

English Words and Phrases in Dholuo-English Codeswitching

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1. Introduction

A fascinating aspect of language contact is to consider what happens to the grammatical structure of languages when their speakers are bilingual and their speech brings two (or more) languages into contact. The goal of this article is to test the hypotheses about grammatical structure of codeswitching (CS) that are explicit or inherent in the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model of Myers-Scotton (1993 [1997]; 2002 *inter alia*). CS as used here refers to the mixing, by bilinguals (or multilinguals), of two or more languages in a discourse, often with no change of interlocutor or topic (see Poplack and Meechan 1995; Muysken 2000). The data to be considered here come from urbanized elite Dholuo first language (L1) speakers (the Luo people with at least secondary education) who are bilingual in English. Dholuo is a western Nilotic language spoken around the shores of Lake Victoria in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The MLF model has been tested with codeswitching data from some African languages such as Swahili, but there are no published studies of a Nilotic language such as Dholuo as a participating language in a CS data set.

CS studies on Bantu languages of East and Southern Africa are especially frequent (e.g. Swahili-English CS in Myers-Scotton 1993; Zulu or Sotho-English CS in Finlayson, Myers-Scotton and Calteau 1998; Kamwangamalu 1987). There are also studies of CS involving West African languages such as the Ghanaian language Ewe (Amuzu 1998) or Nigerian languages (see Faraclas 1996). However, CS involving Nilotic languages found in Central and Eastern Africa has been little studied. Even though the Nilotic languages are spoken in countries like Kenya where most of the indigenous languages fall into the Bantu language group, the Nilotic languages have a very different structure from the Bantu languages. Most Bantu languages are agglutinative (i.e. words often consist of a stem and a series of affixes, and a single verb with its affixes can be a full clause or sentence). Dholuo is also different from English and West African languages that have a more analytic or isolating structure (i.e. most clauses consist of a series of words each composed of a single morpheme). Consider the examples in [1a]–[1c] below.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------|
| (1a) | <i>Maureen dhì chíró</i>
Maureen NONPST-go market
Maureen go market
'Maureen is going to the market' | (Dholuo) |
| (1b) | Maureen is going to the market | (English) |
| (1c) | Maureen a-na- enda soko -ni
3S-NONPST- go market –LOC-at
'Maureen she go to market'
'Maureen is going to [the] market' | (Swahili) |

First, in the Dholuo sentence in [1a] above, the subject noun *Maureen* is followed immediately by the verb *dhi* ‘go’; there is no pronominal subject for agreement with *Maureen* and the present tense¹ is not overtly marked. (Present tense is not overtly marked in Dholuo). Compare the structure of the sentence in [1a] with [1b] and [1c]. As can be seen, both [1b] and [1c] show subject-verb-agreement for third person singular; also, the present tense is overtly marked in [1b] and [1c]. In the Swahili sentence in [1c], the subject noun *Maureen* agrees with its subject pronoun [*a-*] and the present tense is marked by *-na-*. (Note: the Swahili example is used here only to illustrate some structural differences between Bantu languages such as Swahili and Nilotic languages such as Dholuo). Because the MLF model has not been tested against a language such as Dholuo, the current study can expand our knowledge about whether or not CS is uniform across language pairs of different types.

In this paper, I first analyze the morphosyntactic structures in the Dholuo-English CS utterances, i.e. the different distributions of different types of English elements, such as adjectives, verbs, and Embedded Language (EL) NP islands in Dholuo-English CS. Myers-Scotton defines EL islands as “phrases in the mixed constituents that are not completely integrated into the morphosyntax of the source of the Matrix Language islands” (2002:80). I am particularly interested in the morphophonological integration of the English elements in Dholuo utterances. The question is, does Dholuo-English CS support the analysis of CS under the MLF model? The analysis reported here shows that only one language, the Matrix Language (ML) supplies the grammatical frame. In this case, it is Dholuo.

The examples in [2] below illustrate the type of data analyzed in this study:

(2a) *English verbs in Dholuo-English codeswitching*

wà- **talk** gí **professor** mòr- ò
 1PL-NON-PST-talk with professor Adj. another-3OBJ
 “We talk with another professor”

(2b) *Embedded Language NP islands in Dholuo-English codeswitching*

gí - n **the cheering squad; kórò these people** n- ó- bírò ..
 3PL -3OBJ-NONPST the cheering squad; now these people PST-3PL-come ..
 They the cheering squad; now these people they came
 ‘They are the cheering squad, now these people came ...’

