-his '(He) raped his girlfriend.'

The CP follows Kiswahili morpheme order and Kiswahili also supplies its system morphemes. The Kiswahili possessive adjective **wake** ('hers/his') comes after the Sheng noun **dame**, as required in Kiswahili. The NP word order is in line with Kiswahili grammar

According to the 4-M and the Abstract Level models, the speaker selects Kiswahili as the ML at the conceptual level. She then proceeds to elect lemmas for the content morphemes, namely English rape and Sheng **dame**. There is congruence matching of Sheng **dame** against its Kiswahili counterpart **msichana** ('dame') and English girlfriend. **Msichana** is any ordinary girl and not a girlfriend. **Dame** in British English is a title of a woman who has been honoured with the order of knighthood. However, in Sheng it means one's beloved girlfriend. The speaker clearly meant one's girlfriend and not any ordinary girl. Both the Sheng **dame** and English girlfriend alternatives could express the speaker's intention. However, the speaker selects **dame** perhaps to express the intimacy of the relationship. **Dame** is grammatically reanalysed as a Kiswahili class 1 noun when it activates lemmas for the adjective **wake** ('his'). The adjective's root **-ake** looks outside itself to the head-noun dame to get its surface form **wake**. The **w-** affixed on the adjective root **-ake** to yield **wake** is used in Kiswahili if the noun being modified is from noun class 1. This means that even if dame is not overtly integrated morphologically, it is syntactically considered as being noun class 1.

At the same time, there is congruence matching between the English verb rape and its Kiswahili counterpart **-najisi** ('rape'). I am not aware of an equivalent Sheng verb. The Kiswahili verb **-najisi** is not as widely known by many upcountry Kenyans as its English equivalent rape. It is possible that the speakers selected the English verb rape to fill in a lexical gap in their Kiswahili lexicon. Due to sufficient congruence with the ML's equivalent verb, the English verb rape is integrated through the late outsider system morphemes **a-** for third person singular subject and **-li-** for the past tense. The surface morphological realisation

is the switched CP seen in (18).

This chapter has analysed 18 out of the available 20 trilingual CS CPs. The remaining 2 are analysed in Chapter 6 for they are instances of composite CS. The analysis in this chapter has shown that the 4-M and the Abstract Level models make it possible to systematically explain the processes and outcomes displayed by the switched CPs. However, since congruence checking involves alternatives from three and at times four codes, the speech processing is too complex. The MLF model has made it possible to observe that the ML is not only the participants' first language (Ekegusii); rather, Kiswahili and English can also be the ML. However, the bulk of the trilingual CPs (N = 10 out of 18) has an Ekegusii ML while 6 are Kiswahili-based.

The chapter has further revealed that Sheng is a lexically distinct code and that it can be a participant in CS with its lexemes being analysed independent of Kiswahili. None of the CPs is Sheng-based though. This is because Sheng has no distinct stable grammar yet and it differs with the other participating codes only lexically. That is why it is not treated as a language at par with Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English. It is treated as a sociolect - a code whose vocabulary is inserted into CPs framed by the other languages. In addition, the analyses have shown that Sheng has a limited vocabulary. I have analysed instances, which have no Sheng content morpheme counterparts while others show that Sheng shares lexemes with either Ekegusii, Kiswahili or English. Thus it is clear that Sheng lexicon is also unstable.

Chapter Five

Analysis of bilingual codeswitched data

The task of this chapter is to analyse the bilingual codeswitching ML patterns, the morpheme types inserted and the processes leading to the bilingual CS outcome. Although this study set out to investigate trilingual CS, the data from the conversations recorded show that bilingual CS CPs form the bulk of the codeswitching database (502 out of 520 codeswitched CPs). These bilingual CS CPs exhibit several bilingual CS patterns since four codes (Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng) are involved in the CS corpus studied. In addition, the CPs reveal ML patterns either hitherto unexpected or not reported regarding bilingual CS from Kenya. Thus the analyses of the bilingual CPs will contribute towards the present study's objectives of unravelling different ML patterns and processing of CS CPs. The first section of this chapter (5.1) is devoted to single word switches while the later section (5.2) deals with multiword switches.

5.1 Single word switches

The single word insertions are classified according to their grammatical word categories. The ML is determined based on the MLF model and its supportive 4-M and Abstract Level models. The analyses of single word insertions focus on nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns and the complementiser. The noun, the adverbial, the verbal and the prepositional phrases are analysed in the section under multiword switching (5.2).

5.1.1 Nouns

40 % (218 out of 520 bilingual CS CPs) of the CS CPs with a single word that is inserted comprises nouns. Their distribution according to language pairs is shown in Table 27.

Table 27: Patterns of single nouns in bilingual CPs

<u>CS Pair</u>	<u>No of CPs</u>
Ekegusii-English	89
Kiswahili-English	81
Kiswahili-Sheng	11
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	17
Ekegusii-Sheng	4
English-Sheng	2
<u>English-Kiswahili</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>214</u>

From Table 27, it is clear that English noun insertions into Kiswahili and Kiswahili constitute 79% (N = 214) of the total number switches and thus the majority of the instances. However, Kiswahili insertions into Ekegusii and

English also contribute 8% (N = 17) and 5% (N = 10) of the entire single noun insertion cases respectively.

Nouns as content morphemes can be sourced from either the ML or the EL in codeswitched CPs. Whenever they are inserted into a codeswitching constituent, these nouns follow the word order of the ML. They are either morphologically and/or phonetically integrated or they are bare surface forms. Nouns inserted into Ekegusii- and Kiswahili-framed CPs are post-modified in accordance with Bantu word order. In such CPs, it is only Kiswahili and Ekegusii, which supply the late outsider system morphemes. The data also show that phonological integration occurs at times when the nouns from Kiswahili and Sheng are inserted into Ekegusii-framed CPs:

Setting: In Eldoret, the speaker is a female university student talking to her three friends with university education, about her classmate who joined the university at an advanced age.

(1) Ekegusii-English switching

[[A-go-teeba][ng'a e-husband yaye e-mo-chand-ete]]
3S-HAB-say that CL9-husband hers CL9-3S-stress-PRF
'She says that her husband is so stressful.' (Kem 200)

The first CP is monolingual Ekegusii. The second CP has Ekegusii-English switching and is of interest for my analysis. Ekegusii is the ML since its morpheme order is followed. The English noun husband is also post-modified by the Ekegusii ML possessive *yaye* ('hers'). In addition, the subject-verb agreement markers, also known as the late outsider system morphemes are sourced from Ekegusii in the entire CP. These include *-mo-* for the third person singular subject prefix and *-ete* for the perfect aspect. The complementiser *ng'a* ('that') is congruence checked against its English counterpart that. Both can introduce a new CP. There is no motivation to switch. So the complementiser *ng'a* is sourced from the ML. As a discourse level content morpheme (Myers-Scotton 2002: 70), the complementiser can be sourced from either the ML or the EL.

The intention to speak is formed at the conceptual level. Ekegusii is selected as the ML and is more activated as opposed to the English EL. At the lemma level, processing the codeswitched CP begins. There is competition between content morphemes, namely the Ekegusii complementiser *ng'a* versus the English equivalent that, English husband versus the Ekegusii counterpart *omosaacha*, the verb *-chand-* and the English equivalent stress. Lemmas underlying the inserted English EL noun husband are congruence matched with the Ekegusii equivalent *omosaacha*. Husband is preferred to its Ekegusii equivalent *omosaacha*. Ekegusii *omosaacha* can imply a man or a husband. Thus the context of using *omosaacha* must be clear to avoid ambiguity. The English equivalent noun husband explicitly refers to a man who is married. Therefore, English husband is selected for use

here. It appears husband has sufficient congruence with its Ekegusii equivalent and is morphologically integrated. It is affixed an early system morpheme *e-* (Ekegusii noun class 9 marker) as it is in its singular form. The Ekegusii adjective *yaye* ('her') is also matched with its English equivalent her. Both equivalents unambiguously express possession. Thus there is no motivation for using an EL equivalent and the Ekegusii *yaye* is selected. Finally, the Ekegusii verb, *-chand-* is congruence matched against its English counterpart stress. The two equivalents refer to both physical and psychological pressure that is exerted on one. In fact when *-chand-* is used in the context of a marital relationship, it implicitly connotes stress that could be associated with a husband battering his wife. This is perhaps the emphasis that the speaker wants to express. Therefore, the Ekegusii verb *-chand-* is chosen. It then takes on its affixes, namely the early system morpheme noun class 9 marker and the late system morphemes *-mo-* and *-ete* for third person singular subject and perfect aspect. The codeswitched CP surfaces as in (1).

More evidence for the integration of English content morphemes that are inserted into Ekegusii is given in (2).

Setting: A 17 years old high school girl is narrating a recent Coca-Cola public sales promotion in Kisii town to two university students and two high school students.

(2) Ekegusii-English switching

[[Yaani e-show e-ri ebi-mwaana nao bi-re]
 that.is CL9-show CL9-that CL8-child there CL8-are

[bi-go-ita] (Caro 4)

CL8-INF-beat

'That is, there are children there dancing (at that show.)

(2) has two CPs – one is bilingual and another monolingual one. My concern is the bilingual CP – *Yaani e-show eri ebimwana nao bire*. The ML of the CP is Ekegusii. It provides the morpheme order and all late outsider system morphemes. The head-word *eshow* of the codeswitched NP *eshow eri* is post-modified with *eri* ('that') in accordance with Ekegusii grammar. The ML island is well-formed with morpheme order and system morphemes being sourced from the ML.

In structuring the CP, the intention to speak is formed at the conceptual level. Ekegusii is chosen as the ML. Then at the lemma level, the activation of language specific semantic/pragmatic bundles and congruence matching begin. The discourse marker *yaani* ('that is') is matched for congruence against its English counterpart that is. Functionally and semantically, both equivalents are totally congruent as they introduce an elaboration. Thus the ML alternative *yaani* is

selected. The inserted English noun show is used in the phrase, *yaani eshow eri* ('that is, in that show'), while the kernel of the CP is in monolingual Ekegusii – *ebimwana nao bire* ('there are children at that place'). In the phrase, *yaani e-show*, the EL noun show is preferred to its Ekegusii counterpart *ekiorokererio*. The Ekegusii noun *ekiorokererio* has several meanings including "a show", "an example" and "a demonstration". The English noun show clearly expresses what the speaker wishes to convey. The noun *eshow* as already noted is post-modified by the ML demonstrative *eri* ('that'). *Eri* is an early system morpheme that is indirectly elected by the content morpheme show at the lemma level during speech processing. Bearing in mind that early system morphemes can be sourced from either the ML or EL (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001: 101) it logically follows that in (2) the adjective *eri* ("that") is sourced from Ekegusii (ML) while its headword show is from English without violating any MLF claims. The demonstrative *eri* has a late outsider system morpheme prefix *e-* for grammatical agreement with the noun *eshow*. The surface form of *e-* agrees with the noun class 9 Ekegusii prefix that is affixed to the inserted headword *e-show*. The resulting codeswitched NP *eshow eri* ('that show') is then added a monolingual Ekegusii predicate *ebimwana nao bire* ('there are children there'). A final Ekegusii-English switching example is given in (3):

Setting: In a Kisii town street, the speaker is a university graduate and an employee of the civil service sector that is notorious for taking bribes. He is talking to a teacher and another university graduate.

(3) Ekegusii-English switching

Gose ne-chi-clerk chi-re obiisi (Mat 54/5)
actually COP-CL10-clerk CL10-are office
'It is clerks in the public offices (who take bribes).'

The ML of the CP is Ekegusii. It follows Ekegusii word order. Here the English EL content morpheme clerk is post-modified by a prepositional phrase in Ekegusii *chire obiisi* ('who are in offices'). In addition, its only late outsider system morpheme is from Ekegusii, namely the subject-verb agreement marker of noun class 10 *chi-*. It is used as a pronoun on *-re* to realise *chi-re* ('they are').

The speaker forms the intention to speak at the conceptual level and selects Ekegusii as the ML. The processing of the intention moves on to the lemma level where congruence matching between various morphemes of the ML and EL occurs. First, there is matching between the Ekegusii discourse marker *gose* and the English equivalent actually. Both effectively emphasise what is really true or exact compared with a general idea. In (3), the speaker is a civil servant who is reacting to a generalised notion that all civil servants are corrupt and therefore take bribes before serving people. He is defensive and feels compelled to emphasise his argument perhaps because he is an interested party. Both competing equivalents appear effective in emphasising. The speaker selects the

ML *gose*. Then comes the switched English noun clerk which is checked for lexical-semantic congruence against its counterpart in the ML *omoriki*. The English noun clerk unambiguously refers to people who work as clerical assistants in offices. However, its ML equivalent *omoriki* literally means a writer and can thus imply “clerk”, “author”, “scribe” etc. It does not clearly imply clerical officers. The decision to use the English word clerk is taken because it expresses the speaker’s intentions better. This EL noun also has an Ekegusii early system morpheme from noun class 10 *chi-* for marking plurality. *Chi-* is indirectly activated at the lemma level to give its head, clerk, further conceptual information according to the speaker’s wish and also based on the syntax of the ML. The codeswitched phrase comprising the discourse marker *gose* and the NP *nechiclerk* are then predicated with a monolingual Ekegusii ML island *chire obiisi* (‘who are in offices’). The final morphological realisation pattern of the CP is in accordance with the positions projected by Ekegusii grammar.

The foregoing three Ekegusii-English examples (e.g. 1, 2 and 3) show the insertion of English content morphemes in Ekegusii-based CPs where there is sufficient congruence. All the inserted nouns are morphologically integrated. However, in the following Kiswahili-based examples, some EL instances have congruence with the ML while others do not have congruence.

In bilingual CS CPs where Kiswahili is the ML, the post-modification of nouns according to Kiswahili morpheme and word order is complied with except for the demonstrative, which can pre-modify a noun (cf. 3.2.1). All the late outsider system morphemes are sought from Kiswahili while English only provides content morphemes as (4) and (5) show:

Setting: Along the Kisii-Kisumu road, a 17-year old high school boy is relating how they (students) elected a school captain.

(4) Kiswahili-English switching

[[**U-na-jua**] [**sisi ndio tu-li-kuwa ma-organiser**]]
 2S-PRS-know we COP 1PL-PST-be CL6-organiser
 ‘You know, we were the organisers.’ (Mnoma 17)

(4) has two CPs and my interest is the second CP - [**sisi ndio tu-li-kuwa ma-organiser**]. Kiswahili is the ML since Kiswahili morpheme order and system morpheme principles are followed. In an unmarked Kiswahili construction, the copula **ndio** is preceded by the subject. In this case, **sisi**. The morpheme order in the verb “to be” **tulikuwa** follows Kiswahili grammar where the pronoun marker **tu-** precedes the tense marker **-li-** and the root of the verb **-kuwa**.

In processing the CP, Kiswahili is selected as the ML at the conceptual level when the intention to speak is formed. The Kiswahili subject **sisi** is matched with its English equivalent we. **Sisi** of the ML is chosen which means there is total

congruence between the alternatives. The predicate **ndio tulikuwa maorganiser** is also largely Kiswahili except the subject **maorganiser**.

The inserted English word **organiser** is a content morpheme. It is chosen in preference to its Kiswahili equivalent, **mwandalizi**. The Kiswahili noun **mwandalizi** simply means one who makes arrangements. However, the expanded meaning of the English noun **organiser** in the Kenyan context, is someone who not only makes arrangements but also sees to it that the elections are won even if it means rigging them. This is what the speaker implies and the English noun as used in election circles in Kenya carries these semantic-pragmatic features. The English noun **organiser** is therefore more appropriate as opposed to its Kiswahili equivalent.

The Kiswahili sourced plural affix **ma-** is an early system morpheme. It is indirectly elected at the lemma level by its content morpheme head **organiser**. It adds conceptual information to the head. As has been mentioned before, the content and early system morphemes have an unbreakable bond (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2001:108) and it is at times possible to find an EL switched noun with its plural system morpheme. But example (4) takes on the ML plural system morpheme **ma-**.

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student is narrating a story about a famous American actress to three of her colleagues who are also at university.

(5) Kiswahili-English switching

[[**Wale watu wa** South Africa **walimwita tu**

[a-fany-e movie **ile]**] (Lim 119)

3S-do-SUBJ movie that

‘Those people of South Africa just invited her to act in that movie.’

My interest in (5) is the second CP that is codeswitched [**a-fany-e** movie **ile]** (‘S/he acts the movie’). The first CP is monolingual Kiswahili while the ML of the second CP is Kiswahili. The CP follows Kiswahili word order where nouns are post-modified. It is noted that the noun movie is not preceded by the modifier **ile** (‘that’) as would be the case if it were to follow English word order; instead movie precedes the modifier **ile**. In addition, this example has an English noun movie in its singular form. This singular form is in line with a great portion of the data. For instance, 39 instances of inserted English nouns in my data are in their singular form. The data show that when a singular English noun is used, it surfaces in its original English form. One might take it for a bare form since bare forms are generally “EL lexemes which occur in a mixed constituent frame prepared by the ML, but the EL form is missing the required ML system morphemes (Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997: 33). However, the authors argue that “the second type of EL bare form is a compromise strategy in which an EL

content morpheme occurs without the requisite ML system morpheme; but these system morphemes occur on an ML element. Thus, in some sense this bare form is ‘integrated’ (Jake & Myers-Scotton 1997: 35). Consequently, the subject-verb agreement markers show that English nouns are reanalysed as class 9 nouns. For instance, the demonstrative *-le* surfaces as **ile** (‘that’) when it modifies class 9 nouns. This is what happens in (5) where movie is modified with **ile**. Therefore, instances such as movie in (5) are morphologically bare but not syntactically bare since they are morphosyntactically integrated at the underlying level. This trend of noun integration into the ML through concord in a sentence also applies to most switched Sheng nouns in Kiswahili. As illustrated in (6) and (7), some Sheng nouns are realised in their singular form but others take on Kiswahili plural affixes:

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student talks to her three colleagues about why she thinks female soldiers in Kenya do not get married.

