

**Construction of linguistic identities among cross-border
communities: The case of Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya**

By

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Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: March 2017

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigated the discursive identity construction of a community who is separated by a national border. The town of Busia cuts across the Ugandan/Kenyan border and the community language is considered to be Lusamia. The study used ethnographic methods to investigate how speakers of Lusamia on both sides of the border construct their linguistic identities in relation to their own linguistic repertoires and the linguistic repertoires of others. My theoretical interest in this was sparked by a gap in the literature, namely, that most studies which investigate language and identity construction within multilinguals focus on urban communities. Although early sociolinguistic studies within the ethnographic tradition, focused on rural communities (Gumperz 1971, 1964; Hymes 1962, 1964), recently the city has become the most frequently studied setting for multilingualism. My study builds on a small (but growing) body of research on contemporary multilingualism in rural African communities (see for example Banda and Jimaima 2015); Deumert and Mabandla 2013). Against this backdrop, I examined how speakers of Lusamia that live in a rural community and are multilingual negotiate different linguistic identities just like their counterparts in the urban centers. My study will thus turn the attention (back) on the everyday linguistic practices of a rural, multilingual community within an African context.

Data for this study were collected using various ethnographically informed methods. The data collection instruments included observations, interviews and a survey of the linguistic landscape. Linguistic landscapes are defined as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, etc.” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25). Data were collected over a period of 12 months and analysed through thematic analysis (Starks and Trinidad, 2007). Two major themes emerged, that is: multilingualism *as* linguistic repertoire and the interplay of language, spacialisation and identity.

Findings from this study suggest that participants typically have a range of linguistic resources in their repertoire. These linguistic resources are used differently by the speakers depending on the situation they are in. Sometimes the lack of the required linguistic resources(s) in a particular situation may exclude the speaker or lead to failure in communication. Furthermore, as Busch (2012) observes, the linguistic repertoire does not only include *actual* linguistic varieties used, but also *ideologies* about language. In the two countries in which Lusamia is spoken (Kenya and Uganda), different linguistic resources may be used or understood. This interaction of the different linguistic resources with Lusamia

explains the subtle differences in accent and word choice in the speech of participants on both sides of the border. These differences are constructed as the distinguishing features between the Ugandan and Kenyan varieties of Samia. Thus as Samia speakers engage in various activities that call for use of different linguistic resources, they constantly negotiate different linguistic identities. Furthermore, the identity of Samia speakers is very much a *multilingual* one. Even rituals evolving major milestones or major events (birth, marriage, death) are performed through the use of heteroglossic meaning-making resources. In view of the results, I suggest that more research into language and identity needs to take a multilingual, spatial perspective (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck, 2005: 197).

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif ondersoek die diskursiewe identiteitskonstruksie van 'n gemeenskap wat deur 'n nasionale grens verdeel word. Die dorp, Busia sny oor die Uganda/Kenia grens en Lusamia word as die gemeenskapstaal beskou. Die studie het gebruik gemaak van etnografiese metodes om te ondersoek hoe Lusamia sprekers aan beide kante van die grens hul taalidentiteite in verband tot hul taalrepertoires en die taalrepertoires van ander konstrueer. My teoretiese belangstelling was aangewakker deur 'n gaping in die literatuur, naamlik dat die meeste studies wat taalidentiteitskonstruksie in veeltaliges ondersoek, fokus op stedelike gemeenskappe. Alhoewel vroeë sosiolinguistiese studies binne die etnografiese tradisie gefokus het op landelike gemeenskappe (Gumperz 1971, 1964; Hymes 1962, 1964), is die stad tans die mees bestudeerde ruimte van veeltaligheid. My studie bou op 'n klein (maar groeiende) navorsingsmassa oor kontemporêre veeltaligheid in landelike Afrika gemeenskappe (kyk by. Banda en Jimaima, 2015); Deumert en Mabandla 2013). Teen hierdie agtergrond, het ek ondersoek hoe sprekers van Lusamia wat in 'n landelike gemeenskap bly en veeltalig is, hul taalidentiteite onderhandel net soos hul eweknieë in die stedelike sentrums. My studie sal dus die aandag (weer) vestig op die alledaagse taalpraktyke van 'n landelike, veeltalige, gemeenskap binne die Afrika konteks.

Data vir hierdie studie is deur 'n verskeidenheid etnografies-geinformeerde metodes ingesamel. Die data-insamelingsmetode sluit in observasies, onderhouds en 'n oorsig van die taallandskap. Taallandskap word gedefinieer as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, etc.” (Landry en Bourhis, 1997: 25). Data is oor 'n tydperk van 12 maande ingesamel en geanaliseer deur tematiese analise (Starks en Trinidad, 2007). Twee hoof temas het te voorskyn gekom, dit is: veeltaligheid as taalrepertoire, en die interaksie tussen taal, ruimte-skepping, en identiteit.