(Taped Dholuo-English CS by 11 urbanized elite Dholuo L1 speakers, Columbia, SC, 1996)

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Sociolinguistic order in Kenya today

Kenya’s language policies have gone through many changes over the years (see Whiteley 1974; Sifuna 1980). However, Kenya still remains a multilingual nation with over forty languages, including English and ethnic languages such as Dholuo and Swahili (some Kenyans speak Swahili as L1). English was introduced in Kenya through British colonization. Today English is spoken as the official language; also, English is used as the language of instruction from upper primary school (Standard Four) and it is taught in schools as a subject. Swahili is used as the national language (i.e. it is used by many politicians in public address) and like English, Swahili is also taught as a subject in schools. The ethnic languages are used as the language of instruction in lower primary schools (Standard One - Three) in Kenya and these languages are spoken mainly in the home and in the rural areas (see Sifuna 1980).

¹ PL= plural; S= singular; LOC= locative; PREP.= preposition; PST= past tense; NONPST= none past, i.e. present; DEMON= demonstrative; Adj.= adjective; POSS= Possessive; COMP= Complementizer; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person

1.1.2. *Dholuo language, the Luo culture and the urbanized elite Dholuo L1 speakers*

Many urbanized elite Dholuo L1 bilingual speakers live in urban areas of Kenya such as Nairobi and abroad in countries like USA. However, whether they are in the urban cities of Kenya or in countries abroad where English and/or other languages other than Dholuo are spoken more widely, many Dholuo L1 speakers still maintain their Dholuo. How is this possible?

Some anthropological studies (Parkin 1978; Hall ; Ndisi 1974; Ochieng 1978; Ogot 1967) indicate that today's Luo culture, like many African cultures, remains largely patriarchal; i.e. kinship is still patrilinear (traced through the man). Parkin (1978) notes that the Luo society as a whole is a segmentary lineage (the society is organized into segments) and the Luo culture remains localized in *dala* 'the rural village'. Most urbanized elite Luo people maintain circulatory movement between the urban area and *dala*. As result, "the urbanized Luo people tend to become bilateral as they settle in urban areas ...". That means many Luo urban family settlements "occur in conjunction with and not to the exclusion of strong rural lineage involvement ..." and the rural localization is the main factor facilitating "modified but recognizable cultural continuity under urban conditions" (1978:8-9).

What are the sociolinguistic implications of the rural localization of the Luo culture for Dholuo-English CS by the urbanized elite Dholuo L1 bilingual speakers? That is, what social messages does Dholuo-English CS communicate about the Dholuo L1speakers regarding what words are switched and when the switches occur in the Dholuo-English CS?

As significant as these questions are in the analysis of Dholuo-English CS, they are not given an indepth consideration in the present study. However, I should point out that the fact that switches involving English adjectives and noun EL islands are problematic, as reported in section 2.4, is a strong evidence that, 1) Dholuo is the ML even in the speech of the urbanized elite Dholuo L1 speakers, and 2) the rural localization of the Luo culture allows even the most urbanized elite Luo people to maintain their Dholuo in urban areas and in countries abroad where Dholuo is not spoken by many people.

1.2 *Research Method*

1.2.1 *Population*

The languages in contact considered in this paper are Dholuo and English. The participants in the study were 11 urbanized elite Dholuo L1 speakers who were also fluent speakers of English as a second language. By the time of data collection, all the participants were doing their undergraduate or graduate studies in the US. Six of the participants had at least an undergraduate degree, and except for one participant who was visiting the US from Kenya, all the participants had lived in the US for at least a year. Before the data collection exercise, the researcher asked the participants, either verbally or through e-mail for their permission to tape record their conversations. The researcher told the participants that samples of their conversations would be used for research purposes only and on conditions of anonymity.

1.2.2 *Data Collection*

The data used in this study was collected by tape recording informal conversations among urbanized elite Dholuo L1 friends living in the US. The researcher also participated in the conversation to minimize the observer effect (see Labov 1972). It was hoped that the researcher's participation in the conversation would make the other participants feel freer in their conversation. The researcher is also an L1 speaker of Dholuo and she has written extensively on Dholuo morphology.

The data was collected on two different occasions. On the first occasion, the participants were at a friend's house where they had gone to meet the visiting parent from Kenya. During that time, the tape recording lasted about two hours. The second occasion was three months later, at a birthday party at another friend's house. Here, the tape recording lasted for more than two hours.

During the tape recording exercises, the subjects were aware that their conversations were being taped; however, the tape recorder was not obvious in its placement to minimize the observer /

interviewer effect. The researcher excused herself to switch the tapes while the conversations continued.

Somewhere during the conversations, the participants talked a little bit about themselves; i.e. what languages they used in Kenya and in the US with friends and peers, at work and at home with parents and siblings. For example, some participants said that prior to coming to the US to pursue their graduate studies, they lived in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya where they did their schooling, including their undergraduate degrees. In Nairobi, these participants used Dholuo-English (or Dholuo-Swahili-English) CS occasionally with friends and peers, depending on whether the friends and peers were Dholuo L1 speakers.