(6) Kiswahili-Sheng switching

Hata hasii y-ako a-na-weza kuwa na
 even husband CL1-your 3S-NONSPT-AUX COP with

hasira (Lim 212)

anger ‘Even your husband might be angry.’

The CP has all surface morphemes from Kiswahili except the inserted Sheng noun *hasii* (‘husband’). *Hasii* is a Sheng noun sourced from the English noun husband. It has retained its meaning but its surface form has changed with the final syllable falling off. Only two syllables remain. The final syllable has vowel lengthening. Kiswahili is the ML of the CP as it provides the morpheme order and the system morpheme for the inserted Sheng noun *hasii*. In line with Kiswahili grammar, the Sheng noun is post-modified with the Kiswahili possessive **y-ako** (‘your’). All the late outsider system morphemes including the possessive **yako** are also sourced from Kiswahili. For instance, although English-sourced *hasii* appears like a truncated bare English morpheme, the late outsider system morpheme **y-** on the possessive **yako** is affixed following Kiswahili grammar. This shows that the content morpheme *hasii* is not a bare form; rather, it is reanalysed in accordance with Kiswahili grammar as a class 9 noun. Class 9 nouns take **y-** agreement markers in their singular.

The intention to speak the CP is formed at the conceptual level and Kiswahili is selected as the ML while Sheng is the EL. However, as shown in chapter 3.3ff Sheng has no stable grammar. In cases where Sheng is involved in codeswitching, all function and system morphemes are bound to come from the ML. Only content morphemes are likely to be sourced from the EL. In (6), the only congruence matching at the lemma level involves the inserted *hasii* and its Kiswahili equivalent **mume**. The TUKI (1981) Kiswahili dictionary defines

mume as husband. However, the Sheng noun *hasii* that is sourced from English husband is selected in preference to its Kiswahili equivalent **mume**. The speaker preferred the Sheng noun *hasii* to the Kiswahili equivalent **mume** in order to convey her intentions with a strong impact as it is more fashionable among the youthful speakers.

Setting: By the roadside along Kisii-Kisumu highway. A high school boy lends out a borrowed newspaper and plans to lie to the newspaper's owner why he is not returning it.

(7) Kiswahili-Sheng switching

Ni-me-acha kwa ma-beste (Gir 18)

1S-PRF-leave at CL6-friends

'I have left it with my friends.'

The CP is well-formed according to Kiswahili morpheme order. The verb –**wacha** ('leave') has prefixes for subject **ni-** and tense-aspect –**me-** respectively as required in Kiswahili. Even the placement of the preposition **kwa** (at) and the plural marker **ma-** on the Sheng noun *beste* appropriately follow Kiswahili. Thus (7) is based on Kiswahili grammar. Sheng only inserts a single word. The inserted Sheng noun *beste* ('friend') is sourced from English best. In its English source best is an adjective. But in Sheng, it is recategorised as a noun with an expanded meaning of friend.

The intention to produce CP (7) is formed at the conceptual level. Kiswahili is chosen as the ML while Sheng is the EL. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying content morphemes and system morphemes are activated. For the verb, Kiswahili –**wacha** is activated. I do not know of any existing Sheng equivalent. However, in accordance with the ML, the verb gets the **ni-** and –**me-** prefixes for subject and tense marking. The Kiswahili preposition **kwa** (with no known Sheng equivalent) is activated and selected. At the same level lemmas underlying the Sheng noun *beste* are activated and they compete with those underlying the Kiswahili equivalent **rafiki**. *Beste* is selected against its Kiswahili equivalent **rafiki**. The Kiswahili noun **rafiki** refers to any friend. However, the Sheng noun *beste*, as seen earlier, has connotations of an intimate friend, which the speaker seems to be having in mind. The two (*beste* and **rafiki**) have sufficient congruence. So *beste* is morphologically integrated through noun class 6 marker **ma-** for plural as shown in (7). The prefix **ma-** on the inserted Sheng noun *beste* ('friend') is an early system morpheme for plural in Kiswahili. Thus unlike the singular form of movie in (5) and *hasii* in (6) this Sheng noun **mabeste** takes on an overt morphological integrating affix.

The data show that bilingual switching between Kiswahili and Ekegusii is also present. On the one hand, there is the switching of Kiswahili nouns into Ekegusii-

framed CPs while Ekegusii nouns are also switched into Kiswahili-framed CPs, on the other. (8) and (9) represent Kiswahili nouns in Ekegusii-framed CPs:

Setting: A 21-year old female university student promises four of her friends, one university student and three high school students, that she will find out if married women also took part in a recent Coca Cola public sales promotion held in Kisii town.

(8) Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching

Baka i-mo-boori e-**kiisa** eki-o. (Caro 39/40)
must 1S-3S-ask CL9-tale CL9-that
'I must ask him about that tale.'

Setting: In a Kisii town street, a teacher and former executive secretary of the local branch of the national teachers' union, narrates how the poor pay for teachers forces him to buy used clothes.

(9) Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching

Igo n-ko-ruusia mo-**tuumba**.
so STAB.1S-HAB-remove CL3-used
'I buy these as second hand clothes.' (Mat 38)

Both Ekegusii and Kiswahili largely have a similar morpheme and word order. The two languages also largely have similar positions for system morphemes in a CP. Thus the morpheme order principle cannot be used to determine the ML in (8) and (9). However, the system morpheme principle can be used to determine the ML and explain the insertion of the nouns. Inserted Kiswahili content morphemes are both morphologically and phonologically integrated into Ekegusii. In (8) for instance, the inserted Kiswahili content morpheme **kiisa** ('tale') is affixed an Ekegusii noun class 7 morpheme *e-* (in *eke*¹) and the penultimate syllable is lengthened. This means that the noun class for the inserted word still remains noun class 7 as it is in Kiswahili but on the surface it is double-marked for noun class 7 by Ekegusii and Kiswahili. In Ekegusii, the noun class 7 marking morpheme is *eke-/ege-* but it is **ki-** in Kiswahili (Kiswahili plural is **visa**). The obligatory late outsider system morphemes representing the subject and object, which are affixed to the verb *-boori* ('ask') in (8) are sourced from Ekegusii. These morphemes include the first person singular subject marker *i-* and the third person singular object marker *-mo-* in the verb *imoboori* ('I shall ask him/her'). Therefore, Ekegusii is the ML of (8).

The speech production process is hatched at the conceptual level. Here Ekegusii is selected as the ML while Kiswahili is chosen as the EL. At the lemma level,

¹ The word's full form is *ekekiisa*. However, in careless talk which is now largely used by Abagusii, it turns out as *ekiisa*.

the content morphemes and system morphemes are selected from Ekegusii except lemmas underlying the content morpheme **kiisa** in Kiswahili. These compete for selection with lemmas underlying the Ekegusii equivalent *omogano*. The selection of the inserted Kiswahili morpheme **kisa** seems to be motivated by the speaker's desire to clearly convey certain connotative messages. The Ekegusii equivalent *omogano* can mean an ordinary uneventful story or an oral narrative. The Kiswahili noun **kisa** connotes an adventure and not just an ordinary uninteresting tale. The speaker has an adventure in mind because she is referring to the extraordinary and, according to Ekegusii culture, the unexpected public dancing of a married woman. This connotation is well represented in the Kiswahili noun **kisa**, which is selected and surfaces as *ekiisa*.

The ML in (9) is Ekegusii. The language provides the late outsider system morphemes, namely the fused morpheme *n-* for the stabiliser and first person singular subject and *-ko* for the habitual tense marker respectively, in *nkoruusia* ('I remove'). In addition, the use of the focus *igo* ('so') and a stabilising morpheme *n-* on the verb is characteristic of Ekegusii and not Kiswahili grammar. Furthermore, in (9), the inserted content morpheme **motuumba** ('used clothes') is retained as noun class 3 in both Kiswahili and Ekegusii. The difference is the surface form of the noun class marking morpheme. In Kiswahili, it is **m-** while in Ekegusii the noun class prefix is *mo-*. The noun also takes on a long vowel in the penultimate syllable in line with Ekegusii phonology and surfaces as **motuumba** whereas it is **mtumba** in Kiswahili. This is part of integration to Ekegusii as the ML.

The intention to produce CP (9) is formed at the conceptual level where Ekegusii is selected as the ML and Kiswahili the ML. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying content and system morphemes are sourced from Ekegusii except those for the predicate noun **-tuumba** ('used clothes') that come from Kiswahili. These lemmas compete for selection with those underlying the Ekegusii equivalent *monata/marogoto*. Thus there is congruence matching between the Kiswahili noun **mtuumba** and the Ekegusii equivalent *monata* or *marogoto*. The Ekegusii noun captures memories when the business in used clothes was illegal in Kenya. **Mtumba** is associated with the time the business was legalised and **mtumba** clothes became valued and fashionable. Therefore, the term connotes used clothes acquired legally in the free and open market, which the speaker in (9) must have been thinking about. Thus Kiswahili **mtuumba** is selected but is integrated through the Ekegusii noun class 9 marker *mo-*.

The Ekegusii-Kiswahili examples in (8) and (9) expose the difficulty that the MLF model faces when dealing with typologically similar languages. That is, the morpheme order principle is not a salient criterion when dealing with content morpheme insertion in typologically and genetically identical languages. The system morpheme principle is the most viable criterion of the MLF model that one can invoke in switching between the two languages. The positions on the CP

for the late outsider system morphemes are the same in both languages. However, the surface form of the morphemes mapped onto them must come from the ML. In addition, the data show that inserted Kiswahili nouns not only achieve morphological integration but also phonological integration through vowel lengthening. This could be another decisive criterion for determining the ML but it is outside the scope of the morphosyntactically-based MLF model.

Switching between Bantu-based codes is further illustrated by the switching between Ekegusii and Sheng in (10) and (11):

Setting: In Kapsoya, a female university student tells her colleagues about a mature university student who is as old as the speaker's mother.

(10) Ekegusii-Sheng switching

Manya o-re-enge na babo *maathee* Kereri.
know 3S-is-PST with colleagues mother Kereri
'You know, she was a classmate with my mother at Kereri (High School).'
(Lim 117)

Setting: At Nyabururu in the outskirts of Kisii town, a high school boy finds out what is going on in town from colleagues who have just arrived from the town centre.

(11) Ekegusii-Sheng switching

Taoo inaki e-geenderer-ete?
town how CL9-go on-PRF
'What is going on in town?' (Gir 6)

The ML in (10) is Ekegusii while Sheng, as expected, is the EL since the latter is an unstable code without its own grammar. The morpheme order followed is Ekegusii-based. In addition, the content and system morphemes that go into structuring the CP are sourced from Ekegusii. The only exception is the content morpheme *mathee*.

When the intention to produce CP (10) is formed at the conceptual level, Ekegusii is selected as the ML. At the next lemma level, lemmas underlying the Ekegusii content and system morphemes are activated. Here too lemmas for the Sheng noun *mathee* are activated. This is in competition with those lemmas underling the Ekegusii equivalent *baba/mama*. Thus congruence matching between the two equivalents proceeds. I find no CP internal motivation for the preference of the Sheng *mathee* to Ekegusii *baba* or *mama*. Suffice it to say that *baba* is the indigenous word for mother while *mama* is borrowed from Kiswahili and is currently the most commonly used word. Thus it is possible that the youthful speaker does not know that *baba* is used for mother. Although *mama* is commonly used, it is associated with the rural folk while *mathee* that is sourced

from English is associated with the trendy and educated youths. Hence *mathee* might have been motivated by the need to portray oneself as trendy and educated.

The ML of (11) is Ekegusii while Sheng is the EL. Ekegusii morpheme order and system morpheme are followed since the unstable Sheng does not provide neither a contrasting morpheme order nor system morpheme. All the morphemes in (11) are sourced from Ekegusii except the inserted Sheng noun *taoo* (town).

Ekegusii as the ML is selected at the conceptual level when the intention to speak is formed. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying the Ekegusii interrogative *inaki* and the verb *-genderer-* ('go on') are activated. To the best of my knowledge, these morphemes have no Sheng equivalents and thus have no competitors. At the lemma level too, lemmas underlying the Sheng noun *taoo* and its possible Ekegusii equivalents *omochie* and *echiuro* are activated.

The activation of Sheng *taoo* and Ekegusii *omochie* and *echiuro* necessitates congruence matching. The speaker is referring to a modern Kenyan urban centre commonly referred to as town. The Ekegusii equivalent *omochie* could denote a town or home while the alternative *echiuro* borrowed from Dholuo *chiro* denotes market. Indeed *echiuro* in Ekegusii does not evoke the features of a modern urban centre, namely shopping centres, town dwellers from various backgrounds etc.; rather it implies a traditional open field where buyers and sellers converge once or twice a week to exchange goods. Thus none of the two Ekegusii equivalents could appropriately represent the speaker's intention. On the other hand, *taoo* is sourced from English town and it implies all the characteristics associated with a modern urban centre in the speaker's mind. On this basis, it is selected as opposed to the Ekegusii equivalents.

There is evidence that when Sheng and Kiswahili lexemes are switched into English, the inserted nouns conform to English syntax but they do not get integrated as (12) shows:

Setting: A female university student explains to her colleagues the difference between types and sources of hair treating chemicals.

(12) English-Sheng switching

But the ones which are found in *Southaa* (Kem 53/4)

South Africa

'But the ones found in South Africa (are fake).'

The ML of (12) is English while Sheng is the EL. The CP is well-formed according to English morpheme order and system morpheme. In addition, except for the Sheng noun *Southaa*, all the other surface morphemes are sourced from English.

When the intention to produce (12) is formed at the conceptual level, English is selected as the ML. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying the content and system morphemes comprising the contrasting discourse marker but, the noun phrase the ones, the relativiser which, the verbal phrase are found and the preposition in are activated in the ML. Here, English morphemes are unchallenged as Sheng does not appear to provide equivalent morphemes that could compete with English. It is only against South Africa that Sheng's *Southaa* poses a competition. I find no intra-CP motivation for the preference of Sheng's *Southaa* to English South Africa. Perhaps the youthful speaker found it fashionable and trendy to use the Sheng equivalent – *Southaa*.

(13) is another instance of English-Sheng codeswitching.

Setting: A female university student explains why a beauty contestant in a recently concluded beauty contest behaved the way she did.

(13) English-Kiswahili switching

She wanted sifa (Lim 42/3)
praise 'She wanted to earn praise.'

Here too English is selected at the conceptual level as the ML while Kiswahili is the EL. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying the English content morphemes, namely the pronoun she and the verb want are activated. Further, a late outsider system morpheme for marking tense on the verb is sourced from English and it is affixed a suffix in accordance with English morpheme order. The participle -ed for marking past tense does not follow Kiswahili morpheme order where a prefix is used to mark past tense. At the lemma level too, lemmas underlying the Kiswahili noun *sifa* and its English equivalent praise are activated. The Kiswahili noun *sifa* is preferred to the English equivalent praise. I find no CP internal motivation for this choice.

The examples analysed so far show that bilingual switching of single noun insertions among speech participants who share a first language and speak three more codes presents different patterns. It is possible to have Ekegusii as the ML. Besides that, Kiswahili or English can also be the ML. When English nouns are switched into either Ekegusii or Kiswahili there is a high degree of morphological integration largely through the affixation of either class 9 or 10 marker for nativisation depending on the noun's number.

It is notable that the Morpheme Order principle largely does not work in determining the ML when Ekegusii, Kiswahili and Sheng nouns are switched between themselves. This is because Ekegusii and Kiswahili have a similar word order while Sheng has no separate stable grammar. In addition, Ekegusii nouns inserted in Kiswahili do not appear to take on Kiswahili surface noun class markers. The Ekegusii nouns are so intertwined with their early system

morphemes (noun class markers) that the grammar of any language into which they are inserted cannot break the bond. All the late outsider system morphemes are sourced from whatever code (Ekegusii or Kiswahili) is the ML in the switching between these Bantu codes (cf. examples 8-9). Therefore, it is the System Morpheme principle, which clearly distinguishes the ML in Ekegusii-Kiswahili codeswitching. Further, when Kiswahili and Sheng nouns are inserted into Ekegusii, they tend to achieve some vowel lengthening which is characteristic of Ekegusii phonology (cf. 7-9). This is another trait of integration into Ekegusii. Therefore, phonological integration especially of Kiswahili and Sheng nouns into Ekegusii could be a further criterion for determining the ML if the MLF model is further extended.

5.1.2 Verbs

Verbs constitute the second largest category of single word switches in the bilingual CS data. They are found in 37 % (92 out of 248) of the bilingual CS CPs with single word insertions as seen in Table 28.