Bevindinge uit hierdie studie dui daarop dat deelnemers tipies 'n reeks taalbronne in hul repertoires het. Hierdie taalbronne word op verskillende wyse gebruik deur die sprekers afhangend van die situasie waarin hulle hul bevind. Soms, dien die gebrek aan taalbronne in 'n sekere situasie as 'n uitsluitingsmeganisme of lei tot die mislukking van kommunikasie. Verder meer, soos Busch (2012) opmerk sluit die taalrepertoire nie net *eintlike* taal variëteite in nie, maar ook *ideologieë* rondom taal. In die twee lande waarin Lusamia gepraat word (Kenia en Uganda), word verskillende taalbronne gebruik en verstaan. Hierdie interaksie van taalbronne met Lusamia verduidelik die subtiele verskille in aksent en woordkeuse in die

taalgebruik van deelnemers aan beide kante van die grens. Hierdie verskille word gekonstrueer as die beduidende merkers van die Ugandese en Keniaanse variëteite van Samia. Dus, soos Samia sprekers in verskeie aktiwiteite deelneem wat voorsiening maak vir verskillende taalbronne, onderhandel hulle deurentyd hul taalidentiteite. Verder meer, die taalidentiteit van Samia sprekers is by uitstek, 'n *veeltalige* een. Selfs rituele wat rondom belangrike mylpale of belangrike geleenthede handel (geboorte, huwelike, dood) word gekenmerk deur heteroglottiese betekenis-skepping. In die lig van my resultate, beveel ek aan dat meer navorsing oor taal en identiteit; veeltaligheid en ruimte-skepping in ag moet neem. (Blommaert, Collins, en Slembrouck, 2005: 197).

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my lovely daughters, Joy and Jolly and my dear husband Humphrey who had to endure my absence while I embarked on this journey.

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List of abbreviations

LL:	Linguistic Landscape
LE:	Linguistic Ethnography
NGO:	Non-Government Organization
MP:	Member of Parliament
L1:	First Language
L2:	Second Language
LC:	Local Council
ADA:	Africa Doctoral Academy
PANGEA:	Partnership for Africa's Next Generation of Academics
ID:	Identification

List of codes

IITUG1:	Individual Interview Transcript Uganda 1
FGDTUG1:	Focus Group Discussion Transcript Uganda 1
IITUG22:	Individual Interview Transcript Uganda 22
FGDTKE1:	Focus Group Discussion Transcript Kenya 1
IITKE15:	Individual Interview Transcript Kenya 15
IITUG23:	Individual Interview Transcript Uganda 23
IITKE21:	Individual Interview Transcript Kenya 21
FGDTKE2:	Focus Group Discussion Transcript Kenya 2
IITKE17:	Individual Interview Transcript Kenya 17
IITUG5:	Individual Interview Transcript Uganda 5
IITKE8:	Individual Interview Transcript Kenya 8
IITUG25:	Individual Interview Transcript Uganda 25
FGDTUG/KE:	Focus Group Discussion Transcript Uganda and Kenya
OTACCUG/KE:	Observation Transcript Annual Cultural Ceremony Uganda and Kenya
OTMKEI:	Observation Transcription Market Kenya 1
OTMUGI:	Observation Transcript Market Uganda 1
OTBUGI:	Observation Transcript Baptism ceremony Uganda 1
OTNUG1:	Observation Transcript Naming ceremony Uganda 1
OTBKE1:	Observation Transcript Baptism Kenya 1
OTBKE2:	Observation Transcript Baptism Kenya 2
OTIUG1:	Observation Transcript Introduction ceremony Uganda 1
OTIKE1:	Observation Transcript Introduction ceremony Kenya 1
OTFUGI:	Observation Transcript Funeral Uganda 1
IITKE5:	Individual Interview Transcript Kenya 5
OTNKE1:	Observation Transcript Naming Kenya 1
IITUG12:	Individual Interview Transcript Uganda 12

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and Rationale to the study

This study set out to investigate the discursive identity construction of a community separated by a national border. This is the community of the Samia, found in the town of Busia and in the surrounding villages. The Ugandan/Kenyan border runs through the town of Busia, and the community language is called Lusamia.¹ In this study, I used ethnographic methods to investigate how speakers of Lusamia on both sides of the border construct their linguistic identities in relation to the linguistic varieties they know and use. Furthermore, I was also interested in how Samia speakers constructed their linguistic identities in relation to the linguistic varieties spoken by other Samia speakers, and non-Samia speakers. By focusing on the social interactions and linguistic exchanges among the Samia (in their cross-border communities) from a sociolinguistic perspective, the study aimed to add to the body of research on cross-border languages. My interest was particularly in the linguistic practices engaged in by the Samia from the perspective of language as a local practice; where language is used by speakers depending on their interpretation of that particular environment (Pennycook, 2010). Thus in this dissertation, language and identity will not be looked at as pre-given, but rather as varying, depending on the communicative situation in which the speakers are involved.