After data collection, the researcher consulted with the visiting participant about some suspicious utterances; also, the researcher used her intuition and expertise of Dholuo to verify such utterances.

This article tests the hypotheses about grammatical structure of CS that are explicit or inherent in the MLF on how embedded English elements are treated in Dholuo–English CS as exemplified in [2] above.

1.3 The Matrix Language Frame Model and the 4-M model

The MLF model predicts that only ML supplies the abstract morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual clause. In this framework, CS is defined as “... speech for which [the bilingual] speakers are proficient enough in one of the participating varieties to produce well-formed monolingual utterances in that variety” (Myers-Scotton 2002:8). The model proposes that this variety becomes the source of morphosyntactic frame of the bilingual clause and that speakers can be less proficient in the EL (Myers-Scotton 2002). Also, the model proposes that two principles, the *Morpheme Order* and the *System Morpheme Order*, identify one of the participating languages in the CS as the ML. The *Morpheme Order Principle* predicts that in *ML + EL* constituents (consisting of morphemes from both languages), surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML. The *System Morpheme Principle* predicts that in *ML + EL* constituents, “all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence’s thematic role grid) will come from the Matrix Language” (Myers-Scotton 2002:59).

The 4-M model names the types of system morphemes that must come from the ML according to the System Morpheme Principle. This type is called the outsider late system morpheme as example [3] below illustrates.

- (3) Tu-na- *m*-let- e-a **our brother** wa Thika
 1P-NONPST-IO-bring-PREP-FV our brother of Thika
 ‘We are bringing for our brother from Thika’

According to the 4-M model, in a mixed constituent such as [3] above, the Swahili indirect object pronoun agreement prefix *-m-* ‘him’/‘her’ agrees with ‘brother’ in the English NP island, ‘our brother,’ (Myers-Scotton 2002: 75-76). Swahili is the ML in [3] because it supplies *-m-* for agreement with *brother*. *-m-* is one of the types of morphemes that the System Morpheme Principle proposes comes from only one of the participating languages. The fact that *-m-* comes from Swahili identifies Swahili as the ML.

The 4-M model refers to morphemes such as *-m-* in [3] as outsider late system morphemes because these morphemes have to look outside their heads (i.e. *-m-* looks to the object NP ‘brother’) for information about their form. That is, the outsider late system morphemes are “coindexed with information outside of the maximal projection in which they appear. This information is person and number of the subject (see Myers-Scotton 2002 or Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000). In [3], the subject prefix, *tu-* ‘we’ is also the type of morpheme covered by the System Morpheme Principle. Notice that it also comes from Swahili. In [3] above, *tu-* signals subject-verb-agreement; *tu-* depends for its form on the information and identity elsewhere in the discourse.

2. Data Analysis

Data analysis is divided into four subsections and each subsection begins with a brief presentation of the grammatical structure of Dholuo concerning the data analyzed in that section. Section (2.1.2) looks at English verbs in Dholuo–English CS; section (2.2.1) examines English possessive constructions in Dholuo–English mixed constituents; section (2.3.1) analyzes English locatives in Dholuo–English codeswitching and section (2.4.1) looks at Embedded English NP islands in Dholuo–English codeswitching.

2.1 The Dholuo Verb Phrase (VP)

- (4a) Maureen dhì chíró
Maureen NONPST-go market
Maureen go market
'Maureen goes to the market'
- (4b) Maureen n-ó-dhì chíró
Maureen PST-3S-EXP-go market
Maureen she went market
'Maureen went to the market'
- (4c) nè- wà-dhì chíró
PST-1PL-go market
we went market
'We went to the market'

In [4a] above, the subject noun *Maureen* is followed immediately by the verb *dhì* 'go'. As noted in [1a] above, *dhì* does not have a tense marker for present tense, nor does it have the pronominal subject prefix *ó-* for agreement with *Maureen*. That present tense marker is not present in [4a] is not surprising because typically, in Dholuo present tense is not always overtly marked. However, unlike languages such as English, which only show overt subject-verb-agreement for third person singular in present tense (e.g. *-s* on 'go' as in, "Maureen goes to the market"), Dholuo tenses are followed by a pronominal subject agreement suffixes such as *ó-* 'he'/'she'/'it' on the verb, except in present tense. For example, in [4b] *ó-* is coindexed with the preceding NP, *Maureen*, its maximal projection. Therefore, *ó-* is *late outsider system morpheme* because it looks outside its immediate maximal projection for information about its form (Myers-Scotton, 2002:80).