Table 28: Distribution of bilingual CPs with single verb insertions

<u>CS Pair</u>	<u>No of CPs</u>
Ekegusii-English	43
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	8
Kiswahili-English	32
<u>English-Kiswahili</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>92</u>

Single English verbs inserted into Ekegusii- and Kiswahili-based CPs comprise the most predominant pattern. From Table 28, it can be seen that in most cases, the ML is an agglutinative language (Ekegusii and Kiswahili). The table further shows that 82 % (N = 75) of the switched cases have Ekegusii and Kiswahili as the ML. Only 9 instances have an English ML. In the following analyses, it is shown that late outsider system morphemes provide the clearest criterion for determining the ML in codeswitching involving the languages studied here:

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student explains the pain a mature female student underwent from her youthful and randy neighbouring room occupant in the students' hostel.

(14) Ekegusii-English
 [[Ebi-koori bi-go-happen next door]
 CL8-events CL8-HAB-happen next door

[omong'ina oyuo noo are]]
 old.woman that there is
 'The mature woman listens to all the randy events happening in the neighbour's room.' (Lim 211)

The first CP in (14) has Ekegusii as the ML and English as the EL. Ekegusii morpheme order is followed when an English verb happen is inserted. In tandem with Ekegusii morphology, concord dictates that the subject and the tense markers precede the verb. Thus the argument in Ekegusii's favour is supported by the affixation of all late outsider system morphemes to the English verb happen from Ekegusii. The switched English verb happen is inflected for number and tense with Ekegusii prefixes *bi-* (noun class 8) and *-go-* (habitual tense). The adverbial phrase next door is an English EL island because it conforms to English word order. Otherwise Ekegusii word order would have been 'door next'. A switch such as the English adverbial phrase in (14) is a common occurrence of formulaic² (Appel & Muysken 1987) switching phrases. Formulaic phrases are usually switched as a whole without any modifications on them. The switching of next door as a formulaic phrase does not change the ML.

Ekegusii is chosen as the ML when the intention to speak is made at the conceptual level. Lemmas underlying the Ekegusii content morpheme *ebikoori*, the English content morpheme happen and the adverbial phrase next door are activated. The Ekegusii noun is congruence matched with English miracle. Miracle is an extraordinary thing while *ebikoori* may not necessarily be extraordinary. Since the romantic affairs of the young university students are not anything peculiar in university life in Kenya, *ebikoori* is selected. Meanwhile, the English verb happen is matched for congruence with its Ekegusii equivalent *korekana*.

Happen is selected and integrated through the late system morpheme *bigo-*. *Korekana* is associated with the occurrence of miracles while happen does not necessarily imply a miracle. The romantic affairs in question are not miraculous so as to deserve the verb *korekana*. Therefore happen is appropriate in expressing the speaker's intentions.

Example (15) goes against Kamwangamalu's (2000b: 195-196) prediction concerning African languages and excolonial languages. Writing against the backdrop of social motivations of the Matrix Language Principle (MLP) in CS, Kamwangamalu asserts that in excolonial countries, switching between the former colonial languages and an African language always has the African language as the ML. He contends that when a European language and an African language are in contact, the European language's verbs take on the African language's infinitive affixes. But as (8) in section 2.1.4 reproduced here as (15) shows, even an African language, Kiswahili in this case, can take on a European language's infinitive marker.

² According to Wray & Perkins (2000) a formulaic expression is a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be prefabricated; that is, stored and retrieved in full (as a whole) from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar. Examples include tightly idiomatic and immutable strings of words.

Setting: A female Masters degree holder wants to know how fast a female university colleague is at plaiting hair.

(15) English-Kiswahili switching

[[How long does it take] [to **shuuka**³ one piece?]]

plait

‘How long does it take to plait one piece?’ (Kem 77)

The speaker is in the English language processing mode (Grosjean 1997, 2001) since the entire CP follows English syntax. She also uses the English word ‘to’. This could be taken for an infinitive marker but could also have prepositional properties. However, it is more of an infinitive marker given that it precedes a Kiswahili verb **shuuka** where the speaker could have used the infinitive form **ku-shuka** (to plait). So the second CP in (15) could surface as:

(15’) **ku-shuk-a ki-pande ki-moja**

INF-plait-FV CL7-piece CL7-one

‘to plait one piece’

The infinitive marker is a late outsider system morpheme under the 4-M model. Given the 4-M model’s classification, the infinitive marker must therefore be sourced from the ML.

The intention to speak is formed at the conceptual level and English is selected as the ML. Lemmas underlying English words are activated at the lemma level except for those underlying **shuuka**. Thus there is congruence checking between Kiswahili **shuuka** and its English equivalent plait. The two alternatives can equally well convey the speaker’s intentions. The selection of the Kiswahili alternative **shuuka** could be motivated by the speaker’s intention to stress and thus focus on the act of plaiting.

The English-Kiswahili ML with an English infinitivised Kiswahili verb to **shuuka** is a rare switch pattern. The entire corpus only yielded this CP. This may be an indication that it is difficult for Bantu verbs to be morphologically integrated into English. There is not even a single CP in my corpus, where an Ekegusii verb insertion in an English-framed CP is morphologically integrated through inflection. Perhaps the speakers are not English L1 speakers.

The inserted verb in (16) portrays switching between two typologically similar languages. Here a Kiswahili verb is inserted into Ekegusii. The Kiswahili verb has all its late outsider system morphemes from Ekegusii.

³ **Shuuka** is the speaker’s pronunciation, which is commonly heard in upcountry Kiswahili. Otherwise, the word is **suka** in standard Kiswahili.

Setting: Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student is telling her colleagues about the ongoing university exams.

(16) Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching
[[Igo boono forty ero nimbwate.]

[Na-a-**vuuk**-ire.]] (Kem 26/7)
1S-NONPST-cross-PRF
'So now, I already have forty marks. I will have passed.'

The ML of (16) is Ekegusii according to the Morpheme Order principle. Although the Bantu languages (Kiswahili and Ekegusii) have a similar morphosyntax, the perfect aspect in Kiswahili is marked by the prefix **-me-** that is inserted just before the root of the verb. The perfect aspect marking morpheme *-ire* comes in the final syllable as a suffix after the root of the verb in Ekegusii. If Kiswahili were the ML in (16), the CP could have surfaced as **ni-me-vuuka**. However, with Ekegusii as the ML in (16), the Ekegusii perfect tense marker *-ire* is used after the Kiswahili verb root **-vuuk-**. Besides the morpheme order, all late outsider system morphemes, namely *na-* for first person singular subject, *-a-* for the nonpast tense and *-ire* for the perfect aspect are sourced from Ekegusii. Hence Ekegusii is the ML.

At the conceptual level, the intention to produce (16) is made and Ekegusii is selected as the ML. When speech processing moves to the lemma level, lemmas underlying the content morpheme for “passing” are activated. Passing an exam is expressed in Kiswahili with the verb **-pita** (‘pass’). Its Ekegusii equivalent is *-eta*. The speaker in (16) opts to use a Kiswahili verb **-vuka** that means “crossing over a bridge, a river, an ocean or a lake”. The Kiswahili verb **-vuka** implies achieving a difficult feat. The Ekegusii equivalent of the Kiswahili verb **-vuka** is *-taamboka*. This verb does not fully express the difficulty of the feat. It could refer to simply making a single leap across a small stream. Thus the Kiswahili verb selected **-vuka** carries the speaker’s desired semantic-pragmatic features. That is, passing exams is a gigantic task.

The foregoing analyses based on the verb support the observation that the verb is a major word category upon whose inflection the ML can be determined (e.g. Bhatt 1997; Boumans 1998).

5.1.3 Adjectives

As seen in section 3.2, Ekegusii and Kiswahili are largely post-modifying languages. Therefore, adjectives must come after the referent. The adjectives may take the agreement affixes of the noun class of the referent if they are integrated into the ML. Table 29 shows the distribution of inserted adjectives in my data according to their ML patterns.

Table 29: Patterns of adjective insertions and their distribution

CS Pair	No of CPs
Ekegusii-English	16
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	13
Kiswahili-English	14
Kiswahili-Sheng	6
English-Kiswahili	3
Total	52

The table shows that English adjectives constitute the largest share of insertions (N = 30) into both Ekegusii- and Kiswahii-based CPs. Kiswahili adjectives are also switched into Ekegusii-based CPs. However, no Ekegusii adjective is switched into either Kiswahili- or English-based CPs. It is also interesting that a few Kiswahili adjectives (N = 3) are switched into English-based CPs and some Sheng adjectives (N = 6) are switched into Kiswahili-based CPs.

Adjectives are classified as content morphemes under the 4-M model (Schmitt 2000: 12). Thus they can be inserted from the EL. 29 of the switched adjectives in the bilingual CS CPs conform to the predictions of the MLF model. That is, as content morphemes, the adjective can be switched as EL tokens. (17) to (19) illustrate adjective insertion:

Setting: Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student is telling her colleagues about hair treating chemicals on sale in the market.

(17) Ekegusii-English switching

[[..ng'a eye n-ere fake] [eye t-eri fake]]
 that this STAB-is this NEG-is
 'That this one is fake (and) this one is not fake.'
 (Kem 65/6)

The two CPs in (17) have an Ekegusii ML while English is the EL. In both cases, the adjective (*fake*) comes after the modified word - *-ere* (the hair chemicals). In addition, apart from the insertion of the English adjective, the CPs are well-formed and conform to Ekegusii morphosyntax.

The choice of Ekegusii as the ML takes place at the conceptual level when the intention to produce (17) is formed. Then processing moves on to the lemma level where the activation of Ekegusii lemmas underlying *ng'a eye nere* and *eye teri* respectively occurs. In addition, lemmas underlying an adjective to modify *ere* are also activated. Those lemmas underlying the English adjective *fake* and a possible Ekegusii equivalent *embe* ('bad') are ignited. The concept of fakeness does not exist in Ekegusii so that even *embe* is not an appropriate modifier for a

fake thing. Thus the choice of the English fake fills in a would have been semantic gap.

Setting: In a lawyer's office in Eldoret, a female client who is educated up to university wants to know from her lawyer the gravity of the offence committed by her former employer.

(18) Ekegusii-English switching

[[Igo ere raisi]
so it.is easy

[omooonto a-ra-abe summoned?] (Rash 41-42)
person 3S-FUT-AUX
'So is it easy for someone to be issued with court summons?'

The structure of the second CP in (18) is Ekegusii-based because Ekegusii morpheme order is followed, namely all late outsider system morphemes for subject and tense *a-ra-* on the verb *-be* are in line with Ekegusii morpheme order. In addition, the English adjective summoned is appropriately inserted in accordance with English grammar.

There is congruence checking between Ekegusii and English equivalents at the lemma level. The closest Ekegusii equivalent for summoning someone is *-bwata* ('hold'). However, this verb *-bwata* does not automatically imply apprehending someone with a view to presenting him/her before a court of law; it could also mean holding someone by the hand. In contrast, the English deverbalised adjective summon is a preserve of the legal register. When used with the verb 'be' a person who speaks English knows that a summons is issued by courts of law. Thus in semantic-pragmatic terms, summons is the better alternative.

Setting: Same as (18) above. The topic changes to one's status in the husband's family.

(19) Kiswahili-English switching

Haki u-na-kuwa tu absorbed (Lim 52/53)
true, 2S-HAB-is just
'Surely, you just get absorbed.'

(19) has a Kiswahili ML and English as the EL. The CP follows Kiswahili morpheme order except for the adjective. According to the context in which the CP occurred, a female university student is talking to a fellow female student about the status a woman assumes when she is married. Thus the English adjective absorbed modifies the state of an individual after she is married. The adjective absorbed is derived from the English verb "absorb".

Kiswahili is selected at the conceptual level as the ML. At the lemma level, speech processing occurs and lemmas underlying the Kiswahili morphemes – **haki unakuwa tu** are activated. In addition, those lemmas underlying the English adjective absorbed and its Kiswahili equivalent **silimishwa** are activated. Congruence matching between the two equivalents then follows. **Silimishwa** is borrowed from English assimilate. Therefore, conceptually Kiswahili may be having a lexical gap. **Silimishwa** is also not widespread in use. Subsequently, it is possible that the present speaker was not aware of the existence of **silimishwa**. So she selected the English adjective absorbed.

From my data and the foregoing three examples (17, 18 and 19), it appears that English attributive adjectives are switched in their bare form without any Ekegusii or Kiswahili system morphemes.

The second CP in (20) has Ekegusii ML in the Ekegusii-Kiswahili codeswitching pattern.

Setting: A discussion at Kisii bus park between three men with university education. The speaker is expressing shock that one of them stays in a very dangerous locality.

(20) Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching
[[Oo! N-dooche igo o-meny-ete]
Oh! 1S-see so 2S-stay-PRF

[aase gete a-**koora** saana]] (Omw 11)
place certain CL15-tricky very
'Oh! I realize you stay in a very dangerous place.'

The CP is based on Ekegusii syntax through the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme principles. The Kiswahili adjective **kora** ('tricky') is integrated not only morphologically through the prefix *a-* but also phonologically through vowel lengthening of the second syllable to surface as **koora**. The long vowel in the first syllable is characteristic of Ekegusii and not Kiswahili phonology. The prefix *a-* is an Ekegusii late outsider system morpheme for agreement with the noun *aase* ('place'). It is a noun class 16 agreement marker. Therefore, while Kiswahili and Ekegusii have similar syntax, the integration of the Kiswahili adjective with Ekegusii late outsider system morphemes and vowel lengthening make it possible to decisively determine the ML.

The speech processing of CP (20) begins at the conceptual level where Ekegusii is chosen as the ML and Kiswahili as the EL. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying Ekegusii *aase gete a-* and *saana* are activated. In addition, those underlying Kiswahili **koora** and Ekegusii *abe* are activated. **koora** is congruence

matched against its almost equivalent Ekegusii adjective *abe*. It is an almost-equivalent adjective because it basically means “bad” while **koora** connotes not only “bad” but also the hidden location of the place, which is tricky to trace. Hence, the speaker’s message is better conveyed through the Kiswahili adjective **koora**.

Examples (21) and (22) represent bilingual CS CPs with Sheng adjectives.

Setting: Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student is complementing her colleague’s hairstyle.

(21) Kiswahili-Sheng switching

Nywele yako i-na-kaa fiti (Kem 52)
hair yours CL9-PRS-stay nice
‘Your hair is looking nice.’

Setting: By the Kisii-Kisumu highway, a high school boy is telling his colleagues about his uncle.

(22) Kiswahili-Sheng switching

Lakini huyo jamaa ni m-nooma saana (Mnoma 8)
but that fellow is CL1-nuisance very
‘That fellow is a big nuisance.’

The ML in both (21) and (22) is Kiswahili since the two CPs follow Kiswahili morpheme order and system morpheme principles. All late outsider system morphemes in the two CPs are from Kiswahili. Sheng only contributes to the CPs lexically through the inserted Sheng adjectives *fiti* and *nooma* in (21) and (22) respectively. *Mnoma* is a modifier of the ellipted noun (uncle) that is used in the conversation in the CP preceding (22). Both *fiti* and *mnoma* are modifications of English words ‘fit’ and ‘normal’. However, the resulting Sheng *mnoma* is relexicalised (Waithira 2003) so that its new meaning is “nuisance”. *Fiti* in Sheng means ‘good, nice, well or fine’. In example (21) it is used to refer to the state of the plaited hair. That is, it is looking nice.

The mechanics of this switching are as follows. The speaker forms an intention to communicate. Lemmas underlying content morphemes **nywele** (‘hair’), **-kaa** (‘stay’) and **fiti** (‘nice’) are elected for CP (21). Kiswahili is elected as the ML at the lexical-conceptual level. At the lemma level, the lemma pointing to **nywele** indirectly elects early system morpheme lemmas for **yako** (‘yours’) so as to get more conceptual information as desired by the speaker. In accordance with Kiswahili grammar, **-kaa** (‘stay’) needs subject-verb agreement markers. Therefore, lemmas underlying **i-** for the subject marker and **-na-** for the nonpast tense marker are elected. Congruence matching for Sheng **fiti** (‘nice’) and Kiswahili **vizuri** (‘nice’) is processed. The speaker intentions seem to be best

conveyed by *fiti*. *Fiti* and *vizuri* have similar meaning. The speaker manages to foreground the appearance of the plaited hair by switching to Sheng *fiti*. In spite of the switch, there is not enough congruence between Kiswahili *vizuri* and Sheng *fiti*. Thus *fiti* surfaces as a bare form.

Nooma as used in (22) refers to being a nuisance. It is used to modify the person (uncle) being talked about. It also takes on noun class 1 affixes since it modifies a person. Processing for (22) follows a similar process as in (21). Kiswahili is chosen as the ML at the conceptual level. Lemmas underlying **Lakini huyo jamaa ni** are activated. At the same time lemmas underlying *nooma* are also activated. As indicated earlier, *nooma* is congruence matched with its Kiswahili equivalent *mtundu/mtukutu*. Although these are the correct Kiswahili adjectives, most upcountry Kenyans do not know them. Instead they could use **mbaya**. **Mbaya** is ambiguous as it could also imply “bad”. Hence the concept “nuisance” is better expressed by *nooma*.

The analyses of switched adjectives (e.g. examples 17, 18, 20, 21 and 22) reveal that although inserted English lexemes are usually integrated into Ekegusii and Kiswahili, adjectives are largely not. It appears that it is only some Sheng items that can be integrated into Ekegusii and Kiswahili.