My interest was partly sparked by my personal experience. My husband and I constantly have to make choices about which language(s) to speak to each other, our parents, our children and other people around us. I have also been criticised in the past for using the “wrong language” in a particular situation. All this is because I have a variety of linguistic resources in my repertoire available to me, and I always need to choose which resource(s) will be appropriate to use in which situation. Both my husband and I come from cross-border communities. He comes from the community of the Bagisu in Sironko district in Eastern Uganda whereas I come from the Samia community in Busia district, also in Eastern Uganda. There is a

¹ The terms *Lusamia* and *Samia* are used to refer to the language and to the people, respectively, but sometimes *Samia* is also used to refer to the language, especially when writing or speaking about the language in English or when the language is being referred to by non-Lusamia speakers. In other cases, because this language belongs to the Bantu family (in Uganda) and the Luhya family (in Kenya), the prefix *Aba-* is used when referring to the people (*Abasamia*), or the prefix *(O)lu-* is used when referring to the language (*(O)lusamia*). (Details of the Samia language and the language groups they belong to will be given in section 1.3). In this dissertation, I use *Lusamia* to refer to the language and *Samia* to refer to the people and sometimes to the language as well.

community in Kenya, the Babukusu, who speaks a language (called Lubukusu) that is similar to the language of my husband's people, the Bagisu (their language is called Lugisu), and these two communities are only separated by the European drawn border. Similarly, the Ugandan Samia community has their counterpart community on the Kenyan side of the border who also speak Lusamia.

By virtue of both of us coming from multilingual cross-border communities, we speak more than one language and we constantly have to choose the most appropriate language depending on the situation in which we find ourselves. In addition to Lugisu, my husband speaks English, Luganda, Lusamia, Rukiga, Runyankore, Runyoro, Rutooro, and Swahili. In addition to Lusamia, I speak English, Japadhola, Luganda, Lugisu, Lusoga, and Swahili. From the languages that are mentioned above, my husband and I have five in common. We are always making linguistic choices, sometimes consciously and at other times unconsciously. For instance, at home with our children, we speak English; but when we are home alone, we speak English and Luganda. However, when we are in public and there are other people present but we want to engage in a private conversation, we speak either Swahili or Lusamia. We cannot speak English or Luganda in this situation because these two are languages of wider communication in Uganda and many people have knowledge of them. In Uganda, Swahili is spoken by few people, mostly by those who have lived in border towns, have been in the army or have studied it at school.

To further illustrate the linguistic choices that we often have to make: My husband speaks to his mother in Lugisu, to my mother in Luganda, to my father in English and to my grandmother in Lusamia. I speak Lugisu to some of his aunts and uncles, but to the others in either English or Luganda. When I am at work at Makerere University in the capital Kampala, I speak English to my head of department but switch to Luganda when I meet a colleague. These are just a small set of examples; there are many more. My experience described above is confirmation of Blommaert's (2010) assertion that, as multilinguals, our linguistic repertoire is not static but rather "mobile"; we use the linguistic resources available to us variedly in different situations. Not only are our linguistic repertoires mobile, but as Hall (1996: 3) states our identities are also not static but are always changing.

Besides my personal experience, this study is also motivated by recent theoretical work on language and identity, and multilingualism. Currently, there is a lot of focus on multilingualism as the new "linguistic dispensation" (Aronin and Singleton, 2008); however,

the majority of these studies have focused on urban centres. For instance, Backhaus (2007: 1) states that “the city is a place of language contact”. He names cities like Athens, Rome and Constantinople which have attracted different groups of people from different linguistic backgrounds. Some earlier studies, such as that of Labov (1972), Milroy (1980) and Trudgill (1974a, 1974b) were also conducted in urban centres. My theoretical interest in this study was thus sparked by an apparent gap in the literature, which is that most studies which investigate language and identity construction within multilinguals focus on urban communities only, and that there is little traceable research on multilingualism in rural areas. Ironically, early sociolinguistics studies within the ethnographic tradition focused on rural communities (Gumperz, 1964, 1971; Hymes, 1962, 1964). In recent studies of contemporary multilingualism, however, investigations of rural communities have become scarce. My study will thus turn the attention back to the earlier tradition of linguistic anthropology and ethnography, by focussing on the linguistic identity construction of a rural, multilingual community within an African context.