In Dholuo, past tense is marked by the prefix *nè-* before a pronominal subject. However, the realization this tense marker in the Dholuo VP as in [4b] and [4c] presents an interesting analysis. Note that in [4b], *-è-* of *ne-* is dropped before the third person singular pronominal subject agreement marker *ó-* but it is retained in [4c] before the first person plural pronominal subject agreement marker *wà-* 'we.'. This means that in Dholuo VP, *-è-* is dropped if the past tense marker *nè-* is followed by a pronominal subject marker that begins with a vowel, as in [4b] and it is retained in other environments as in [4c]. Therefore, [4b] is a case of vowel coalescence of Dholuo past tense marker before a following vowel. Recognizing this phonological process involving Dholuo past tense and pronominal subject markers is important when one analyzes how singly occurring English verbs in section (2.1.1) below are treated in Dholuo-English CS.

2.1.1 Singly occurring English verbs in Dholuo –English codeswitching

- (5) nè- wà- **talk** gí **professor** mòró
PST-1PL-talk with professor Adj. another
'We talked with another professor'
- (6) ng'á- má nè- **watch-** ó **movie?**
3S-who-that PST-BE- watching-3OBJ movie?
who was watching it movie?
'Who was watching a movie?'

In [5] and [6] above, the English verb is preceded by Dholuo past tense marker *nè-*. However, note that in [7] and [8] below, *-è-* in *nè-* is dropped before a following vowel. This means that in [5] and [6], *-è-* in *nè-* is retained before a consonant as we saw in [4c] above.

- (7) to donge èn è- mà n- ó-**confirm**?
 but NEG -3OBJ 3S-who PST-BE-3S-confirm
 ‘But not him he one was he confirmed?’
 ‘But wasn’t he the one who confirmed?’
- (8) èmómìyò n- ú-**chéng-** ò **diet**
 that is why PST-2S-changed-3S-CLI/OBJ-it diet
 ‘That is why you change the diet’

Now, also note that in [5] – [8], the English verb is not inflected for past tense as is typical with English verbs in past tense (e.g. in English, the past tense of ‘talk’ is ‘talked’, as in ‘We talked with the professor’). That is, in [5-8], reference to past time comes from Dholuo morphosyntax. This is another indication that Dholuo, not English, is the language supplying the morphosyntactic frame to the sentences in [5-8]. Now, consider the English verbs in [9] and [10] below:

- (9) k- ó- **strike** to be ò-**strike** má ú-nyîèrò ànyîèrà
 COND-when-3S-NONPST-strike then 3S-strike that 2PL-laugh just
 when he strike then he strike that you all laugh just
 ‘When he strikes, he strike in such a way that you all just laugh’
- (10) kà- ín- gí dhàkò tò chîè-g-í è-mà ó-**blame**
 COND-if-2OBJ-have wife then wife-2POSS-3S-one 3S-blame
 ‘If you have a wife then, your wife is the one he blames’

In the conditional sentence in [9], the English verb *strike* and in the relative clause in [10], the English verb *blame* are preceded by *ó-* in present tense. (Unlike simple present tense like [4a] above, Dholuo conditional sentences such as [9] and relative clauses such as [10] above show pronominal subject agreement). Now, recall that English sentence structure requires subject-verb-agreement marker *-s* for agreement with third person NP in present tense. But, note that *strike* in [9] and *blame* in [10] show subject-verb-agreement with the preceding Dholuo pronominal prefix, *ó-*; yet the utterances in [9] and [10] are still grammatical. How is this possible?

The utterances in [5] – [10] are grammatical, in spite of lacking English affixes for tense or number. Again it is clear that the grammatical structure of Dholuo verbs is what is governing the use of the English verbs in [5] – [10]. The fact that *-è-* in the past tense marker *nè-* is dropped in both [7] and [8], because the following verb begins with a consonant, as is the case in [4c] above, is evidence for this analysis. The fact that this phonological process is part of the Dholuo and not English grammar English is further explicated below.

According to Ochola (1999:4), Dholuo pronoun suffixes such as *-ò* in [8] must follow the verb immediately. Also, most Dholuo transitive verbs have pronominal subject suffixes, as in [11] below.

- (11) èmómìyò n- ú- lòk- ò chîèmò
 that is why PST-2S-changed-3SOBJ-it food
 ‘That is why you changed the food’

In [11], the pronominal object agreement marker *-ò* ‘it’ on the verb *-lòk-* ‘change’ agrees with the following noun object, *chîèmò* ‘food’. Based on this analysis, it appears that in [5] - [10] above, the singly occurring English verbs integrate easily into Dholuo verb slot. Myers-Scotton and Jake (1995) argue that EL content morphemes can occur in an ML frame when congruent with ML counterparts. All we can say here is that despite the structural differences in the VP, the English verbs appear to be

congruent enough with Dholuo verbs to fit the Dholuo frame. This means that the singly occurring English verbs integrate into the Dholuo VP and they are assigned appropriate tense according to the specifications for Dholuo tense structure, and not the English verb structure.