5.1.4 Adverbs

The insertion of a single adverb in bilingual codeswitched CPs constituted 9.6 % (N = 24 out of 248 of the entire bilingual CS corpus). Ekegusii adverbs are only inserted into English-based CPs. Kiswahili and English almost equally share the remaining single adverb switches in various ML patterns as Table 30 shows:

Table 30: Patterns of single adverbs inserted into bilingual CS CPs

<u>CS Pair</u>	<u>No of CPs</u>
Kiswahili-English	1
Kiswahili-Sheng	1
Ekegusii-English	4
English-Ekegusii	9
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	5
<u>English-Kiswahili</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>24</u>

Adverbs can pre- or post-modify a verb, an adjective or even another adverb. According to my data, the adverbs are inserted into NPs and VPs. The following bilingual CS example shows insertion of an English island.

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student explains her relationship with another female university student.

(23) Kiswahili - English switching

We can never be friends **kabisa** (Kem 222)

completely

‘We can never be true friends.’

(23) has Kiswahili, a post-modifying language, as the ML. The CP has an English island we can never be friends. However, it only has a post-modifying Kiswahili adverb **kabisa** (‘completely’). English syntax is in most instances rigidly positional and does not allow word order flexibility. (Word order flexibility is possible especially in adverbs, Kembo-Sure p.c.). The placing of the adverb at the CP-final position is largely in line with post-modification in Kiswahili. The inserted English clausal island we can never be friends is congruence matched with its possible Kiswahili equivalent **hatuwezi kuwa marafiki**. The two seem to have congruent semantic-pragmatic import. However, it appears that the speaker’s intended new information is that she can never have a friendly relationship with her colleague. So in order for her to stress this new information, she switches from the Kiswahili ML to English to foreground her new message. It is very common for the elite in Kenya to use English for stress and foregrounding. English is the language of power and up-ward socio-mobility. (23) shows that the inserted adverb is bare in an English-based CP.

Example (24) below further supports the observation that inserted adverbs are not integrated. (24) has an inserted Sheng adverb **kaawaa** (‘normal’). This CP involves switching between Kiswahili and Sheng. In this case, Kiswahili provides the morpheme order for the inserted Sheng lexeme.

Setting: Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university graduate tells her colleagues how settling down in marital life is smooth and not stressful.

(24) Kiswahili-Sheng switching

I-na-ingia tu kaawaa (Lim 70)

CL9-HAB-go.in just normal

‘It is just smooth.’

The ML of this CP is Kiswahili on the basis of the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme principles. Sheng only contributes the adverb **kaawaa** while Kiswahili provides the word order and system morphemes. The adverb is post-modifying as required in Kiswahili syntax. The surface form of the prefixes **i-na-** for the subject and the tense respectively, on the Kiswahili verb **-ingia** (‘enter’) comply with Kiswahili requirements of concord. The subject affix **i-** refers to the noun phrase **hali ya maisha** (‘way of life’) in a CP preceding this CP. Such

subject-verb agreement is not characteristic of Sheng (cf. section 3.3); rather, it is typical of Kiswahili. Therefore, the CP has a Kiswahili ML.

The adverb *kaawaa* ('normal') is sourced from Kiswahili. Its surface form in Kiswahili is *kawaida* ('normal'). Here it has not only lost the last syllable but it has also gained vowel length in both the first and the last syllables. This vowel length may be a compensation for the lost syllables. The two equivalents are checked for congruence at the lemma level of speech processing. Although the adverb *kaawaa* has basically retained its Kiswahili meaning, it usually changes its shades of meaning contextually. For instance, in Kiswahili it means 'normal' but in (24) it means 'smooth'. Unless one knows its existence and meaning in Sheng, it is not easy to decode its import. In this case, it better conveys the speaker's intention of a smooth transition from one's parental home to a marital home. It is merely inserted into a CP that is fully structured in Kiswahili.

Setting: A discussion at Kisii Bus Park between three men with university education. The speaker is reporting about the status of a friend that the other two had not seen for so long.

(25) Ekegusii-English switching

[[Mbuya a-re-enge]
fine 3S-is-PST

[ekero na-a-mo-rooche last igoro]] (Omw 36)
when 1S-PST-3S-see yesterday
'She was fine when I saw her last yesterday.'

Setting: Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student is talking to her colleagues about mature university entrants.

(26) English-Ekegusii switching

Ee aro they learn (Lim 138)
Yes really 'Yes, they really work hard.'

The second CP in (25) follows Ekegusii word order. The function words including the late outsider system morphemes *na-a-mo-* for first person singular subject, tense and object respectively, on the content morpheme verb *-rooche* ('see') come from Ekegusii. The inserted English adverb last has a bare surface form but English is "syntactically inactive" (Myers-Scotton 1993c) since the entire CP is structured on Ekegusii morphosyntax. Last is congruence matched with its Ekegusii counterpart *omoerio* ('last'). However, last is selected because it enhances the speaker's intention to focus on the last time he saw the subject.

(26) shows pre-modification of the English verb learn through the use of the Ekegusii adverb *aro* ('really') in accordance with English grammar. The word order at play here is based on English syntax because pre-modification using an adverb is not allowed in Ekegusii. As seen in 3.2.1, premodification in Ekegusii is exceptionally allowed in one adjective *ker* ('every'). In addition, the two English content morphemes, the pronoun they and the verb learn actually carry the basic/semantic content⁴ of the CP. This is also true for (26). It (*aro*) is congruence matched against its English equivalent really. Both counterparts carry identical semantic connotations. However, by switching to Ekegusii, the speaker manages to be more emphatic about the hardworking behaviour of the mature university entrants.

5.1.5 Pronouns

The data analysed do not have many pronoun insertions as Table 31 shows. The data mainly had personal pronouns inserted.

Table 31: Patterns of pronouns inserted in CS CPs

Bilingual CP	No of CPs
English-Ekegusii	10
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	2
Kiswahili-English	3
Total	15

The pronouns prove the MLF model prediction on the ML to be true except for one example. Examples (27) and (28) conform to the predictions of a single ML.

Setting: At a fundraising meeting in Paradise Hotel in Eldoret, the speaker gives his opinion about the format of a money-collecting sheet to be used to solicit for money based on the format they already have.

(27) English-Ekegusii switching

We can't use eye (Mar 101)
this

'We cannot use this (money-collecting sheet).'

(27) presents an instance of Ekegusii free morpheme pronoun *eye* ('this'), which is inserted into an English-framed CP. As a free morpheme, this pronoun is a content morpheme and can be sourced from the EL. *Eye* is an exophoric pronoun since it refers to an entity that the speakers had before them. The exophoric pronoun is placed in the sentence position where its equivalent English pronominal phrase this would be placed. Thus the switched CP conforms to English syntax.

⁴ The CP's basic message, information, new information. That which a CP basically aims at conveying.

According to the supportive Abstract Level model, the lemma underlying the pronoun *eye* ('this') is activated at the lemma level. The lemma for the English equivalent of this pronoun, i.e. this, is also activated. This means that congruence checking is instituted between the two equivalent pronouns. The pronoun *eye* ('this') is a substitute for an overtly missing NP money-collecting sheet in (27). The NP could be substituted with the English word this while Ekegusii uses *eye*. The Ekegusii word pronoun is chosen. The preference of Ekegusii *eye* to English this could perhaps be due to the fact that by switching to Ekegusii, the speaker is more emphatic and focused on what he is referring to.

The following CS example shows insertion of a Kiswahili pronoun in an Ekegusii-based CP:

Setting: At Kapsoya, Eldoret, four female university students are discussing about some artificial hair pieces that had been inadvertently given to a house-help.

(28) Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching

Ebi-into ko-a-aa **nani**? (Kem 32)
CL8-thing 2S-PST-give so.and.so
'(Do you know) the things you gave so and so?'

The ML in (28) is Ekegusii while Kiswahili is the EL. This is because the content morphemes, the noun *ebi-nto* ('things') and the verb *-aa* ('give') in (28) are not only sourced from Ekegusii but they also source their system morphemes from Ekegusii. The late outsider system morpheme for the second person singular subject *ko-* and the past tense *-a-* affixes on the verb *ko-a-aa* ('you gave') are from Ekegusii. Thus the Kiswahili pronoun **nani** ('so and so') is inserted into an Ekegusii-based CP. The pronoun is used as a delay strategy as the speaker gropes for the correct word. A replay of the recorded conversation in which the CP occurred shows that the final vowel /i/ is lengthened as is the case when the filler *mm* is used. Indeed, the person was named in the subsequent CP.

The pronoun **nani** is checked for congruence against its Ekegusii counterpart *nyarebe* ('so and so') at the lemma level of speech processing. Both seem to convey the same message. However, *nyarebe* appears to have been replaced with the Kiswahili equivalent **nani** even among monolingual speakers. Therefore, the selection of Kiswahili **nani** may be due to the speaker's lack of knowledge of the existence of the Ekegusii counterpart *nyarebe*.

5.1.6 Complementiser

As mentioned earlier (cf. 2.2.2 under the 4-M model) complementisers are discourse content morphemes and they can be sourced from either the ML or the EL. This means that complementisers do not play a significant role in the structure of the CP because the CPs' basic structure is monolingual as exemplified by (29) and (30). Here they introduce English well-formed CPs.

Setting: At Paradise Hotel in Eldoret, the speaker is giving his suggestion on how the announcement for a planned fundraising meeting should read.

(29) English-Ekegusii switching

[[To-ba-teebi] [ng'a this is another function]]

1PL-3PL-tell that

'(We should) tell them that this is another (fund raising) function.' (Mar 104)

As the second CP shows, the English clause that comes after the complementiser carries the CP's entire message. Although the Matrix Language Frame model may not consider this as part of the clause, the grammaticalisation theory shows that the complementiser is part of the ML clause. The complementiser's role is to signal the incoming new information. The use of the complementiser here confirms that there is no real grammatical contact between the complementiser and the CP. A further example in (30) confirms that complementisers have no effect on the structuring of the CP.

Setting: At Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student is narrating how professionals walked out of a workshop because they dreaded doing assignments.

(30) English-Ekegusii switching

[[Can you believe] [ng'a people walked out?]]

that

'Can you believe that people walked out (of the hall)?' (Kem 101/2)

The complementiser is segmented as part of the second CP that it introduces. However, no structural contact exists between them. The foregoing CPs (i.e. 29 and 30) are fully well-formed on English syntax. It is possible for the complementiser *ng'a* to be matched for congruence with its English equivalent that. Both seem to effectively perform the function of introducing the next CP. Ekegusii *ng'a* is selected so as to enhance the speaker's focus on the action of the next clause. This congruence matching may not work for CP (29).

5.2 Multiword switches

In the previous section (5.1), I analysed CS CPs consisting of only a single EL word in a CS CP. In the present section (5.2), I will deal with CPs where the EL

insertion has more than one word. These multiword insertions are discussed within noun, adverbial, verbal, and prepositional phrases.

5.2.1 Noun phrases

The main concentration of multiword switches is on the NP. Switching of the multiwords in the NP is most prevalent in Ekegusii-English CPs as shown in Table 32 below.

Table 32: Switching in NPs

<u>CS Pair</u>	<u>No. of CPs</u>
Ekegusii-English	21
Kiswahili-English	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>29</u>

As earlier mentioned (cf. 2.2.2 under the 4-M model), single nouns are thematic role receivers. The multiword NPs are thematic role receivers too. Thus one could expect the NPs' structure to conform to the ML morphosyntax in terms of Morpheme Order and System Morpheme principles.

Setting: At Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student explains her colleagues about the on-going university exams.

(31) Ekegusii-English switching

Only one out of six na-a-kor-ire (Kem 21/2)

1S-PRS-do-PRF

'Apart from only one paper which I have so far done (exams are tough).'

Setting: At Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student explains the source of UN peacekeeping soldiers.

(32) Ekegusii-English switching

Chi-piisikiipa boonsi pi

CL10-peace-keeper all.of.them completely

they are all from Army, Air force ' (Lim 195/6)

'All peacekeepers (soldiers) come from the army, air force etc.

In both (31) and (32), the NPs are fully well-formed in their respective source languages but they conform to the predictions of the MLF model. The English NP in (31) only one out of six is headed by one which stands for 'exams'. This is clear from the previous discourse, which shows that the conversation is about exams. When the speaker forms the intention to produce the present speech, she selects lemmas for the English pronoun one. In order to be clear and avoid ambiguity, the speaker adds more conceptual information. This is achieved

through the early system morphemes represented by the pre- and post-modifiers surrounding the pronoun one. They include, only and out of six. The sequence of these modifiers follows English syntax and therefore the verbal phrase only one out of six is an English island. However, the NP's placement in the CP follows Ekegusii syntax. The missing word 'which' that is required by English syntax to introduce the relative clause *na-a-kor-ire* ('I have done') is not required in Ekegusii. Hence the grammar of English is inactive while Ekegusii is the ML and one whose syntax is more activated in (32). In addition, the late outsider system morpheme *na-* for first person singular subject, *-a-* for present tense and *-ire* for perfective aspect are all from Ekegusii.

At first glance, the Ekegusii NP in (32) *chipiisikiipa boonsi pi* ('all peace keepers') looks like it was inserted into an English-based CP because the surface form of all the words that follow the NP are English. However, the structure of the CP follows Ekegusii syntax. This is because the fully well-formed NP in Ekegusii is immediately followed by an English pronoun they. This pronoun represents the preceding Ekegusii NP in its entirety. The pronoun is a repetition, which is not appropriate in English syntax. However, repetition is the expected and acceptable structure in Ekegusii where a bound pronoun for the subject-verb agreement would be used to represent the subject in the verb. Therefore, the CP has a majority of English surface morphemes but an Ekegusii ML.

The 4-M and Abstract Level models can explain the process of this outcome as follows. The speaker forms the intention to talk about the source of the peacekeepers. She selects Ekegusii as the ML. At the lemma level, lemmas underlying the content morphemes *pisiikiipa*, army, and airforce are activated. *Pisiikiipa* ('peacekeeper') is a nativised English loanword in Ekegusii. Lemmas of the Ekegusii equivalents for *chinkororo* ('army') and *abasikari be chindege* ('airforce') are also activated and congruence checking is instituted. There is congruence matching and the English nouns have preferable semantic-pragmatic features and they are chosen. The Ekegusii noun *chinkororo* evokes the concept of a traditional standing army with crude weapons for fighting in local inter-ethnic battles to loot cattle. But the English noun army reminds one of a national professional army that is for self-defence against external aggression using sophisticated weaponry. The English noun airforce also evokes feelings of a national force for external air defence. *Abasikari be chindege* is a concept that never existed in traditional Ekegusii. So it is ambiguous in Ekegusii worldview. The English alternatives are selected since they can clearly represent the speaker's intentions.

At the same time, lemmas underlying *pisiikiipa* indirectly elect early system morphemes for enhanced conceptual information. These include noun class 9 marker *chi-*, the adjective and the adverb *boonsi pi* ('all of them') and the English adjective all. These are early system morphemes and they can be sourced from both the ML and the EL in accordance with the 4-M model. At the same time, in

line with Ekegusii syntax, the English nouns army and airforce do not require more conceptual information that would normally be provided by a definite or indefinite article in an English-framed CP. In addition, the position for the bound morpheme Ekegusii pronoun that is prefixed on the verb is filled in by an English free morpheme pronoun they. It is inserted just before the verb phrase are from according to Ekegusii syntax. Therefore, this CP has Ekegusii ML but with many English surface morphemes. The surface morpheme realisation is largely from English but the abstract lexical structure is under the control of Ekegusii.

In contrast to the previous examples, (33) below shows a multiword NP that is morphosyntactically integrated into the ML. The first NP first-born has the noun class 9 prefix marker for nativisation into Ekegusii so that it surfaces as 'e-first-born'. The second NP is prefixed a stabiliser *n-* so that it surfaces as 'nform two'. In addition, Ekegusii word order is followed.

Setting: A female university student at Kapsoya tells her colleagues about the large family of a mature colleague.

(33) Ekegusii-English switching

Omwana oye, e-first-born ere, gose, n-form two are
child hers CL9- her may.be STAB- is
'Her first-born child is, may be, in form two.' (Lim 205/6)

The NPs in the Ekegusii-English CP in (33) have blended the grammars of the switched languages yet they are all governed by the Ekegusii abstract lexical structure. The blending is in the use of CL9 on e-first-born and the stabiliser *n-* on nform two. The English NP first-born is congruence matched with its Ekegusii counterpart *omotaangi* ('first-born'). Both seem to have an identical basic meaning. However, the speaker succeeds in foregrounding what she is talking about – the first-born child – by switching to English. Further, the English NP form two is checked for congruence with its Ekegusii equivalent *kerasi ikomi na ibere*. The Ekegusii counterpart is ambiguous because it basically translates to grade twelve. This implies twelve years of schooling even at a time when the education system in Kenya did not have an eighth grade⁵. Grade twelve was actually the eleventh year of schooling. The Ekegusii equivalent is also uneconomical as it uses four words to express what English can effectively do in only two words. The choice of the English NP form two may be a way of avoiding the ambiguity and also to be economical.

Setting: A female university student at Kapsoya explains the episodes of a past film they are watching where a felony was committed.

⁵ Between 1963 and 1984, Kenya had an education system with seven years of primary education, four years of secondary education, two years of high school and at least three years for a University Bachelor's degree. During those days, one moved from class seven in primary school to form one in secondary school. Form one was called class nine. Thus eight was "skipped".

each other. The number of the adverbial insertions is too minuscule as it comprises only one from Kiswahili and four from English.

The inserted EL adverbs consist of time, manner, space and number. It is notable that none of them is morphologically integrated into the host language. They all assume their full surface form in their source languages. Hence they are islands.

Setting: At a fundraising meeting in Paradise Hotel, Eldoret, the master of ceremonies recounts a series of fundraising meetings already held elsewhere for the same cause that they are meeting.