In order to contextualise my study appropriately, I will now give some background information on Lusamia and its speakers.

1.2. The language Lusamia and its speakers

Lusamia speakers are found mostly (but not exclusively) in Western Kenya and Eastern Uganda. Their traditional economic activities include fishing (in Lake Victoria and in rivers like River Sio), crop farming (called *obulimi* in Lusamia), and animal farming (called *obutuki* in Lusamia). The Samia people, predominantly live in Busia district (both in Kenya and Uganda; the district on the Ugandan side of the border is referred to as Busia Uganda whereas the one on the Kenyan side is referred to as Busia Kenya). The geographical location of the Samia is shown in the map below in Figure 1.

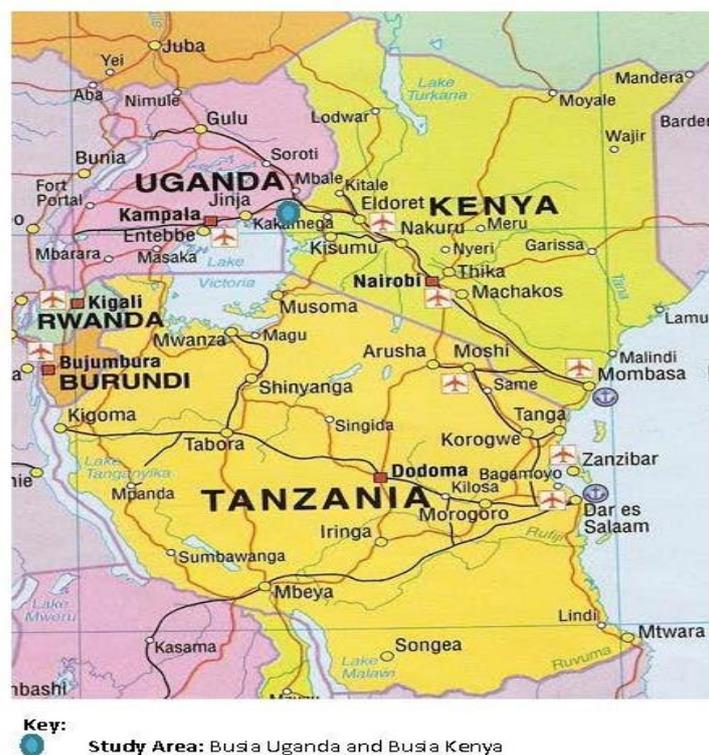


Figure 1: Map of Ugandan/Kenyan border

The language of the Samia belongs to two different language groups. In Kenya, it belongs to the larger Luhya language group. According to Kibui (2014: 93), the Luhya is the second largest indigenous language group after Gikuyu. It comprises several mutually intelligible languages,² some of which include Bukusu, Kinyore, Kihayo, Marachi, and Maragori. In addition to Lusamia and the other indigenous languages, the speakers of Lusamia in Kenya also speak Swahili, which is both the national and the official language. Some Samia in Kenya also speak the other official language, English (Attorney General, 2010; Kibui, 2014). Note, however, that it is mostly the educated that have knowledge of English as it is acquired through formal schooling. Most of these educated Samia do not live in the rural areas, but prefer to live in the urban centers. It is for the above reason that I conducted my interviews in Lusamia since they were mainly held in the rural Samia community. The presence of the official and national languages alongside the indigenous languages in this community makes both individual Samia and the Samia community multilingual. This is what Sridhar (1996: 47)

² In this dissertation, I will not engage in the debate whether the languages in the Luhya cluster are different languages or different dialects. It is well-reported that distinctions between varieties and languages were not consistently made by missionaries who usually standardised languages in Africa (see Makoni and Pennycook 2007). A discussion of this nature is beyond the scope of this dissertation but the reader is referred to the work of Makoni and colleagues (2003, 2004, and 2007). Subsequently, I will adopt the approach that I will refer to linguistic varieties in the way in which speakers themselves refer to them. For example, Speakers of Lusamia refer to “Ugandan Samia” and “Kenyan Samia”.

refers to as “individual and societal multilingualism”, which is defined as “the acquisition, knowledge or use of several languages by individuals (individual multilingualism) or by language communities (societal multilingualism) in a specific geographical area”. Details of these types of multilingualism will be discussed later in chapter 3, section 3.4.