2.2 *English possession in Dholuo –English mixed constituents*

Before looking at how English possessed nouns are treated in Dholuo-English CS, it is important to see first the structure of Dholuo possessive construction as exemplified in (2.2.1) below.

2.2.1 *The structure of Dholuo possessive construction*

In Dholuo, the concept of “possession” or “belonging to” is expressed in two alternative but interchangeable ways: with associative *mar* ‘of’ and possessive adjective suffix such as *-a* first person possessive adjective (e.g. *mára* ‘mine’). The associative *már-* is used when the possessor is a noun, in which case *már-* is preceded by the possessed noun and followed by the possessor noun as in [12a].

- (12a) Nyàthí már Àdhíambò
child POSS-of Adhiambo
‘child of Adhiambo’
‘Adhiambo’s child’
- (12b) Nyàthí màr – è bèr
child -of 3-POSS Adj good NONPST
‘child of him/her good’
‘His/her child is good’
- (12c) Caroline èn nyàthí- n-à
Caroline 3S-NONPST child-1POSS
Caroline she is child of mine
‘Caroline is my child’

However, *már* can also be prefixed to a possessive adjective suffix, as in [12b] above. In [12b], *már-* is preceded by the possessed, *nyàthí* ‘child’ and the third person possessive adjective suffix, *-è* ‘your’ suffixed to *már-*. In addition, Dholuo marks possession by suffixing the possessive adjective to the possessed object, as in [12c] above. Here in [12c], first person singular possessive adjective suffix *-à* ‘mine’ is preceded by the preposition *-n-* ‘of’ to express ‘mine’ and *-n-à* is suffixed to the possessed noun, *nyàthí*.

Following the MLF model and the $_4$ -M model, possessive preposition *már-* is a bridge system morpheme, and as Myers-Scotton notes, “Bridges unite structural units, meaning bridges are not conceptually activated.” (Myers-Scotton 2002: 79). In this case, *már-* in [12a] unites the possessor, Adhiambo with the possessed noun, *nyàthí*, and *már-* in [12b] unites the third singular possessive adjective *-è* with *nyàthí*. Now consider the behavior of the English possessed nouns in the Dholuo-English CS in section (2.2.2) below.

2.2.2 *English possession in Dholuo-English CS*

- (13) **she had a crash** è- **junction** már Àhéro
she had a crush LOC-at junction of Ahero
‘She had a crash at [the] junction of Ahero’
- (14) tíndé jì ríemb- ò **parents-gì**
these days people NONPST-turn away CLI/3OBJ parents 3-POSS
these days people turn away parents their
‘These days people turn away their parents’

- (15) **share-** n- í óngè kànyò
 share-POSS-2OBJ NEG-NONPST-BE there
 share your not there
 ‘Your share is not there’

The mixed constituents in [13] and [15] above contain English possessed nouns, *junction* in [13], *parents* in [14], and *share* in [15]. First, in [13], the singly occurring English possessive noun, *junction*, is followed by the Dholuo possessive preposition marker, *már-*, and place name, *Àhèrò*. However, note that *junction* is not preceded immediately by the English definite article *the* that typically precedes the English nouns in such constructions; yet the sentence is still grammatical. Second, consider [14] and [15] above which contain possessive adjectives.

In [14], the Dholuo third person plural possessive adjective suffix, *-gì* is suffixed to the preceding English noun, *parents* (‘parents’-*gì*), and in [15] the Dholuo second person singular possessive adjective suffix *-ní* is suffixed to the preceding English possessed noun *share* (‘share’-*ní*). However, note that in [14], *-gì* is suffixed to an English EL island plural ‘parents’ - (‘parents’ is an English EL island because it comes with its plural *-s* inflection from English).

The fact that the English EL islands *parents* integrates easily into the Dholuo possessed plural noun slot and takes the Dholuo plural possessive adjective suffix *-gì* without making the utterance ungrammatical is significant here because it further lends support that Dholuo is the ML in [14].

Even though the MLF model does not typically make claims about possessive structures, I argue that the grammaticality of [13]–[15] is further evidence that Dholuo is the ML in these mixed constituents. Especially, in [13] and [14], the English possessed nouns follow conditions for well-formedness for Dholuo possessive construction in which the possessive adjective suffix is suffixed to the possessed noun. This is evidence that Dholuo provides the grammatical frame for the English possessed nouns in [13] – [15].

2.3 How English bare nouns are treated in Dholuo–English codeswitching with a Dholuo quantifying adjective

In the MLF model, bare forms are “elements ... in the mixed constituents that are not completely integrated into the morphosyntax of the source of the ML” (Myers-Scotton 2002:113). However, to better understand how the English bare nouns are treated Dholuo– English mixed constituents with Dholuo quantifying adjectives, as in [17]–[18] below, first consider the structure of Dholuo nouns with a quantifying adjective in (2.3.1).