(35) Ekegusii-English switching

Kisii n-ba-a kora bo the other day

Kisii STAB-3PL-PST-do so

‘Kisii town (residents) did so (raising funds) the other day.’
(Mar 26/27)

(35) is an Ekegusii-based CP with an English adverbial phrase the other day inserted. The head-word of the NP (residents of Kisii town) and the object of the VP (*nbokora bo*) of this CP are understood from the previous discourse. If the substituted head-word plus the associative and the ellipited object were overtly present, then the CP could have surfaced as:

(36) Aba-nto ba Kisii n-ba-a-kora .
CL2-person of Kisii STAB-CL3-PST-do

omochaango the other day (Mar 27/27)
fundraising

‘The residents of Kisii (town) raised funds the other day.’

Therefore, the place name Kisii (‘a town’) substitutes for what could have been the content morpheme NP *abaanto ba Kisii* (‘residents of Kisii town’). In the same way, the VP *kora bo* (‘do so’) substitutes for what could have surfaced as the full VP *kora omochaango* (‘fundraising’). That notwithstanding, the noun phrase *abaanto ba Kisii* (‘people of Kisii’) and the truncated verb phrase *kora omochaango* (‘raise funds’) are covertly present in the CP.

The overt content morphemes in (35) are the place name, Kisii and the verb *kora* (‘do’). The verb is sourced from Ekegusii. It has late outsider system morphemes, namely *n-ba-a-* for the stabiliser, third person plural and tense respectively, that are sourced from Ekegusii. The word *bo* (‘so’) in the phrase *kora bo the other day* (‘do so’) is also sourced from Ekegusii. Thus Ekegusii sets the frame for the morpheme order and the system morpheme of the CP. The English adverbial

phrase the other day in the VP is an English EL island. This is because it is well formed in English, yet the CP's ML is Ekegusii.

The Abstract Level and the 4-M models explain how the adverbial phrase in (35) is realised. Lemmas underlying the English adverbial phrase the other day and its Ekegusii equivalent *rituko riinde* are matched for congruence at the lemma level of speech processing. The Ekegusii adverbial phrase *rituko riinde* can mean some day in the past or in the future. In addition, it could imply that the fundraising had taken place twice in Kisii. That is, earlier and also on the "other day" the speaker is referring to in (35). According to Ekegusii morphosyntax, the "other day" will be a remote past, which is marked with the suffix *-ete*. However, the adverbial phrase the other day as used in the context of (35) refers to a recent past as indicated by the recent past marker *a-* in the verb. The recent past is what the speaker has in mind and not the meaning conveyed by the Ekegusii adverbial phrase *rituko riinde*. Hence the English adverbial phrase the other day is selected as it conveys the speaker's intention better. Notably there is not sufficient matching between the other day and its Ekegusii counterpart *rituko riinde*. So it surfaces as an English EL island. It is well-formed according to English syntax. Had it conformed to Ekegusii word order, then it could have come out as day other. It is also notable that all the inserted English multiword adverbial phrases in Ekegusii in the present study are EL islands. This implies that although Ekegusii is highly inflectional, it is unable to integrate the English multiword adverbial phrase.

(36) represents switching between the typologically highly congruent Bantu languages of Ekegusii and Kiswahili.

Setting: At Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student explains that she can only peripherally pass the ongoing university exams because they are so difficult.

(36) Ekegusii-Kiswahili switching

[[Yaya, e-suup ero]
No, CL9-supplementary it

[yaya, chi-Dii chi-rochio **kwa wingi**]] ' (Kem 23/4)

no CL9-D CL9- they in plenty

'No, I don't want a supplementary (exam) but a lot of Ds.

The second switched CP in (36) *yaya chiDii ch-rochio kwa wingi* ('Ds in plenty') is a reduced one. The previous CP is monolingual Ekegusii. The bilingual CP has Ekegusii ML as it sources all late outsider system morphemes from Ekegusii. For example, the late outsider system morpheme *chi-* on the adverb *-rochio-* is sourced from Ekegusii. The CP has two content morphemes,

the Ekegusii nativised English alphabetical grade *chiDii* ('Ds') and the demonstrative *chirochio* ('themselves').

The root of the demonstrative *-ro-* elects lemmas underlying a discontinuous late outsider system morpheme *chi-* - *-chio* that enables it to achieve its surface form *chi-ro-chio* ('themselves'). The *chi-* affix on *chi-ro-chio* is for agreement with the noun *chiDii* ('Ds').

Speech processing for the CP is as follows. Ekegusii is chosen as the ML and Kiswahili as the EL at the conceptual level. The lemmas underlying the noun root *-Dii* ('D') and the root *-ro-* in *-rochio* are activated at the lemma level. The noun lemma indirectly elects an early system morpheme for noun class 10 *chi-*. The *chi-* clearly marks the noun for plural as *chiDii* ('Ds'). At the same lemma level, *chirochio* ('themselves') is given more details/modification. This is provided by the adverbial phrase **kwa wingi** ('in plenty'). Thus lemmas underlying the Kiswahili adverbial phrase **kwa wingi** are activated. This adverbial phrase is matched for congruence with its Ekegusii counterpart *ase oboonge*. The speaker opts to use the Kiswahili adverbial phrase **kwa wingi** to stress that she will score many low grades. It is difficult to determine whether or not the adverbial phrase is integrated because Kiswahili and Ekegusii have the same word order. Both the syntax of Ekegusii and Kiswahili could project two positions in the same word order for the adverbial phrase in this CP. The Morpheme Order principle is thus of no use in determining the ML here; rather, the System Morpheme principle can be used as already explained through the selection of system morphemes.

The final example in the multiword adverbial switching category is an English adverbial phrase so much into a Kiswahili-based CP in (37).

Setting: In Kapsoya, female university students discuss the duration the exams take.

(37) Kiswahili-English switching

I-na-isha **haraka** so much. (Kem 134)
 CL9-PRS-end fast '(Time) ends very fast.'

(37) is Kiswahili-based because it conforms to Kiswahili morpheme order. All late outsider system morphemes on the verb **-isha** ('end'), namely **-i-** for noun class 9 and **-na-** for present tense are sourced from Kiswahili. The lemmas underlying the inserted English adverbial phrase so much is activated to beef up and add more information to the Kiswahili adverb **haraka** ('fast'). The Kiswahili equivalent of the English adverbial phrase is **sana**. The two **sana** and so much are matched for congruence. The extra adverbial phrase so much, which is placed after **haraka** is for stress. Thus by switching to English so much the speaker enhances her emphasis on the fast expiry of time. However, when the speaker decides to use English, she finds herself forced to use the expression holistically as a fixed phrase.

How this CS outcome is reached can be explained under the 4-M and the Abstract Level models. The speaker forms an intention to talk and selects Ekegusii as the ML. He then activates lemmas pointing to the semantic-pragmatic features underlying content morphemes. These content morphemes include: the Ekegusii stabiliser *igo* ('so'), the proper noun Kisii High School, the Ekegusii verb 'to be' *-ere*, the English verb address and the noun friend. The English verb and noun are given more conceptual information through early system morphemes. In this regard, the verb address activates a preposition to in accordance with English syntax while the noun friend requires the plural morpheme *-s*. There are two NPs friends and Kisii High School in the emerging CP. The predicate-argument structure of Ekegusii requires two NPs under the same maximal projection to be joined into a compound NP. So a late bridge system morpheme from Ekegusii *-a* ('of') is activated to join the two NPs into one as friends ba Kisii High School. The late bridge system morpheme *-a* ('of') takes on a late outsider system *b-* (noun class 3) that enables it realise its surface form as *ba* ('of'). At the same time, the verb address activates a late outsider system morpheme *-ed* for tense that is sourced from English. In addition, a late outsider system morpheme for agreement is called as a bound pronoun *ki-* that is affixed on the Ekegusii verb 'to be' *-ere*. The CP's positions are projected by Ekegusii syntax and are accordingly filled in by these morphemes as in (38).

There is congruence matching of the multiword verbal phrase between Ekegusii *kerikeire* ('it is written for') and its English equivalent addressed to friends. The latter is selected and inserted into an Ekegusii CP although its morpheme order conforms to English grammar. For instance, the past participle *-ed* is a late outsider system morpheme for tense and should have been sourced from the ML (Ekegusii). However, the past participle is sourced from the EL. In addition, the preposition to is not required in Ekegusii syntax once *kerikeire* (the equivalent of addressed to) is used. Thus, addressed to friends is well formed in English and should be considered an English verbal phrase island. So the entire verbal phrase consists of the island addressed to friends plus the prepositional phrase, *ba Kisii High School*. The ML's (Ekegusii) grammar completes the verbal phrase through the possessive phrase *ba Kisii High School* 'of Kisii High School'.

A similar English insertion into Ekegusii is as shown in (39):

Setting: In a Kisii town street, a former Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) executive secretary talks to colleagues about his days as the union's executive at the branch level.

(39) Ekegusii-English switching

[[Omwarimu buna nche][naraba
teacher like me who.was

deployed as executive secretary ya KNUT iga]]
of KNUT like.this

‘A teacher like me who was deployed as KNUT executive secretary (earns well).’ (Mat 104/5)

The first reduced CP is monolingual Ekegusii while the second one is bilingual in Ekegusii and English. The Ekegusii ML in the first CP is extended to the second CP. The second CP is Ekegusii-based since the morpheme order and the late outsider system morpheme, namely the late bridge system morpheme *ya* (‘of’) is sourced from Ekegusii. The English verbal phrase deployed as executive secretary is an island. It has a verb deploy and a NP executive secretary. The late bridge system morpheme as is also sourced from English. Above all, the late outsider system morpheme for tense on the verb deployed is the English past participle -ed. However, the NP executive secretary is part of the compound NP executive secretary ya KNUT. Executive secretary is joined to KNUT through the late bridge system morpheme *ya* in Ekegusii. So English syntax fails to complete the verbal phrase. Instead, an Ekegusii associative phrase *ya KNUT iga* (‘[executive secretary] for example, of KNUT’), completes the verbal phrase. There is congruence checking between Ekegusii equivalent *naatometwe buna omoobisa omonene* and English deployed as executive secretary. The NP *omoobisa omonene* can imply head or chief officer among other connotations. It does not necessarily mean the English concept of executive secretary. So the English verbal phrase deployed as executive secretary is selected. The latter is rarely used and its meaning might not be clear to many people.

The foregoing examples in (38) and (39) show that English multiword verbal phrases in Ekegusii-based CPs are EL islands. The English verbal phrases are holistically immersed into the Ekegusii-framed CP. However, there are instances when the multiword verbal phrases are not islands. For an island to be in place, none of the words in the phrase is expected to be integrated while a phrase that is not an island will have at least one of the words integrated. For instance, the main verb of the verbal phrase (in 40) is integrated into Ekegusii while its object is a bare English noun. This is not an island:

Setting: A former executive secretary of the local branch of the National Union of teachers argues with a civil servant about the advantages the civil servants enjoy over teachers.

(40) Ekegusii-English switching

[[Naki o-go-chi-equate allowances]
how 2S-HAB-CL10-equate allowances

[chiria abaanto ba-ko-eg-wa]] ba Nairobi?
those people 3PL-HAB-give-PASS of Nairobi
'How do you equate those allowances given to the people of Nairobi?' (Mat 67)

Ekegusii is the ML of the switched CP. It conforms to Ekegusii morpheme order. The demonstrative *chiria* ('those') is a post-modifier of the English noun allowances. There is a word order flexibility where the verb *bakoegwa* ('they are given') is inserted in the NP *abaanto ba Nairobi* ('the people of Nairobi') so that it surfaces as *abaanto bakoegwa ba Nairobi*, which translates word for word as 'people are given of Nairobi'. This word order flexibility is not allowed in the rigid English word order. This is based on the switched CP's Ekegusii morpheme order. The source of its late outsider system morphemes, namely the second person singular *o-*, the nonpast tense marker *-go-* and the noun class 10 *chi-* prefix on the verb *ogochiequate* ('you equate them') is also Ekegusii. The switched verb equate is morphologically integrated while the inserted noun allowances is a bare English form.

The MLF model and its supportive 4-M and Abstract Level models can account for this phenomenon. At the lemma level, there is congruence checking between the English verb equate and its Ekegusii equivalent *reng'ania* ('equate'). English equate is elected and used in an Ekegusii-framed CP. The Ekegusii verb *reng'ania* connotes the physical measurement of an object using an instrument like a ruler while the English verb equate implies an assessment without necessarily being a physical assessment. So, the English content morpheme is selected.

At the same time, the content morpheme noun allowances is a bare English form. It not only has its English surface form but it also retains English plural marking. However, it does not violate Ekegusii syntax. As a content morpheme, the lemma underlying it (allowances) is elected at the lemma level. It is subjected to congruence checking against its Ekegusii equivalent *chieera* ('allowances'). Ekegusii *eera* (singular) does not clearly mean allowance. It could imply bonus payment one earns from sales of agricultural products like tea or pyrethrum in Kenya. However, allowances is readily understood as the entitlement one gets while performing his official duties, at least in the Kenyan context. The speaker meant what the English noun allowances implies. So the English noun allowance is chosen. As an English content morpheme allowance requires further conceptual information about quantity, which is supplied by the early system morpheme -s. The plural marker -s is sourced from the EL (English). This does not violate the MLF prediction, which allows early system morphemes to be sourced from either the ML or the EL. The final morphological realisation is that the switched CP is based on Ekegusii syntax as earlier mentioned.

5.2.4 Prepositional phrases

There are very few instances of switching involving prepositional phrases as the summary in Table 35 shows.

Table 35: Distribution of prepositional phrases in bilingual CPs

CS Pair	of CPs
Ekegusii-English	3
Kiswahili-English	5
Total	8

The table shows that all the switched prepositional phrases are sourced from English. Majority of them (N = 5) are inserted into Kiswahili. As indicated earlier (cf. 3.2.1), there is incongruence between Ekegusii and Kiswahili on the one hand, and English on the other, concerning prepositional phrases. Unlike English, Ekegusii and Kiswahili have few monomorphemic prepositions. Many aspects that are introduced by the prepositions in English are either introduced by bound or zero morphemes in Ekegusii and Kiswahili. Thus English prepositional islands or bare forms are the most likely insertions in Ekegusii- and Kiswahili-framed CPs. The bare forms and EL islands appear as shown in the following examples.

Setting: In Kapsoya, a female university student explains how UN Peacekeeping soldiers sign contracts for their assignment.

(41) Ekegusii-English switching

Mwa-a-geenda for that year
 2PL-NONPST-go

‘You go for that (specific) year.’ (Lim 207)

Setting: In Kapsoya, a female university student is excited on meeting a colleague after a long time.

(42) Kiswahili-English switching

Si-ja-kuona for long. (Lim 2/3)

NEG-PRF-see ‘I have not seen you for a long time.’

(41) and (42) are Ekegusii- and Kiswahili-based respectively due to morpheme order and the source of late outsider system morphemes. The CPs’ inflections also revolve around the verb and the language of the inflection of the verb is the ML in these Ekegusii-English and Kiswahili-English verbal phrase insertions. The English preposition for in both (41) and (42) does not have an equivalent free morpheme in either Ekegusii or Kiswahili. The preposition could be marked by a zero morpheme in Ekegusii and the utterance in (41) could therefore have surfaced as in (41’):

(41') Mwageenda Ø omwaka oyio.
Mwa-a-geenda Ø year that
2PL-HAB-go 'You go for that year.'

If the Ekegusii preposition *ase* ('for') is used, the CP becomes ambiguous because *ase* could then imply the reason for going out for that one year. However, by using the English equivalent for in a prepositional phrase, the ambiguity is avoided.

In (42) Kiswahili could introduce the lexical item **kwa** for the concept "long (time)". However, the speaker selects the English preposition for. The motivation for this choice is not clear as the ML equivalent could be used unambiguously.

This chapter has applied the MLF model on bilingual CS CPs. The analyses show that the participants' first language is the ML in bilingual CPs (e.g. examples 1-3). However, the other participating languages except Sheng also provide the ML. Concerning Kiswahili-English CS, the chapter concurs with earlier Kiswahili-English CS studies (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997; Stephens 2000) that Kiswahili is the ML. What is unique in this inquiry compared with the earlier studies is that English can also be the ML (i.e. 12, 13, 15, 27 and 29).

The chapter has shown that there is a possibility of CS between different Bantu languages. The Kiswahili morphemes inserted are integrated when Ekegusii is the ML (e.g. examples 8, 9, 16 and 20). However, since the two languages are largely identical the analysis shows that invoking the Morpheme Order principle does not effectively work in CS between Ekegusii and Kiswahili (e.g. examples 8 and 9). Instead, the System Morpheme principle assists in determining the ML between the two languages.

Following the analyses in the chapter, it has been revealed that when the Sheng words appear in Ekegusii, Kiswahili or English-based CPs, they constitute Ekegusii-Sheng, Kiswahili-Sheng or English-Sheng CS (e.g. 6, 7, 10 and 11). Thus Sheng lexemes should be treated independently of Kiswahili lexicon.