Lusamia on the Ugandan side of the border is classified as a Bantu language, and has a basic orthography which is not yet standardised and is still in need of revision and development (Nannyombi and Rempel, 2011). The Bantu language family to which Lusamia on the Ugandan side is said to belong is a large collection of mutually intelligible languages (see footnote 2) which include Luganda, Lugisu, Lusoga, Rukiga, Runyankore, etc. (Batibo, 2005; Ladefoged, 1971; Nakayiza, 2013). In 2005, through the amendment of the Constitution, English was pronounced as the official language of Uganda, and Swahili was proposed as Uganda’s second official language awaiting Parliament’s approval. However, as Mukama (2009: 87) indicates, “the amendment of naming Swahili as the second official language was not as definitive as the one that states the official status of English” and, until today, Parliament has never approved the proposal of Swahili becoming Uganda’s second official language. This means that Swahili in Uganda has remained a symbol of East African integration, rather than a functional language like English (Namyalo & Nakayiza, 2015). Despite this status of Swahili in Uganda, a small percentage of Ugandans speak the language confined mostly to border towns like Busia in which the Samia community under study is situated. Therefore, the existence of the different Ugandan and Kenyan languages that co-exist with Lusamia in addition to Swahili and English leads to both individual and societal multilingualism as seen on both sides of the border above.

As can be seen from the discussion above, Samia is a cross-border language. It is spoken on both sides of the Ugandan/Kenyan border, an artificial border that was drawn during the European scramble and partition of Africa (Kibui, 2014; Ndhlovu, 2013; Were, 1967). After the separation, the two groups were found on different sides of the border and are constantly in contact with each other and with other groups of people. As noted earlier, speakers in multilingual settings often have to negotiate different identities in different situations, and the Samia are not an exception to this.

1.3. Statement of the problem

In the comparatively under-researched field of African multilingualism, little is known about multilingualism in rural African communities, and about the construction of linguistic

identities in these communities. Furthermore, although there are some studies of a linguistic nature on cross-border towns, the identity construction of members of two communities that were one before the drawing of the national border by their colonizers has not been investigated. Therefore, this study investigated the linguistic identity construction of a multilingual cross-border community within a rural African context.

1.4. Aim and objectives of the study

The main aim of the research was to ascertain how speakers of cross-border languages construct linguistic identities as they use different languages in varied communicative situations. To achieve this aim, the research was guided by the following objectives:

- (i) To assess the attitudes and perceptions that the Samia of both Uganda and Kenya have towards their linguistic varieties and those of the neighboring communities.
- (ii) To examine the everyday linguistic practices in which the Samia of both Uganda and Kenya engage during social interactions in their different networks.
- (iii) To establish the role that the linguistic varieties used in various formal structured cultural ceremonies play in the construction of linguistic identities of the Samia of both Uganda and Kenya.

1.5. Research questions

The key research question that this study sets out to answer is: How do speakers of cross-border languages construct different linguistic identities as a result of using (a) different language(s) in the varied contexts in which they find themselves? This research question was derived from a number of related questions emerging from the knowledge gap in the literature, these questions being based on the objectives set out above:

- (i) What attitudes and perceptions do the Samia of both Uganda and Kenya have towards their linguistic varieties and those of the neighboring communities?
- (ii) What are the different linguistic practices in which the Samia of both Uganda and Kenya engage during social interactions in their different networks?

- (iii) What role do the linguistic varieties used in various formal structured cultural ceremonies play in the construction of linguistic identities of the Samia of both Uganda and Kenya?

1.6. Theoretical point of departure

This study followed the postmodernists' view of language and identity. According to Lemke (2002: 69), who is one of the proponents of this approach, speakers of various languages construct different identities to suit the changing situations in which they find themselves. Therefore, I looked at identity as being a result of not just how the world shapes people, but also how people shape the world around them. This means that people position themselves and are positioned differently in different social, cultural or historical contexts. The postmodernists also view identity as being a result of action, thus as something that is continuously constructed as speakers vary the linguistic resources in their repertoire to fulfil the language requirements of a particular space in which they are (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Hall, 1996; Norton, 2010). Following the postmodernists' view of language and identity, I looked at the concepts 'language' and 'identity' as dynamic. I approached the study with the view that the Lusamia speakers' linguistic identities are not static but rather change as they use different languages in different situations.

According to Aronin and Singleton (2008), the current social, political and economic developments that are taking place as a result of globalization, increased transnational migrations, and advancement of new technologies, together with post colonialism, have resulted in an increased interest in multilingualism. This means that individuals, societies and institutions engage in more than one language in their day to day interactions, as noted by Franceschini (2009: 33). The possession of more than one linguistic resource means that speakers in multilingual settings have to make different linguistic choices in different situations. As a result of these linguistic choices, these speakers constantly negotiate different identities; these may be national, ethnic or linguistic identities. This negotiation is more evident for speakers of cross-border languages like the Samia found in both Uganda and Kenya who may have to simultaneously negotiate all three types of identities mentioned above. The study thus aimed at investigating how the Lusamia speakers, who live in a multilingual community with various identity options, construct their linguistic identities in various communicative situations.