2.3.1 Dholuo nouns with a quantifying adjective

First, unlike English Dholuo does not seem to have singly occurring adjectives such as the descriptive adjective *good* or quantifying adjective *two* or *many* that we found in English. Instead, in Dholuo adjective including many descriptive adjectives such as *-bèr* ‘good’ and quantifying adjectives such as *-ng’èny* ‘many’ are suffixes attached to a relative clause introduced by the prefix *má-* ‘that’/‘which’/‘who’ is/are’. Typically, *má-* is prefixed to the adjective which modifies the noun it follows, as in [16] below.

- (16) Caroline *dwàr-* ò *pí* *mà-tín*
 Caroline NONPST-want-CLI/OBJ-it water COMP-that-Adj-little
 Caroline want it water little
 ‘Caroline wants little water’

In [16], the noun, *pí* ‘water’ is followed by the relative clause introduced by *mà-* and the quantifying adjective *-tín* ‘small’.

As can be seen, the Dholuo adjective, and especially the behavior of the adjective prefix *má-* presents quite an interesting analysis. Because the Dholuo adjective is governed by the relative clause

introduced by *má-*, I propose that in the Dholuo language, the Relative Clause is a Maximal Projection and that the Dholuo adjective suffix belongs to this Maximal Projection and not to the Adjective Phrase (see Cook and Newson 1995 on Maximal Projections; Chomsky & Lasnik 1977). The idea that different types of Dholuo adjectives can accommodate the relative prefix *má-* (e.g. *má -rach* ‘that which is bad’, *máng’eny* ‘many’) supports this conclusion. However interesting this idea of a Relative Clause as Maximal Projection in Dholuo is, it is not discussed any further in this paper because it is still very speculative; it presents another interesting case for further investigation.

Now, consider how bare English nouns are treated in Dholuo-English mixed constituents with Dholuo indeterminate quantifying adjectives in the *má-* clause in [17] and [18] in section (2.3.2) below.

2.3.2 English bare nouns in Dholuo–English codeswitching

- (17) *dàlà kúch- ò* **stress** *má- ng’èny* *óngè*
 home there-3-CLIT-Obj stress COMP-that-a lot NONPST-NEG-there
 home there stress that a lot not there
 ‘At home there is not a lot of stress’
- (18) **calculus** *má- ng’èny* *óngè*
 calculus that -a lot- that NEG-there-NONPST-BE
 calculus that a lot that not there is
 ‘There is not a lot of calculus.’

Note that in both [17] and [18] the English nouns, *stress* in [17] and *calculus* in [18] are followed by the Dholuo quantifying adjective modifier, introduced by *má-*. Note also that both [17] and [18] are grammatical. Now, recall the analysis in [16] above. I argue that the grammaticality of [17] and [18] means that the English nouns in these utterances follow Dholuo, and not English grammatical structure. The English adjective follows the Dholuo word-order.

2.4 English nouns in locative constructions in Dholuo–English codeswitching

In English, a typical locative noun is preceded by a determiner and a locative preposition, such as ‘in’/ ‘at’/ or ‘inside’ (e.g. ‘Maureen is in the home’ suggests the location of Maureen in general). In contrast, Dholuo does not have a Prepositions Phrase (PP), but instead Dholuo encodes locations with a locative NP construction as explicated in [19] in (2.4.1) below.

2.4.1 Locative NPs in Dholuo

In Dholuo, the invariant locative marker is the prefix *è-* ‘at’/‘in’ and is prefixed to a noun as [19] below illustrates.

- (19a) *Maureen ní* *è-ràngàch*
 Maureen 3S-NONPST LOC-at-gate
 Maureen she at gate
 ‘Maureen is at the gate’
- (19b) *Chúpà ní* *è- yí òfúkò*
 bottle 3S-NONPST LOC-inside bag
 bottle it inside bag
 ‘The bottle is inside the bag’

Note that in [19a] the locative preposition *è-* is suffixed to *ràngàch* ‘gate’ while in [19b], *è-* is suffixed to the preposition *-yí* ‘inside.’ According MLF model, *-yí* is a content morpheme. Now, consider the English locative nouns in the Dholuo slot for locative nouns in [20] – [24] below.

2.4.2 English nouns in locative constructions in Dholuo–English CS

- (20) n- ó- bír- ò è- **village**
 PST- 3S-come-3-CLI-OBJ LOC-PREP-to - village
 He came it to village
 ‘He came to the village’
- (21) kàtà è- **boarding school**
 even LOC boarding school
 ‘Even in a boarding school’

As can be seen, both [20] and [21] have English locative nouns in the Dholuo slot for locative noun (i.e., *village* in [20] and *boarding* in [21]). [22] and [23] below, have English EL islands – *Russia Stand* in [22] and *first gate* in [23].