Chapter Six

Composite matrix language and convergence

This chapter analyses codeswitched CP types, which have either more than one ML (composite ML) or the surface morphemes are from two languages but the abstract lexical structure is from another language. Myers-Scotton (2002: 99-107) defines composite ML as abstract frame for the morphosyntax of a bilingual CP with abstract input from more than one language. For example, surface morphemes may be sourced from English and Kiswahili but the ML is Ekegusii. This type of switching is, to my knowledge, not yet attested in CS literature. All codes supplying the surface morphemes for either trilingual or bilingual CS CPs also contribute towards the CP's abstract structure. The chapter also analyses convergence. Following Myers-Scotton (1998: 290), convergence is "the use of morphemes from a single linguistic variety, but with parts of their lexical structure coming from another source". Thus all surface morphemes are sourced from one language but the CP has an abstract lexical structure from another language. For instance, all the surface morphemes might be from Kiswahili but the abstract structure is from Ekegusii. The CPs analysed in this chapter not only shed light on the unique instances of composite CS and convergence in my data but they also present the problems encountered when using the MLF model. The first section of this chapter (6.1) deals with composite CS while the second section (6.2) is devoted to convergence. However, before getting into the analyses, there is need to recapitulate the tenets of the MLF model's supportive Abstract Level model in relation to composite ML and convergence.

6.1 Abstract Level model and the composite matrix language

The MLF's supportive Abstract Level model distinguishes three abstract grammatical structures in any lexical item:

(i) The lexical-conceptual structure. As outlined earlier (cf. 2.2), the lexical-conceptual structure is mainly activated at the Abstract Level model's conceptual level of speech processing. Myers-Scotton & Jake (2001: 25) have argued, "in our view, pre-verbal intentions in the conceptualizer activate language-specific semantic/pragmatic feature bundles at the interface between the conceptualizer and the mental lexicon. These bundles are mapped onto entries in the mental lexicon (lemmas) as lexical-conceptual structure". In this case, lemmas underlying a speech intention are merely activated. An ML is also selected. So, the lexical-conceptual level is crucial when forming speech intentions and when matching the semantic-pragmatic feature bundles that underlie an intention, which the speaker wishes to convey.

(ii) The predicate-argument structure. This deals with relations between the thematic role assigners and the arguments they map onto phrase structure units.

(iii) The morphological realisation patterns. This level deals with elements and constituent orders required to meet well-formedness for surface level realisations.

The predicate-argument structure and the morphological realisation patterns are language specific. They are processed at the Abstract Level model's second stage, namely the lemma level. The third stage is the formulator level, where an ML is supposed to be clearly displayed. There should also be a distinct separation in the speech processing of the languages participating in the CP. That is, the ML selected in the preceding levels should now be overtly in charge of CP formation. If that is the case, the ML surface morphemes should eventually appear. In addition, the separation enables the predicate-argument structure and the morphological realisation patterns to activate lemmas for various types of system morphemes according to the requirements of the ML's grammar. The positions for various morphemes in the CP according to the ML's grammar are also projected. The separation in language processing should be sufficiently maintained until the articulation of an utterance if a single ML is to be realised. This entails sufficient deactivation of the ELs. Sufficient deactivation of the ELs implies that all the participating languages are activated although the ML is more activated as opposed to the ELs. However, if speech processing in the other participating ELs is not sufficiently deactivated, then, a composite ML results.

6.2 Composite matrix language

In the following, I analyse various CPs to show how the morpheme order and the system morphemes in the CP are from more than one language source. Table 36 summarises the composite ML CPs in my corpus:

Table 36: Distribution of composite ML CPs

<u>CP Type</u>	<u>No of CPs</u>
Trilingual CPs	2
Ekegusii-Kiswahili	1
Kiswahili-English	2
Ekegusii-English	1
Kiswahili-English (Ekegusii)	2
<u>Convergence (Covert CS)</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>24</u>

It should be noted that there is no single ML in this category of CPs. Therefore the languages on the patterns in Table 36 do not indicate a ML. They have been used for convenience to represent the languages providing surface morphemes.

6.2.1 Trilingual composite codeswitching

Myers-Scotton and her associates have discussed and analysed composite CS in bilingual CPs. However, the present analysis shows that composite codeswitching is not restricted to bilingual CPs only; rather, it is possible in trilingual CPs as well. Out of the 18 trilingual CPs recorded, two have a composite ML:

Setting: A female university student tells her colleagues about how she expects to perform in the ongoing university examinations.

(1) I know I can only **toboa** twenty out of seventy
score

na twenty eria ya e-CAT
and that of CL9-CAT¹ (Kem 25/6)

‘I know I can only score twenty out of seventy in addition to the twenty that I scored in continuous assessment tests.’

(1) has surface morphemes from three languages, namely Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English. One might suppose that the first constituent of the CP up to *na* (only toboba twenty out of seventy) is English-based with a Kiswahili content morpheme insertion **toboba** (‘drill’, ‘bore’, ‘puncture’²). The second constituent of the CP (*na twenty eria ya e-CAT*) is Ekegusii-based with an English bare numeral twenty and an integrated English acronym CAT. If this analysis is adapted, then, this will be the only example in CS literature where there is a change of the ML within a single CP. The MLF model predicts that there should be no change of the ML within a single CP (Myers-Scotton 2002: 59-67); only, a composite ML in a single CP is possible.

According to the 4-M and the Abstract Level models, lemmas underlying **toboba** and twenty in the first constituent are elected at the lemma level. The lemma underlying **toboba** activates the lemma for only and the lemma for twenty indirectly activates the lemma for out of seventy. At the same lemma level, lemmas for twenty and for CAT in the second constituent, are elected as content morphemes. In addition, the lemma for twenty indirectly elects a lemma for the demonstrative *eria* (‘that’). CAT also indirectly elects a lemma for an early system morpheme *e-*, which is a noun class 9 marker. Simultaneously, a lemma is also activated for another late bridge system morpheme, the associative *-a* for joining the NP twenty eria with the acronym CAT to form a compound NP

¹ CAT means Continuous Assessment Test

² **toboba** as used among the university students means to score marks or pass an exam.

and Kiswahili, occurs four times in this CP. The first *na* in (2) is used in the Ekegusii sense to join the Ekegusii verb phrase *twareenge* ('we were') and the English noun phrase my brother. In (2), the first *na* is sourced from Ekegusii because it not only comes immediately after but it is also triggered by the preceding Ekegusii verb *twareenge* ('we were'). The role of the second **na** is to join the preceding NP my brother with the subsequent participants which have *na* occurring twice, i.e. brother ya huyu na Freddie **na** Patie. The second *na* is however Kiswahili-based because it triggers the subsequent Kiswahili phrase **na** brother ya huyu na Freddie **na** Patie ('with her brother and Freddie and Patie'). So the last two instances of **na** are from Kiswahili.

The selection of the noun brother in the first constituent follows congruence checking for the Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English counterparts. Here brother is matched for congruence with Ekegusii's *momura omiinto* and Kiswahili **kaka yangu** ('my brother'). The English noun brother is preferred to Ekegusii's *momura omiinto* and Kiswahili **kaka yangu** to focus the speaker's stress that the person being talked about is a brother. The brother selected gets more conceptual information from the adjective "my". Thus an EL island compromise strategy is invoked resulting in an English noun phrase my brother. Ekegusii word order should have been brother my. In the second constituent, brother is congruence matched with its Kiswahili counterpart **kaka** and Ekegusii *momura omiinto*. Brother is preferred to **kaka** perhaps for purposes of continuity with the previous selection of "brother" and may be to also avoid ambiguity if another equivalent is selected. There is sufficient congruence matching since there is integration of the English alternative into Kiswahili resulting in the noun phrase brother ya huyu. On the whole, there is a composite ML in this CP. This is because at the formulator level, the lemmas are supposed to be language-specific with a clear separation between a ML and an EL. However, this does not appear to have happened in (2). Instead, there is a recombination with Ekegusii and Kiswahili continuing as active MLs in the first and the second constituents respectively.

6.2.2 Composite Ekegusii and Kiswahili codeswitching

This type of composite codeswitching data involves surface morphemes from two languages and the same two languages provide the abstract lexical structure of the CP. (3), has surface morphemes from Ekegusii and Kiswahili and both languages provide the abstract structure of the CPs.

Setting: In Kapsoya, Eldoret, four women with university education are talking in the library about news reports on UN peacekeeping soldiers.

(3) Kiswahili and Ekegusii composite switching

[[**Mi si-pendi**] [**si-taki**] [**ku-amb-iw-a**]

Me NEG-like NEG-want INF-tell-PASS

[now you know what happened yesterday] [ten people...] **saa ile tu-ki-soma**
 e-raipurari]]. time that 1PL-PRG-read
 CL9-library

‘I do not like, I do not want to be told “Now you know, what happened yesterday, ten people...” at a time when we are reading in the library.’

The last CP **saa ile tu-ki-soma e-raipurari** is of interest here. It is a composite Kiswahili and Ekegusii-based CP with an Ekegusii content morpheme insertion *eraipurari* (‘library’). The inserted Ekegusii content morpheme is a nativised English loanword library. The word/morpheme order in this CP conforms to both Ekegusii and Kiswahili grammars. So the Morpheme Order principle cannot be invoked to distinguish the two languages. Whereas Kiswahili inserted nouns are integrated into Ekegusii as seen in earlier examples (e.g. in the last two chapters), the switched Ekegusii noun *eraipurari* is not integrated into Kiswahili. The Kiswahili equivalent of *eraipurari* is **maktaba**. Both are CL9 nouns. *Eraipurari* is not integrated because it still retains its Ekegusii noun class 9 marker *e-* instead of the zero morpheme as in Kiswahili. In Kiswahili **maktaba** is used both for singular and plural. The non-integration of *eraipurari* makes it an Ekegusii bare form. This is a sign that during congruence checking in the mental lexicon the Kiswahili equivalent **maktaba** (‘library’) does not have a lemma match with this content morpheme. Had the noun *eraipurari* been morphologically integrated into Kiswahili, it could also have taken the Kiswahili locative suffix **-ni** or preposition **katika** to indicate “in the library”. In (3), however, neither the locative nor the preposition is present. The Ekegusii equivalent of the Kiswahili locative and prepositional markers is one free morpheme *ime* (‘in’). In Ekegusii, one does not need to specify that the act of reading is taking place in the library as long as the place (i.e. the library) is mentioned. One could, however, be expected to specify the location if the reading is done outside the library. Example (3) shows the CP appearing to be Kiswahili-based with an Ekegusii noun *eraipurari* inserted. However the insertion of the noun does not conform to Kiswahili grammar. Instead it conforms to Ekegusii grammar. Thus both languages set the frame of the switched CP. So the CP has a composite ML.

6.2.3 Kiswahili and English composite matrix language

Another form of composite CS concerns bilingual CPs with Kiswahili and English surface morphemes where both languages contribute to the abstract lexical structure of the CP as (9) of section 2.1.4 reproduced here as (4) shows.

Setting: A current female university student asks a former female university student when she completed her undergraduate studies.

- (4) You **maliza-ed** when? (Lim 195)
finish-PST 'When did you finish?'

(4) portrays the separation and recombining of Kiswahili and English grammar in one CP. According to the MLF model's Morpheme Order principle, one might conclude that Kiswahili is the ML. This is because an English interrogative construction with 'to do' has its interrogative word in the sentence-initial position while a Kiswahili interrogative word usually takes the sentence-final position. Therefore, the Kiswahili interrogative construction word order is followed as seen in (4) where the interrogative word when is sentence-final. However, a closer analysis indicates that the verb is inflected for tense with the past participle -ed that is sourced from English. This past tense marking is a suffix on the verb, which is typical of English and not Kiswahili morpheme order (cf. 3.2). In Kiswahili, the tense marking morpheme usually comes just before the verb root. Therefore, the order of affixing morphemes on the verb root follows English syntax.

A reanalysis of the CP based on the 4-M and Abstract Level models is as follows. At the conceptual level, the speaker forms a speech intention that selects Kiswahili as the ML. At the lemma level, she activates lemmas pointing to the bundles supporting the content morphemes of the verb **maliza** ('finish') and the English pronoun you. Lemmas pointing to the interrogative word are also activated.

At the lemma level, predicate-argument structure is formulated on the basis of Kiswahili morpheme order and the CP's positions are projected. At this level, the positions on the CP are empty shells waiting for surface morphemes to fill them in. Processing according to English syntax should have sufficiently been deactivated and only Kiswahili processing should continue at this stage. However, processing in the two language systems recombines. Therefore when the Kiswahili verb **maliza** requires a late outsider system morpheme to mark tense, the past tense marker is sourced from English and in line with English morpheme order, it is affixed on the verb as a suffix. Finally, the morphological realisation pattern displays a Kiswahili and English word/morpheme order and the surface morphemes are also from both languages. There is no uniform ML; instead both languages are highly activated. Hence, this yields a CP and a composite ML.

Setting: A female Masters degree holder tells three current female undergraduate university students about a beauty contestant of Asian origin who displayed exemplary traits in a recent beauty contest.

(5) But the ka-Indian she got marks from the questions.

CL13-

'But the Indian scored a lot of marks by answering questions.' (Lim130/131)

The CP is analysed according to the supportive 4-M and Abstract Level models as follows. The speaker's intention is clearly to talk about the Indian beauty contestant. So at the conceptual level, she appears to have selected English as the ML. She then activates lemmas pointing to bundles supporting semantic-pragmatic features of content morphemes. One of these content morphemes is the noun Indian. The lemma supporting this noun ("Indian") also indirectly elects lemmas supporting early system morphemes, namely the definite article the and the zero morpheme for singular as a suffix to the noun Indian in line with English syntax. The other content morpheme whose lemma is activated is the contrasting discourse marker but. The verb got and the nouns mark and question also have their lemmas elected. Lemmas are also indirectly activated for the early system morpheme for the plural suffix -s affixed on the nouns marks and questions. The noun question also requires the early system morpheme the for definiteness. At the same time, the noun question requires the preposition from to introduce it (questions) as another participant.

At the formulator level, the selected lemmas become language-specific. Assuming that English is the ML, the positions projected on the CP are filled in as follows. The English definite article the is mapped on its correct position just before the noun it modifies, i.e. ka-Indian according to English syntax. The noun ka-Indian takes on a singular zero suffix to indicate that it (the noun) is in its singular form. However, there is a recombination of the separation in language processing so that English is not the sole ML any more. This is because the conceptual information for the noun ka-Indian that is provided by the definite article the and the zero suffix does not appear to be enough. The Indian girl being talked about is not just one; instead she is either too inconsequential or admirably too beautiful. It appears that the speaker cannot satisfactorily express these attributes in English. She can only do so in an African language. In the diminutivising Ekegusii noun class 13 marker ka- (also used in upcountry Kenyan Kiswahili) surfaces as a prefix to the noun ka-Indian. The placement of the prefix ka- on Indian is characteristic of Bantu morpheme order.

In addition, Bantu grammar activates a late outsider system morpheme, which is used for subject-verb agreement because the subject must be cross-referenced for on the verb. In (5), the subject marker (pronoun) is not the usual bound morpheme form a- ('s/he') of Ekegusii Bantu grammar; instead it surfaces in its English free morpheme form as she after the noun Indian. However, it (she) just comes before the verb got according to Bantu verbal inflection and morpheme order (cf. 3.2.3). I take the pronoun she to represent subject-verb agreement in Bantu grammar because there is no pause between ka-Indian and she. If there was a pause, then it could conform to English grammar. The late outsider system

morphemes are not sourced in accordance with Bantu abstract lexical structure only; rather, English also actively participates in supplying them. For instance, tense marking as a late outsider system morpheme on the verb got is provided in the fused English form as an infix in got. The CP is a clear juxtaposition of all the codeswitched languages as (5') shows.

(5')	But	the	ka- Indian	she	got	marks	from	the	questions	CS CP
	<i>Koreende</i>	<i>aka-mo-indi</i>		<i>ga-ka-nyoora</i>	<i>ama-agisi</i>	<i>go-etera</i>	<i>ama-booria</i>		<i>EKE</i>	
	But	CL13-CL1-Indian		CL13-PST-get	CL6-mark	INF-pass	CL6-question			
	Lakini	Ki-m-hindi		ki-li-pata	alama	ku-pitia	ma-swali		KIS	
	But	CL7-CL1-Indian		CL7-PST-get	mark	INF-pass	CL6-question			
	<u>But the Indian got her marks from the questions.</u>									ENG

(5) manifests the separation and recombining of the switched codes. The separation and recombining process morphologically reveals itself in the composite ML involving Bantu and English grammar.

The explanation of the analysis of (5) is based on Bantu and neither Kiswahili nor Ekegusii grammar. This is because although **ka-** is used in Kiswahili, it is only present (again irregularly) in upcountry Kenyan Kiswahili and not coastal Kenyan or Standard Kiswahili. Upcountry Kiswahili is shaped by the upcountry speaker's first language. In the participant's case, her first language is Ekegusii. So her use of **ka-** to show diminutivisation and admiration is influenced by Ekegusii, which marks diminutivisation with *ga-/ka-* (cf. 3.1). The Ekegusii-based diminutivisation is in turn reflected in the codeswitched CP. One could therefore posit that there is a composite ML in this composite CS CP.

6.2.4 Ekegusii and English composite matrix language

Ekegusii and English composite ML is also present in the data although I only observed three such instances in my data:

(6) is an interesting composite CS CP with a single adverb insertion. It is a monosyllabic adverb appearing in a CP with a majority of English surface morphemes and an abstract lexical structure coming from Kiswahili.

Setting: Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university graduate tells her colleagues how the selection of soldiers to serve in UN peacekeeping missions abroad is done.

(6) Kiswahili-English switching

They select **tu** random (Lim 210/202)
 just 'They just select at random.'