Multilingualism as evidenced in the Samia community places different demands on the speakers of the various linguistic varieties. One such demand is a shift in identity – in this case, linguistic identity. Thus, we observe that the linguistic repertoire of the speakers is not made up of multiple languages, but instead that the repertoire *is* “multilingualism”. In other words, boundaries between languages are seen as fluid for the speaker of the different languages. They may thus not perceive themselves as switching between languages; rather, the use of their various linguistic varieties is a simple fact of life for them. Multilingualism in this study will be looked at as the linguistic repertoire, and I will introduce the concept in the next section and expound on it in the chapters that follow.

1.6.1. Multilingualism as linguistic repertoire

According to Kemp (2009), defining multilingualism is a complex endeavour as a number of factors need to be attended to. In this dissertation, I will adopt the definition of multilingualism as given by Franceschini (2009: 33) who understands the concept of multilingualism as “the capacity of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life”. Multilingualism is increasingly becoming the norm in most parts of the world. Some countries like England and Germany have been viewed as monolingual but upon closer examination, it has been discovered that there are languages spoken other than English and German (Edwards, 2008; Tsitsipis, 2006). The above reflection does not exclude countries in Africa and Asia where multilingualism has always existed but has been underrepresented in academic studies. The dominant conceptualization of multilingualism within academic studies is usually not done from an African perspective. This is however changing slowly as we see that many authors (see e.g. Banda and Jimaima 2015; Deumert and Mabandla 2013; Prah 2010, Prah and Brock-Utne 2009, Stroud 2011), have researched multilingualism as manifested in different parts of Africa.

As noted in the discussion above, multilingualism is manifested as a repertoire. Speakers in multilingual communities, like that of the Samia, often have a number of linguistic resources available to them. They make choices on what to use depending on the environment in which they are communicating. Gumperz (1964: 137) defines linguistic repertoire as “the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction”. Similarly, Banda (2009: 6) refers to linguistic repertoire as “the total range of codes available to a speaker that allow him/her to perform different roles across ethnic, community, regional

and national boundaries”. From these definitions, it can be noted that the scholars look at linguistic repertoire from a social interaction perspective. As pointed out by Busch (2012: 138), the different linguistic resources in a speaker’s repertoire are not static, but are rather achieved differently in different situations. In addition to the situation in which speakers are communicating, their own ideologies also affect what linguistic resources they will employ (Busch, 2012). According to Gumperz (1964: 148), the different linguistic resources that speakers use signal the different groups that these speakers belong or want to belong to. In this regard, Biber (1995: 2) states that speakers should know the society in which they are so as to choose the most appropriate linguistic resource(s). In addition to the kind of society, Pahta (2010) points to the fact that the social roles people hold in society also determine when they will use (a) particular linguistic resource(s), as we shall see later in chapters 5 and 6 when I discuss the data.

1.6.2. Language and identity

Language is central to human identity because the language(s) and/or language variety(-ies) that people speak influence which groups they belong to in society, as asserted by authors such as Edwards (2009), Finegan (2004), Joseph (2004), and Llamas and Watt (2010). According to Bailey (2007: 257) different languages (including language varieties), position speakers in the social world differently and, as a result, different identities are constructed. This means that language, like identity, is constantly changing. These changes in language and identity are often brought about by differences in contexts, speakers, classes, genders, etc. Spolsky and Asher (1999) state that membership to particular groups through the use of different languages associated with these groups gives members both self and group identity. In this dissertation, I will use the term “language” as defined by Franceschini (2009: 34): “a language variety which a group allocates to itself for use as a habitual and time-stable code of communication”. In this sense, the use of language in various situations determines self and group identity, meaning that a single group can have more than one language associated with it. This means that the speakers who seek to belong to this group need to use the language(s) appropriate for this particular group.