- (22) ó-chwád-è è- **Russia Stand**
 3S-beat-him LOC-in-Russian Stand
 ‘He beats him in the Russian Stand’
- (23) kórò wá-ríngò wá-wúòk è- **first gate**
 now 1PL-NONPST-run 1PL-leave LOC-at fist gate
 ‘Now we are running to leave at [the] first gate’

Note that the singly occurring English locative nouns in [20] and [21] and the English locative noun EL islands in [22] and [23] are immediately preceded by the Dholuo locative preposition prefix *è-*. The utterance in [24] below from Myers-Scotton (2000) is an example from Swahili-English islands showing structural dependency:

- (24) [Lakini a-na **so many problems**, mtu [a-me- **repeat** mara ny-ingi]_{IP}]_{IP}
 But 3S-with so many problems person 3S-PERF-repeat time CL9-many
 ‘But he has so many problems,[...]a person [who] has repeated many times’
 (Swahili/English; Myers-Scotton Nairobi corpus 1988) (2000:57)

Myers-Scotton argues that *mara ny-ingi* ‘many times’ in the second CP in [24] above is an example of a Swahili ML island, and *so many problems* is an English EL island (Myers-Scotton 2002:59). However, the placement of the English EL, *so many problems* within the clause in [24] and the well-formedness of [24] depend on Swahili as the source of the frame for the bilingual clause in [24].

Subsequently, I point out that the utterances in [20]–[23] are grammatical in Dholuo. This is evidence that Dholuo is the language directing the structures in these utterances. That is, the grammatical rules that govern the well-formedness of Dholuo locative nouns are the same rules operative for the English nouns in the slot for Dholuo locative nouns in the mixed constituents in [20] – [23]. In these utterances, the Dholuo verb assigns the theta role of Goal to both the English nouns in [20] and [21] and to the English EL islands in [22] and [23] above.

2.5 How some English NPs consisting of adjectives and nouns are treated in Dholuo–English CS

In this section I analyze how the English NPs consisting of adjectives and nouns are treated in Dholuo-English mixed constituents. Recall that unlike English quantifying adjectives which come before the nouns they modify, Dholuo quantifying adjectival phrases follow the nouns they modify, as [25] below illustrates.

(25a) à- tím-ò màná sómò àríyò kèndè
 1S-NONPST-do-ing just subjects two only
 ‘I am doing just two subjects only’

(25b) I am doing only two subjects

[25a] is a typical Dholuo sentence with a quantifying adjective and [25b] is a similar sentence in English. Note that in [25a], the underlined *àríyò* comes after the noun, *subject*, which it quantifies. In contrast, in [25b], the underlined *two* comes before the noun, *subject*, which it quantifies. Now consider how the English NP EL islands are treated in the Dholuo-English mixed constituents in [26] – [32] in section (2.5.1) below.

2.5.1 English NP consisting of an adjective and a noun in Dholuo –English mixed constituents

(26) Kusa è- n **big town**
 Kusa 3S-NONPST-BE big town
 Kusa it is big town
 ‘Kusa is a big town’

The fact that [26] is well formed despite the fact that the English adjective and EL island, *big town*, is not preceded by an article must mean that Dholuo, and not English is the language framing the utterance. Now consider [27] below in which we have an English compound noun with a Dholuo first person plural possessive adjective –*wa* ‘our’ in Dholuo-English CS.

(27) má- n- ò è- **shopping center** wà
 that-NONPST-BE-3CLI-it 3S-LOC-at-shopping center POSS-ADJ-1PL
 that is it at shopping center our
 ‘That is our shopping center’

In [27], the English compound noun, “shopping center”, is followed by a Dholuo first person plural possessive adjective suffix –*wà* “our”. I argue that the grammaticality of [26] means that Dholuo is the ML in [27]. The evidence is the fact that in English, possessive adjectives precede compound nouns, yet “shopping center” in [27] is followed by a Dholuo possessive adjective without making [27] ungrammatical. The utterances in [28] and [29] below provide further support for this analysis.

(28) k- wà chópò è-**gate** tò **the first tear gas** ó-yúàk
 when-1PL PST-arrive LOC-at gate then the first tear gas 3S-PST-cry
 ‘When we arrived at the gate then the first tear gas went off’

(29) gí- n **the cheering squad; kórò these people** n- ó- bírò ..
 3PL-3OBJ-NONPST the cheering squad; now these people PST-3PL-come
 They the cheering squad; now these people they came
 ‘They are the cheering squad, now these people came ...’

In [28], the English EL island, *the first tear gas*, is the subject of the Dholuo verb –*yúàk* ‘cry’. However, note that –*yúàk* is preceded by the Dholuo third person subject pronoun agreement prefix, *ó-* ‘it’. Also, note that in [29], the English EL island, *these people* is the subject of the Dholuo verb *bí-* ‘come’. In [29], *these people* is also followed by *ó-*, prefixed on *bí-*. Unlike English, Dholuo marks subject-verb-agreement for all persons.