(7) surfaces with all English surface morphemes except for the noun class 9 marker *e-* on the content morpheme system in the noun phrase *e*system of Kenya. The subject of the CP is the English pronoun that, which is a substitute for the procedure or way of doing things in a corrupt manner. This is understood from the previous discourse and is inferred from the noun phrase *e*system of Kenya ('Kenyan system'). The verb of the CP is was. (7) is an SVO structured CP. Both Ekegusii and English follow the SVO structure. At a first glance, one might argue that since almost all the surface morphemes are sourced from English, the CP has an English ML with the insertion of an English nativised, *e*system.

However, a keen reanalysis of the noun phrase *e*system of Kenya reveals that Ekegusii syntax is also contributing to framing this CP. The elements of the NP *e*system of Kenya conform to the only Ekegusii possessive construction, i.e. N + Genitive (cf. 3.2.1 under noun phrases). In English, the NP would preferably surface as Kenyan system. (7) is a composite ML that mixes English and Ekegusii grammars.

The 4-M and Abstract Level models explain the process and the subsequent outcome of this CP as follows. The speaker in (7) forms the intention to communicate and activates lemmas underlying the content morphemes at the lemma level. The lemmas have semantic-pragmatic features pointing to the pronoun that, the verb was and the noun system. Meanwhile, the lemma underlying the noun system requires further conceptual information. So, it activates a lemma pointing to Kenya in order to show that the system referred to is Kenya's. The two nouns (system and Kenya) need to be bridged to form a compound NP. Subsequently, a lemma for a late bridge system morpheme underlying the English associative of is elected. In addition, at this stage the verb requires to be tensed and the lemma underlying the late outsider system morpheme was for past tense is elected.

However, the separation between Ekegusii and English is not complete. There is a recombining of both English and Ekegusii. On the one hand, the verb is marked for past tense in English as was while on the other hand, the compound NP takes on the typical Ekegusii N + Genitive word order *e*system of Kenya. The outcome of the process is a composite ML consisting of both Ekegusii and English.

(8) is also an instance of Ekegusii and English composite ML:

Setting: In a lawyer's office in Eldoret, the lawyer has finished taking a client through the various legal procedures of filing a case. After signing the various documents, the client says what she thinks the whole procedure implied.

(8) This is go-file eki-ina (Rash 9/10)
INF-file CL7-case 'This is filing a case.'

This is a copula CP whose surface morphosyntax is English-based. The initial constituent this is is well-formed according to English word order. However, this English syntax is intruded into by Ekegusii syntax when an Ekegusii infinitive form *go-* is used on the English verb file. The CP would have come out as follows if it were fully formed on the basis of English syntax.

(8') This is filing a case.

The infinitive form is normally marked with the *go-/ko-* in Ekegusii. In (8) the nativisation of the infinitive form of file into Ekegusii is incomplete as the root file retains some of its English grammar. A complete Ekegusii infinitive form should have been *gofaelia*. This is not done here. Meanwhile, the CP has an inserted Ekegusii noun *ekiina* ('case'). The noun *ekiina* ('case') conforms to Ekegusii structural requirements because it has no definite or indefinite article as would be required in English. Therefore, although the CP starts off with the English copula form this is, incomplete Ekegusii integration is seen on the infinitive verb *go-file* while the final noun *ekiina* conforms to Ekegusii grammar.

The 4-M and the Abstract Level models can explain this process and outcome as follows. This, is, file and *ekiina* are content morphemes whose lemmas are activated at the lemma level. A lemma supporting the noun root *-ina* ('case') indirectly activate the early system morpheme of noun class 7 marker *eki-* to give clear conceptual information to the noun. The late outsider system morpheme lemma underlying the infinitive form *go-* of the verb file is also activated to form the infinitive verb. However, the lemmas supporting the selection of an ML do not clearly separate English from Ekegusii processing. Initially, English syntax is used to realise the copula this is while later Ekegusii syntax is used to realise *go-file eki-ina* ('filing a case'). Thus, the CP does not have either an English or an Ekegusii ML; rather, the grammars of both languages are involved.

6.2.5 Kiswahili and English surface morphemes with an Ekegusii ML

A unique type of composite ML occurs in trilingual CS when all surface morphemes are drawn from two codes but the underlying ML is a third code. In (9) and (10), all surface morphemes are sourced from Kiswahili and English but the ML is Ekegusii.

Setting: At Nyabururu, Kisii, a high school boy tells his audience of three high school and two university students about a married woman who danced in public for a prize.

(9) **Si kama mama mwingine nasikia**

a-li-dance ku-dance (Caro 21/2)

3S-PST-dance INF-dance

'I hear another woman indeed danced.'

The switched CP is about the intensity of the action of dancing, which is expressed through the reduplication of a verb and a deverbal noun. On the surface, the CP is Kiswahili-based according to the Morpheme Order and System Morpheme principles. The System Morpheme principle can be invoked in favour of Kiswahili because the first English verb dance is affixed Kiswahili late outsider system morphemes, namely **a-** for third person plural subject and **-li-** for past tense on the verb dance (**a-li-dance**) while the second verb dance (**ku-dance**) is also affixed a Kiswahili infinitive marker **ku-**. The morpheme order, namely the sequence of affixes on the verbs is in tandem with Kiswahili verbal morphology (cf. 3.2). Therefore, morphosyntactically Kiswahili is the ML. However, reduplication to mark intensity of an action in Kiswahili does not use a verb and a deverbal noun. As (Mkude 1995:28) claims, an adverb is reduplicated to show intensity in Kiswahili.

According to the 4-M and the Abstract Level models, the speaker selects Kiswahili as the ML at the lexical-conceptual level. He then activates lemmas pointing to the bundles underlying the words bearing the intention he wants to express at the lemma level. The predicate-argument pattern also projects word positions in a sentence for expressing intensity in accordance with Ekegusii morphosyntax. This is done through the reduplication of an inflected verb and a deverbal noun. There appears competition between Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English for the verb root that will fill in these positions. The process of competition results in congruence checking. The English content morpheme verb dance is preferred to the equivalent Kiswahili **-cheza** ('dance') and also the Ekegusii equivalent **-teenga** ('dance'). The choice may be based on the speaker's wish to stress the intensity of the European type of dancing. The intensity and stress are more focused when said in another language apart from the language in which the conversation is being conducted. Hence dance is chosen and reduplicated as a verb and a deverbal noun in consonant with Ekegusii syntax so as to signal the intensity of the action. Taking a cue from the preceding CP, the verb dance sources all its late outsider system morphemes from Kiswahili.

In spite of the fact that the verb is sourced from English and all the late outsider system morphemes are from Kiswahili, the CP follows Ekegusii morphosyntax in encoding the intensity of the dancing action. That is, the use of reduplicative construction involving a verb and deverbal noun (cf. 3.2.3). Hence, Ekegusii provides the abstract morphosyntactic and semantic/pragmatic structures while Kiswahili provides the surface word/morpheme order. Both the structure and meaning of this CP are intertwined. Therefore, the all-surface Kiswahili-English morphemes CP has a composite ML.

The second CP in (10) has surface morphemes from Kiswahili and English but it is also based on Ekegusii structure:

word-initially as a prefix. The English expression please I can't conveys no message unless what the speaker “cannot do” is clearly stated or the context of the speech is transparent if English is the ML. But this expression please I can't does not need to be elaborated any further according to Ekegusii grammar because it is clear. Thus while the surface morphemes are English-based, their abstract structure is based on Ekegusii. This means that the CP is a composite CS with a composite ML.

6.3 Convergence

The CPs analysed in this section do not overtly show codeswitching. However, analysing them is important because it contributes to the present study's conclusions on the status of Ekegusii when it is in contact with Kiswahili and English. The term “convergence” is used interchangeably with “covert codeswitching” in the MLF model school of thought (Schmitt 2000). Covert codeswitching is a new concept in CS literature. Schmitt (2000: 19) defines convergence as a “language contact phenomenon that takes place when abstract lexical structure from one language is influenced by abstract structure from another language, resulting in a composite ML”. Further in the MLF model, the term ‘convergence’ is taken to be both a process and an outcome (Myers-Scotton 2002: 101). Convergence as an outcome is a linguistic configuration with all surface morphemes from one language, but part of the abstract structure comes from another language.

Convergence as a process is viewed as a progressive outcome of attrition, language shift, language death and Creole formation (Myers-Scotton 2002: 101-107). However, in this study, the process of convergence is associated with successive trilingualism where either the L2 (Kiswahili) and the L3 (English) converge to the L1 (Ekegusii) or English converges to Kiswahili. The convergence occurs due to the abstract semantic and lexical structures of Ekegusii and Kiswahili.

Kiswahili and English converge to Ekegusii in various forms and at various abstract lexical structure levels as discussed in the following. 17 CPs in the corpus studied have all surface morphemes from either Kiswahili or English but their lexical structure is Ekegusii-based. For instance, (11) has all surface morphemes from Kiswahili while the abstract lexical structure is from Ekegusii.

Setting: A high school boy expresses his amazement at hearing that a married woman danced in a public sales promotion in order to win a prize.

(11) [[**Afadhali msichana a-chez-e**

better girl 3S-dance-SUBJ

[**lakini mwanamke ya mtu!**] (Caro 37/8)

but woman of person

It is better a girl dances in public but it is amazing for a married woman to do so.'

The second CP in (11) is an instance of Ekegusii-Kiswahili covert CS as its ML is Ekegusii. This is because its acceptability as a well-formed CP and subsequently decoding its message depends on Ekegusii abstract lexical structure.

The language processing of (11) can be explained through a combination of the 4-M and the Abstract Level models. According to the 4-M model, **lakini** ('but'), **mwanamke** ('woman') and **mtu** ('person') are content morphemes whose lemmas are elected at the lemma level. However, **lakini** ('but') is a content morpheme at the discourse and not at the CP level as earlier outlined. Its thematic role is to contrast the present CP with the previous discourse. **Mwanamke** ('woman') and **mtu** ('person') are joined using a late bridge system morpheme **ya** ('of'). The late bridge system morpheme is multimorphemic because its surface form **y-** is a late outsider system morpheme which should be obtained when its root looks outside to **mwanamke** ('woman'). The correct surface form of the associative is **wa** in consonance with **mwanamke** as it is a noun class 1 word. However, in (11) **ya** is used. This is a common practise in upcountry Kenya Kiswahili as earlier mentioned (cf. 1.1) and could be influenced by the speaker's L1. Ekegusii speakers literally translate all associatives in Kiswahili as **ya** regardless of concord.

At the formulator level, the choice of the ML should be clearly identified and the CP's morpheme positions have to be filled in. In (11), all morphemes are sourced from Kiswahili. However, they bear no meaning until interpreted from an Ekegusii worldview. That is, the phrase **mwanamke ya mtu** ('woman of person') has heavy abstract structure implications in the phrase. The interpretation of the phrase in Kiswahili is 'someone's woman'. This is impolite reference to a woman in the speaker's Ekegusii abstract structure. The speaker's intention is to refer to 'somebody's wife'. This is not impolite. However, the Ekegusii word *omokuungu* for woman refers to both wife and woman. *Omokuungu* literally translates to Kiswahili **mwanamke**. So the speaker uses the Kiswahili surface morpheme **mwanamke** ('woman') but he implies "wife" in Ekegusii. Hence, the influence of Ekegusii abstract lexical structure is very much active.

The structure of the CP points to Ekegusii as the ML because, in this case, the second reduced CP **lakini mwanamke ya mtu** ('but woman of person') does not need a position for a verb. In spite of the absence of the verb, the CP is well-formed according to Ekegusii syntax because the verb is given in the preceding CP. Thus the CP displays contact of Kiswahili and Ekegusii with Kiswahili appearing on the surface while it is based on Ekegusii abstract lexical structure.

There is also convergence involving Ekegusii and English which is manifested in four ways: (i) reduplication of the object, (ii) reduplication of the adverb, (iii) transposition of the interrogative word and (iv) reduplication of the subject.

Reduplication of the object

Example (12) shows covert codeswitching in that the CP's object is reduplicated.

Setting: A female Masters degree holder tells female university students that there were few mature students at the university when she was a university student.

(12) In fact our year is when there was one one.

'(During) our year, there were isolated cases.' (Lim 195)

All surface morphemes in this CP are sourced from English. Apart from the missing preposition during before our plus the reduplication of one at the end of the CP, one could say that the CP has an English ML. However, what is present here is Ekegusii encoding of English words. The missing preposition and the reduplicated object one form the focus of analysis. One is a substitute for the NP isolated cases.

Prepositions and NPs are content morphemes in English syntax according to the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997: 122-128). Lemmas pointing to content morphemes are activated at the lemma level. At this level too, there is grammatical information including the creation of positions to be filled in at the morphological realisation patterns (Myers-Scotton 2002). It appears that in (12) lemmas pointing to Ekegusii as the ML had information about the positions required in an Ekegusii-based CP. So the lemmas did not create a position for the preposition during at the lemma level in line with Ekegusii syntax. This is because prepositions do not always overtly exist in Ekegusii in such cases (cf. 3.2.1 under noun phrases). At the same lemma level, two positions are created for the semantic-pragmatic features underlying the NP. This is because there must be two words for the NPs in Ekegusii *oyomo oyomo* ('one' 'one') to imply 'isolated cases'. The formulator level fills in the positions of the Ekegusii-based CP with English surface morphemes.

Reduplication of the adverb

(13) shows covert codeswitching between Ekegusii and English with the reduplication of an English temporal adverb.

Setting: A female Masters degree holder asks a female university student if she wants to travel immediately.

(13) You want to connect now now? (Lim 46)

‘Do you want to travel right now?’

(13) is an interrogative CP. However, the English clause-initial interrogative word ‘do’ is missing. In Ekegusii, the same interrogative CP would be expressed without any change of word order and insertion of an additional verb:

(13’) Igo o-tag-ete ko-geenda bono bono?

STAB 2S-want-PRF INF-go now now

‘Do you want to leave now?’

In this case, a rising intonation of the reduplicated adverb *bono bono* (‘now’ ‘now’) signals the CP as an unmarked interrogative sentence in Ekegusii. English could also use a rising intonation to signal an interrogative construction but only in marked cases.

Connect as used in (13) has an expanded meaning that is usually characteristic of Sheng in Kenya. Connect means travelling to a certain place. It is derived from making a connection between the present station and the desired station. Connect as a content morpheme that assigns thematic roles determines its arguments in a CP. This is largely done at the lemma stage. In this CP, connect “calls” a time adverb now. Exactitude of time in Ekegusii is expressed by reduplication of the time adverb *bono* (‘now’) (cf. 3.2.3). This is what takes place in the CP and the CP’s interpretation can only be achieved if Ekegusii syntax is invoked.

Transposition of the interrogative word

There are other instances where the speakers’ second language, Kiswahili, is the underlying ML. In (14) and (15), there is convergence whereby Kiswahili word order is clearly followed while the surface morphemes are from English.

Setting: A female Masters degree holder asks female university students where they intend to spend their vacation.

(14) You will be where? ‘Where will you be?’ (Lim 48)

(14) is also an interrogative CP. Although the entire surface morphemes are from English, the structure of the CP is modelled on Kiswahili syntax where the interrogative word where can occupy a sentence-final position (cf. 3.2). The CP could surface thus if it were in Kiswahili:

(14’) **U-ta-kuwa wapi?**
2S-FUT-be where
‘Where will you be?’

The order of (14’) illustrates that the word order in (14) is from Kiswahili syntax.

According to the 4-M and the Abstract Level models, the processing of the CP can be explained as follows. The pronoun you and the verb be are content morphemes. The lemmas underlying them are activated at the lemma level. At the same lemma level, the verb indirectly elects a lemma for more conceptual information on tense. The position projected for the future tense word will is structurally elected as a late outsider system morpheme. At the formulator level, these selected words are ordered on the surface as seen in (14) according to Kiswahili syntax.

The language processing underlying (14) is further illustrated in (15):

Setting: A female university student asks her colleagues where a mature student at the university was working before she joined the university.

(15) And where ... she has been working where?
‘Where has she been working?’ (Lim 151)

The speaker begins the CP with an English word order, where the interrogative word appears first. Had she continued with English processing, she could have reversed the SV word order to the WhVS word order in order to realise an interrogative clause:

(15’) And where has she been working?

However, she hesitates and makes use of a Kiswahili word order where the question word is placed in the CP-final position. The shift to Kiswahili word order is triggered by the strong influence of Kiswahili syntax on the speaker’s language processing.

The mechanics of this operation are explained as follows. Lemmas pointing to the pronoun she and the verb work are selected at the lemma level. The verb

indirectly elects a lemma for a question word. Then, the tense-aspect lemmas are activated. At the formulator level, these lemmas are realised with English surface forms. The interrogative word is placed at the end of the CP as is consonant with Kiswahili word order. Despite this outcome, this is a composite ML because English word order is also followed in the phrase she has been working, which comes before the interrogative word. In addition, as earlier outlined (cf. 2.2.3), tense-aspect markers are late outsider system morphemes and should come from the ML. Although Kiswahili grammar is followed in (15), English is not completely inhibited since it also supplies the progressive aspect morpheme -ing on the verb working. So both English and Kiswahili are activated and this is a composite ML.

Reduplication of the subject

Convergence between English and Ekegusii/Kiswahili is also seen in the reduplication of the subject in a CP, where all surface morphemes are drawn from English.

Setting: Also in Kapsoya, Eldoret, a female university student gives her colleagues her opinion about a beauty contestant in a recently held beauty contest.

(16) Her she was sharp. (Lim 131)
'(That) candidate (Indian) was very bright.'