In relation to the observations made above about the dynamism of language and identity, Sarup (1996: 11) points out that “identity is a construction, a consequence of interaction between people, institutions and practices”. The proponents of postmodernism, which is the theoretical underpinning of this study, state that speakers who find themselves in different

communicative situations, especially in multilingual settings, have a role to play in constructing their multiple identities. According to this theoretical perspective, speakers position themselves differently as the situation demands (Gee, 2000: 99). These demands according to Gee (2000) may be influenced by social, economic and political factors. Norton and Toohey (2011: 418) point out that one of the reasons that speakers of multiple languages continuously negotiate different identities is to belong to or signal membership of particular groups; “identity is a product of social action and depending on the situation, identity can change or the existing identities can recombine to meet new circumstances” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 376). Social actions are influenced by factors like status, age, race, gender, and religion (Tatum 1997: 91). Some of these factors are beyond the control of the speakers; nonetheless, they have to continuously negotiate their ‘self’ so as to belong to groups in the community in which they interact. However, Norton (2010: 350) argues that it is not only the aforementioned factors that have an influence on the ever-changing identities of speakers; their perceptions also play a role. In this dissertation, I will examine identity following Norton’s (2010) assertion of the dynamism of identity influenced by different factors, including speakers’ own perceptions. Based on the above arguments, in this study, I will combine the views of the constructivists and the postmodernists and view identity as being the result of how we shape the social world around us, and how we are shaped by the world. In this regard, identity is never unified but is constructed as different situations demand.

1.6.3. Cross-border communities and social interactions

The border is more than just a line on the ground; rather, it is a means through which people communicate and construct meanings in different political, economic and social spheres as Brambilla (2007) observes. Through the border, as Brambilla (2007) notes, there are shared memories and common identities, and the communities living at the border have interaction with one another. Whilst I concur with Brambilla (2007), this study goes further to investigate how the identities mentioned are actually constructed through the interactions referred to and through participation in different cultural ceremonies. From my experience and observation in the field, the Samia on either side of the Uganda/Kenya border are constantly in interaction. During these interactions, the Samia speak different languages depending on who they are interacting with. As such, one of the points of interest in the study was to examine the different language practices engaged in by the Samia on either side of the border during their different social interactions and to establish how they view the linguistic varieties that they speak. By focusing on the social interactions, language engagements and linguistic exchanges

among the cross-border Samia communities, the study aimed to add to the body of knowledge and various debates on cross-border languages, from a sociolinguistic perspective. The study investigated linguistic practices engaged in by the Samia from the perspective of language as a local practice (Pennycook, 2010) and examined how these practices have contributed to the construction of their linguistic identities.

Although many studies have been done on cross-border languages, such studies have mostly focused on the role these languages play in economic and political integration and in education (see for instance, Dereje and Hoehne, 2012; Ndhlovu, 2013; Prah, 2009). There was a need to ascertain how speakers of cross-border languages in multilingual settings make choices regarding which language(s) to use and when to use them, which results into continuous negotiation of linguistic identities. In order to do this, the study followed specific methodological procedures that are briefly discussed below, with details given later in chapter 4.

1.7. Methodology

This study is situated in a qualitative research paradigm, with the use of an ethnographic approach to gather data. As Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011: 1) point out, ethnography calls for studying people as they go about their daily lives. It requires building rapport with the study population, sometimes learning the local language and immersing oneself in people's activities as observed by authors such as Angrosino (2007), Creese (2008) and Hammersley and Atkinson (2007). According to the above mentioned authors, this approach demands that the researcher keenly makes observations and keeps a diary to regularly and systematically register his/her "observations and experiences". In this study, I followed a linguistic ethnography approach. As the study involved studying language use by people as they interact socially, this called for a method that combines both linguistics and ethnography, that is, Linguistic Ethnography (LE) (Tusting & Maybin, 2007). Linguistic ethnography, according to Rampton, Tusting, Maybin, Barwell, Creese and Lytra (2004: 2) investigates language as it is used in everyday interactions since language and social life affect each other. Details of LE will be discussed in chapter 4, section, 4.3.1. For data collection, the study followed a triangulation approach. I used different data collection methods, including interviews (both individual and focus group), observation, and linguistic landscaping. I did this to ensure the validity of my research findings as data collected using one method was complemented with that from another, as recommended by authors such as Denzin (2012) and Mathison (1988).

As stated above, data for this study were collected by conducting individual interviews and focus group discussions within the participating communities in Busia Uganda and Busia Kenya. The interviews were designed to obtain information about the speakers' attitudes towards their own linguistic variety and that of the neighbouring communities. The interviews also collected information on the different language practices in which the Samia engage in their different networks and also on the specific kind of language used during the performance of selected cultural ceremonies.

In addition to the interviews, observations were made to complement the interview data. The written language used in public space, also referred to as linguistic landscaping, was observed (Backhaus, 2007; Gorter, 2006; Shohamy and Gorter, 2008). I was interested in finding out what language(s) are used in the public space and how this contributes to the construction of linguistic identities by the Samia. Observations were also made of verbal interactions in the markets on both sides of the border with an aim of finding out how the Samia negotiate different linguistic identities as they interact at these markets. Different cultural ceremonies (namely introduction ceremonies, weddings, name giving ceremonies, and funerals) were also observed on both the Ugandan and the Kenyan side of the border, particularly paying attention to the language used during these ceremonies. Lastly, I attended and observed two annual cultural ceremonies that are hosted by the Samia on both sides of the border on a rotational basis. This event brings together the Samia people from both sides of the border, and they participate in various activities, including discussions on how to preserve and promote the Samia language. It is also a way of ensuring that the Samia people live in harmony with one another across the border.