Now, note that in *the first tear gas* in [28] and *these people* in [29] are followed by Dholuo subject pronoun agreement markers. However, recall that in English subject nouns do not require subject pronoun on the verb for agreement. Then consider also how the English adjective and noun EL islands are treated in object position in the utterances in [30-32] below.

- (30) kórò **my second reader** bè nè è-n **another guy**
 now my second reader also PST-BE 3S-EMPH another guy
 now my second reader also was he another guy
 ‘Now my second reader was also another guy’
- (31) sàno wà-dhí làw- ò **the last bus**
 that time 1PL-go chase-OBJ-it the last bus
 ‘That time we chasing the last bus’
- (32) níkèch **that stress** wàn wà- k-fà
 because that stress 1PL-OBJ 1PL-NEG-NONPST-know
 because that stress us we not know
 ‘Because we don’t know that stress’

(Taped conversation between 11 Dholuo-English bilingual speakers (university students), Columbia, SC, 1996)

In [30], *my second reader* is the subject of the Dholuo verb TO BE, *nè* ‘was’, and *è-* on *èn* ‘him’/ ‘her’ is Dholuo third person pronominal emphatic agreement marker. Note that *my second reader* is followed by the Dholuo *è-*, a typical construction with most noun subjects. This means that *my second reader* allows the third person *è-* emphatic agreement marker. Also, note that the English adjective and noun EL island, *the last bus* is the object of the utterance in [31] and that it is preceded by the Dholuo third person object pronoun agreement marker *-ò* ‘it’. This means that, *the last bus* allows the third person *-ò-* object pronoun agreement.

I argue that Dholuo is the ML in the utterances in [30]–[32]. First, all these utterances are grammatical yet they all allow subject-object redundancies. For example, the English subject NP in [30] is followed by Dholuo third person emphatic subject marker, *èn*, and the English object NP in [31] is preceded by Dholuo third person object pronoun agreement marker. Second, Dholuo allows subject or object redundancy but English does not. The evidence provided here shows that the subject-agreement-marker, a late system morpheme, comes from Dholuo.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I have answered the research question, does CS between a Nilotic language (Dholuo) and English support the analysis of CS under the MLF model? I have provided substantial evidence from more than 30 bilingual utterances to conclude that the MLF model does account for how singly occurring English elements and English EL islands are treated in Dholuo-English CS when Dholuo is the ML.

This analysis shows that unlike English verbs, English adjectives do not readily integrate into the Dholuo word order for descriptive adjectives. I speculate that this is because most Dholuo descriptive adjectives can potentially be realized as relative phrases introduced by the relative clause marker *má-*, as in [16] above. Recall that English treats adjectives differently. More importantly, this work fills a gap in the understudied domain of the grammatical structure of CS in Nilotic languages.

3.1 Implications for further research on Dholuo-English CS

This study raises two interesting issues for further research on Dholuo-English CS. The first issue regards social motivation for switches in Dholuo-English CS by urbanized elite Dholuo L1 speakers. The role of localized culture of the Luo people - the fact that Dholuo remains the ML even in the speech of Dholuo L1 bilingual speakers with a great deal of formal education in English - is intriguing. The question is, does Dholuo remain the ML solely because it is the speakers’ L1, or might there be more complex ways of discussing this pattern? The other interesting question is, Are there any contexts in which Dholuo is subordinated to English, and if so, what might account for that?

Second, one of the findings of this study indicates that while English verbs fit easily on the Dholuo verb slot, switches involving English descriptive and quantifying adjectives as those in [21]-

[32] are most problematic. In the data set analyzed in this study, most of the English adjectives (e.g. *boarding school, shopping center, the cheering squad, another guy, and these people*) occurred only as NP EL islands.

Finally, although I speculate that switches involving English adjectives are problematic in Dholuo-English CS because Dholuo does not have singly occurring adjectives, I realize that this issue is more complex than just a mere speculation; the issue requires further research.

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Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics: Shifting the Center of Africanism in Language Politics and Economic Globalization

edited by Olaoba F. Arasanyin
and Michael A. Pemberton

Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA 2006

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Shifting the Center of Africanism in Language Politics and Economic Globalization
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Ochola, Eunita D. A. 2006. English Words and Phrases in Dholuo-English Codeswitching. In *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Olaoba F. Arasanyin and Michael A. Pemberton, 208-220. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

or:

Ochola, Eunita D. A. 2006. English Words and Phrases in Dholuo-English Codeswitching. In *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Olaoba F. Arasanyin and Michael A. Pemberton, 208-220. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #1425.