The morphological realisation pattern of this CP comes from Bantu grammar; that is, all the morphemes are ordered in the manner required in Bantu and not in English grammar. Two positions are created for the subject her she, one verb was and one adjective sharp. All these are content morphemes whose lemmas are activated at the lemma level. However, while mapping the English morphemes on the CP positions, English syntax is slightly activated. This is for case marking on the two subject positions her and she and for past tense marking on the verb was. Were English syntax to be fully active, it could have recognised that only one position is required for the subject. Instead English proceeds to plot all the positions with its morphemes. This makes it clear that Bantu grammar is also followed in the CP.

The analysis of (16) has referred to Bantu grammar and not Ekegusii or Kiswahili because the two languages' grammars are identical regarding the properties relevant here. It is difficult to make a precise argument based on any of the two languages' word order in some instances. This development is the greatest challenge to the predictive and explanatory power of the MLF model. It shows that converging languages can be precisely analysed if they are typologically different. That is why the two supportive models (4-M and Abstract Level models) work well on Myers-Scotton's Kiswahili-English contact in Nairobi and

Stephens' (2000) study on Kiswahili-English CS in England, Schmitt's (2000) research on Russian-English contact in USA and Bolonyai's (2000) inquiry into Hungarian-English contact also in USA among others. The language pairs they studied are typologically different. If the present study were dealing with only two typologically different languages, namely Ekegusii and English or Kiswahili and English, the problem faced when applying the morpheme order prediction could not have occurred.

It has been shown that a composite ML results if L1 has a strong influence on the speaker's encoding of L2 and L3 or L2 heavily influences L3. Whereas earlier studies on the composite ML (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1997a, 1999, 2000; Schmitt 2000; Bolonyai 2000; Gross 2000; Fuller 2000) assert that the composite ML results because the L1 is threatened with attrition and is therefore shifting, the examples analysed in this chapter are not indicative of L1 and/or L2 loss.

Chapter Seven

Concluding remarks

The goal of this study was to determine the ML in the phenomenon of trilingual codeswitching based on the grammatically stable Ekegusii, Kiswahili and English and the grammatically unstable Sheng codes in Kenya (cf. 1.1, 1.3). Based on the MLF model, the study has endeavoured to analyse the data in order to determine the ML and explain the speech production processes that lead to the codeswitching.

The study has revealed that the instances of trilingual CS in the corpus used are quantitatively limited although the speakers studied are fluent trilingual speakers and known codeswitchers. Out of the 2019 CPs studied, only 520 show codeswitching. Of the 520, only 18 are instances of trilingual CS CPs. This implies that only 3.4 % of all the codeswitched CPs are instances of trilingual CS and only 0.9 % of the data studied constitutes trilingual CS. Several conclusions can be drawn from these statistics.

In line with the study's first hypothesis (cf. 1.4), it appears that intra-CP trilingual CS involves complex language processing and is therefore quantitatively limited. Language processing for a trilingual codeswitched CP entails congruence checking for the most suitable morpheme from among three alternative language sources. However, congruence checking for a bilingual codeswitched CP takes place between two language sources only. That is, the higher the number of the languages in contact, the more difficult it is for a speaker to simultaneously process them in speech production at the intra-CP level. The complexity of processing trilingual CS CPs may explain the minuscule presence of trilingual intra-CP CS in the codeswitched speech of the trilinguists investigated. The data imply that if the speakers shared another fourth grammatically stable code, the chances of having intra-CP switching involving four codes would be even less likely. My finding concurs with Clyne's (1997) study in Australia where only 12 tokens of trilingual intra-sentential CS were realised from an investigation which had anticipated a lot of intra-sentential trilingual CS.

The results of the present inquiry support my second hypothesis (cf. 1.4) that speakers who share a first language and the other participating languages can produce CS CPs with different ML patterns. The study reveals special patterns of the ML in codeswitching from Africa in general and Kenya in particular. It shows that although the participants share Ekegusii as their first language, it is not always true that Ekegusii is the ML. A large proportion of the codeswitched CPs comprising 55 % (285 out of the 520 CS CPs) has Ekegusii as the ML. However, Kiswahili ML also consists of 35 % (180 out of the 520 CS CPs) while English ML comprises of 15 % (77 out of the 520 CS CPs). The remaining 2 % (11 out of the 520 CS CPs) constitutes composite CS CPs.

The revelation that each of the three participating grammatically stable languages can be a ML, slightly differs with earlier studies involving switching between European languages on the one hand, and African languages on the other. Some of those inquiries claim that if the codeswitching participants (usually Africans) share a first language, then that language is the ML (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1997a: 96; Kamwangamalu 2000b: 195-196). What underlies the difference between the patterns revealed in the present study and the earlier inquiries in Kenya (i.e. Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997) is the participants' level of education. The earlier investigations especially those from Kenya dealt with interactants who had a maximum of twelve years of formal education (Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997) while the participants who produced the data used for the present study had a minimum of twelve years of formal education with English as the medium of instruction. English is also the language of communication in their professions. However, Kiswahili is also used for communication in their offices and places of work. Therefore, this investigation reveals that CS in Kenya is not a preserve of people who are not highly educated and of low socio-economic status. So the effect of the many years of formal education and language use practice of my participants is seen in the various ML patterns of the switched CPs.

The corpus studied has shown that grammatically constrained CS between genetically related languages is possible. The data analysed show that Kiswahili can be converged with Ekegusii and vice versa. It is clear that Kiswahili insertions into Ekegusii-based CPs (e.g. examples 1, 7 and 8 in chapter 4) can be morphologically integrated.

According to this research, it appears that officially stipulated domains of language use are not a major determiner of the ML. English seems to be the ML even in domestic topics which are normally handled in Ekegusii. Ekegusii is also the ML in domains that are normally conducted in English. For instance, it is customary to discuss issues dealing with hair plaiting in Ekegusii and Kiswahili yet in this study's data English is also used. In addition, English is the official language of the law but in this inquiry Ekegusii is also the ML in CPs dealing with legal discussions. Therefore, the official language policy and the stipulated domains of language use may not be conclusively used to predict the ML of codeswitching in Kenya. Rather, this study has shown that the interlocutors' levels of education and their language use behaviour also have a bearing on what language turns out as the ML.

The data supports my third hypothesis (cf. 1.4) as it has unravelled unique patterns of the composite ML. The concepts of composite CS¹ and composite ML are recent extensions to the MLF model. Composite ML is associated with a CS

¹ Myers-Scotton (2002: 8) explains that utterances showing composite codeswitching include surface-level morphemes from two or more languages just as classic codeswitching does. However, composite codeswitching also shows convergence in regard to the source of some frame-building procedures, as well as in the features of the abstract grammatical structure in some lexemes.

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CP where more than one of the languages in contact contribute to its abstract lexical structure (Myers-Scotton 1998, 2002; Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000a & b, 2001a). That is, it is not possible to determine a single ML in a composite codeswitched CP. In this study, composite CS reveals six unique patterns of composite ML one of which is trilingual and four are bilingual. First, there are CPs with trilingual Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English surface morphemes with a corresponding trilingual composite ML (cf. 6.2.1).

Second, there are three types of bilingual composite CS CPs. The first type of bilingual composite ML involves Ekegusii and Kiswahili (cf. 6.2.2). This pattern has a CP whose morphemes are from Ekegusii and Kiswahili and the two languages also contribute towards framing the switched CP. The second pattern of bilingual composite CS CP has Kiswahili and English surface morphemes and a composite Kiswahili-English ML (cf. 6.2.3). The third type of the bilingual composite CS CPs has Ekegusii and English surface morphemes and a composite ML involving both participating codes (cf. 6.2.4). The fourth type of bilingual composite ML involves Kiswahili and English surface morphemes with Ekegusii ML (cf. 6.2.5). The final type of composite ML deals with convergence (cf. 6.3), where all surface morphemes are sourced from one language but the abstract structure also comes from another language. The instances of convergence analysed in this study have either Kiswahili or English surface morphemes with Ekegusii providing the abstract structure or English surface morphemes while Kiswahili supplies the abstract lexical structure. It is notable that on the surface, all the cases of convergence appear to be ill-formed and therefore meaningless in the languages which provide the surface morphemes. However, when decoded against the background of Ekegusii or Kiswahili abstract lexical structure, the CPs turn out to be well formed and meaningful.

According to the MLF model lack of sufficient access to the target ML is the cause of composite ML (Myers-Scotton 2002 forthcoming). In the earlier studies on the composite ML, it is claimed that the partially accessible target language is the supposed first language of the speaker. Some of the inquiries include Schmitt's (2000) study of Russian-English CS, Fuller's (2000) investigation of Pennsylvania German-English CS and Wei's (2000) research on Japanese-English CS all in the US. It is upon these studies' data that the composite ML predictions were made. However, the present study shows that composite ML may also be due to the strong influence of L1 in the speaker's encoding in L2 and L3. Composite ML involving Kiswahili and English in my participants' speech does not seem to result from the shift and possible attrition of L1 (Ekegusii). Rather, composite ML here is due to the deep entrenchment of L1 which profoundly influences the learning of L2 and L3 (Schmied 2000: 613). In this study, the entrenchment of Ekegusii is reflected in the way the speakers use Kiswahili and English. Ekegusii surface morphemes might be absent in codeswitching between Kiswahili and English but decoding the message of the Kiswahili-English CS entails background knowledge of Ekegusii encoding

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procedures. In other instances, the influence of Ekegusii is seen in CPs, where all surface morphemes are from either Kiswahili or English. The firm entrenchment of Ekegusii affects encoding in the L2 and the L3 and not vice versa. Subsequently, there is an Ekegusii variety of Kenyan English, which reflects the Ekegusii-type of English. In the same way, there is the Ekegusii-type of encoding up-country Kenyan Kiswahili.

The results of this study support my first supplementary hypothesis (cf. 1.4) that trilingual CS in Kenya is very closely related to the language policy and practice in the system of education that a codeswitching participant went through. The interactants of this study were either graduates of the 7-4-2-3 or the 8-4-4 systems of education in Kenya. As earlier outlined (cf. 1.1), in the 7-4-2-3 system of education, Kiswahili as a subject was introduced from Grade Three but it was not examined at the final primary level CPE² examination. The Kiswahili subject was optionally examined at the EACE/KCE³ levels. In the 8-4-4 system of education, Kiswahili as a subject is compulsorily taught and examined in both the primary and the secondary school leaving exams. Trilingual codeswitching was only noticed among those participants who went through the 8-4-4 system of education. The participants who went through the 7-4-2-3 system of education only codeswitched bilingually and largely had Ekegusii as the ML. The only Kiswahili items in their speech are numerals, which should be considered loanwords since they also appear in the speech of

Ekegusii monolinguals (cf. Mat and Mar conversations in section 3.4⁴).

The study also supports the second supplementary hypothesis (cf. 1.4) that Sheng is another code in codeswitching. Of the 20 trilingual CS CPs analysed, 8 tokens involve switching with Sheng lexemes. Sheng is also involved in 24 bilingually switched CPs. Existing codeswitching studies treat Sheng lexemes as though they are sourced from Kiswahili (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997: 103). The present study has shown that not all Sheng lexemes are sourced from Kiswahili. Others come from English, Gikuyu, Dholuo and various Kenyan languages while other Sheng lexemes are innovations. It has come out that even those lexemes that are sourced from Kiswahili do not always retain the same meaning that they have in Kiswahili. The study has further shown that Kiswahili does not always provide the structure of Sheng. Rather, Ekegusii and other languages also do provide the structure of Sheng (cf. 3.3.2-3.3.3). This is in line with the propositions by Opiyo (2001), Kießling & Mous (2001) and Ngesa (2002) who report that Sheng signals the birth of another language in Kenya.

² CPE – Certificate of Primary Education

³ EACE – East African Certificate of Education/ KCE – Kenya Certificate of Education

⁴ All the participants in these conversations went through the 7-4-2-3 system of education when Kiswahili was not compulsorily taught and examined in primary schools while it was optional in secondary school.

Theoretical contribution

The main theoretical contribution of the present study concerns the efficacy of the morpheme order and the system morpheme criteria in determining the ML and the composite ML in CS. The analysis of trilingual and bilingual CS has shown that the MLF model is a powerful tool. However, it appears that determining the ML in CS involving typologically similar languages, i.e. Ekegusii and Kiswahili, using the morpheme order criterion presents some problems. The only differences in morpheme order between Ekegusii and Kiswahili concerns marking in the present continuous, the future and the past tenses plus the perfective aspect (cf. 3.2.2). The two languages' morpheme orders are largely identical. Thus the morpheme order criterion does not apply in all cases in determining the ML in CS involving Ekegusii and Kiswahili.

The present study also contributes to confirming that the ML is an abstract frame for naming the grammar of the switched CP. This is clear through the composite ML cases. The study has shown that the ML must not be manifested through surface morphemes; rather, its syntax should be seen framing the CP analysed. For instance, in some trilingual and bilingual data, the surface morphemes could appear ill-formed according to either English and/or Kiswahili syntax (cf. convergence in Chapter 6). However, the same CPs could turn out to be well-formed and loaded with meaning according to Ekegusii syntax. Or a CP with a higher presence of English as opposed to Kiswahili morphemes could turn out to be Kiswahili-based because the abstract structure of the latter determines the CP's structure.

Therefore, the semantic/pragmatic information underlying the selection of various types of morphemes is attested in the abstract structure of my participants' L1. That is, the speaker's intention might be "conceived" in his/her L1 in the abstract lexical-conceptual level but only L2 and/or L3 may be morphologically realised on the surface. Such a CP has no significance until the L1's abstract structure is invoked. That is, the analysis for the ML of switched CPs from trilingual participants does not end at invoking only the Morpheme Order and the System Morpheme principles of the surface source languages; instead the abstract structure of the language that is absent on the surface should also be considered. This is especially crucial in cases where the CP seems ill-formed either by appearing to be an incomplete construction or having "unnecessary" reduplication according to the syntax of the overtly participating languages. Based on the data studied, the language whose encoding processes determines the CP's meaning even when that language is usually absent is the participants' first language if the participants share the language.

How this study could be expanded

On the theoretical level, this study leaves some questions unanswered. To begin with, studies anchored on the ML constraint assert that only one of the participating language's grammars determines the switching. Hence there is no extra grammar or CS grammar in codeswitching (e.g. Kamwangamalu 1989a, 1997, 2000a & b; Myers-Scotton 1993a/1997, 2002; Myers-Scotton & Jake 1995, 1997, 2000a & b). However, recent findings (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1998, 2002; Myers-Scotton and her associates 2000) and the data of the present study show instances where more than one language contribute to the framing of the codeswitched CPs. This phenomenon has been labelled composite ML. Composite ML cannot be exclusively attributed to the grammar of only one of the participating codes; instead both or all the participating languages contribute to the CP's structure. Subsequently, a question arises as to whether or not the eventuality of composite ML points to there being a CS grammar besides the grammars of the participating languages. This question needs further research.

The conclusions reached in this study concerning trilingual CS in Kenya are based on participants whose native language is Ekegusii. It could be interesting if similar studies are carried out among speakers with more than Form Four education in other Kenyan languages. The studies could focus on whether trilingual CS is also possible in those communities. They could also find out if the abstract structure of the native languages contributes to the ML or the composite ML. For ethnic communities that are numerically small, the studies could also try to find out if the composite ML is due to the languages' being on the verge of attrition.

In addition, a possible expansion of this study is to perform a grammaticality judgement test of the switched CPs to ascertain the acceptability of the CPs. In the present study, the participants' level of education and the number of years of using the L2 and L3 have been used as a basis for accepting the CPs as well-formed. However, using native "judges" could be another way of enhancing the CP's authenticity. The grammaticality judgement test could also be used as a diagnostic means to ascertain whether or not Sheng is part of Kiswahili or a separate language.

The morpheme order similarity and the ambiguous homophonous nature of some words in Ekegusii and Kiswahili call for an extension to the MLF's principles. That is, a theory that could deal with typologically similar languages especially African languages, which have lexical congruence, is needed.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire for biographic data of the codeswitching participants

1. Name
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Place of birth
5. Ethnic background of parents (a) Mother (b) Father
6. Language(s) used at home
(a) in the family: Ekegusii ___ Kiswahili ___ English ___ Sheng ___ other ___
(b) with playmates: Ekegusii ___ Kiswahili ___ English ___ Sheng ___ other ___
7. Which languages do you presently speak? Ekegusii
_____ Kiswahili- _____ English _____ Sheng _____ other- _____
8. Education level (tick the highest) (a) CPE/KCPE (b) KJSE
(c) EACE/KSCE (d) EAACE/KACE (e) BA, MA, PhD
9. Where did you attend school? (a) Primary (b) Secondary (c) High School (d) College/University
10. Were you examined in Kiswahili at CPE/KCPE? Yes/No
11. Marital status (a) Single (b) Married
12. If married, is your spouse Omogusii? Yes/No
13. Which language(s) do you use with (a) your spouse (b) your children?
(c) girl/boyfriend
14. Occupation
15. Which language(s) do you use at work?

Erklärung

„Ich versichere an Eides Statt durch meine eigene Unterschrift, dass ich die eingereichte Arbeit selbständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt und alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder annähernd wörtlich aus Veröffentlichungen entnommen sind, als solche kenntlich gemacht und mich auch keiner anderen als der angegeben Literatur bedient habe. Diese Versicherung bezieht sich auch auf die in der Arbeit verwendeten Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildlichen Darstellungen und dergleichen.“

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