In addition to the above-mentioned methods of data collection, I also joined the Facebook group *Learning Samia Together*. Through this group, I interacted with a number of Lusamia speakers from both Uganda and Kenya.³ I analysed all the data that I collected through the different methods using thematic analysis, which I briefly introduce in the next section but discuss in detail in chapter 4.

³ The group has members from both Uganda and Kenya. Members ask questions about different issues, especially about Lusamia. Sometimes people want to know how to say certain things in Lusamia or about particular cultural aspects of the Samia. I used this platform to verify some of the information obtained from the interviews and observations.

1.8. Data analysis

I started with data analysis soon as I had completed my first individual interviews and continued throughout the data collection process and beyond. I organised, structured and attempted to give meaning to the data that I collected. The process also involved reducing the vast amounts of data that I collected through the various methods into manageable portions that I could then interpret and discuss with backing of the literature related to the study as recommended by authors such as, Bryman (2015), Fletcher (2015) and Gibbs (2007). Based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) discussion of thematic analysis, I found this method suitable for capturing both the explanations given by my Samia informants and my own observations of the daily interactions of the people under study. The themes that I identified are discussed in chapters 5 and 6 in relation to current sociolinguistic theories.

1.9. Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the whole thesis, giving the reader the background to the study, and the objectives and the research questions that guided the study. The theoretical point of departure is introduced, highlighting the approach on which the study was based. A brief explanation of the methodology and the data analysis is given. Lastly, key terms as used in the thesis are defined.

Chapters 2 and 3 present the literature related to the study. An investigation of language and identity is presented, focusing on early approaches to the subject of language and identity, on language and nationalism and lastly on recent approaches to language and identity. In these chapters, the postmodern theoretical underpinning that guided this study is discussed. Aspects of multilingualism are also examined as the geographical area of study (namely Busia Uganda and Busia Kenya) comprises multilingual towns.

Chapter 4 presents information on the methodology of the study. This chapter describes the methods and instruments used for data collection and data analysis, and provides justification for the choices that were made in these regards. The context of the study, the study participants and how they were selected are presented in this chapter.

In chapter 5 and 6, the data is presented, interpreted and discussed in support of the notion that language and identity are dynamic, especially in multilingual settings where people have to negotiate different linguistic identities in various contexts.

Lastly, the summary of findings, recommendations and pointers to further research are discussed in chapter 7. Answers to the research questions posed at the beginning of the study are given, a summary of the findings which emanate from the preceding arguments is presented, and practical recommendations are proposed.

1.10. Key concepts

A number of concepts have guided the thesis in terms of theoretical underpinnings and in the way in which the data have been handled. Below I refer to the way in which these concepts have been used in this dissertation.

Multilingualism

The ability to function in more than one language without reaching the same degree of grammatical perfection in all the languages known by the individual” (Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou, 2009: 461). Relatedly, **multilingualism as linguistic repertoire** refers to the fact that it is the multiplicity of linguistic resources that speakers possess which enables them to interact in a number of social situations, rather than the choice of particular language(s).

Linguistic repertoire

Busch (2015: 7) understands the notion of linguistic repertoire “not [only] as something the individual possesses but as formed and deployed in intersubjective processes located on the border between the self and the other”.

Language

A language variety which a group allocates to itself for use as a habitual and time-stable code of communication (Franceschini, 2009; 34).

Identity

“A product of social action and depending on the situation, identity can change or the existing identities can recombine to meet new circumstances” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 376).

Language identity refers to at identity that is signaled and constantly negotiated as speakers engage in different activities in their communities which involves use of different languages depending on the situation (Pennycook, 2010).

Context

Context as used in this dissertation includes the participants involved in the communication (bearing in mind power relations), the purpose of the communication, and the environment in

which the communication takes place (which may be physical, social, or both). Context is also viewed as doing something “to people when it comes to communicating. It organizes and defines sociolinguistic regimes in which spaces are characterized by sets of norms and expectations about communicative behaviour – orders of indexicality” (Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck, 2005).

Performative

A term that refers to “utterances that do not just say something, but rather, perform an action (Austin, 1975: 6).

Practice

A series of actions that make up our daily lives (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 377). Related to practice is **linguistic practice**, which according to Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 378) is the “outcome of social agency; speakers elect to engage in certain activities or to affiliate with social groups in which particular practices are expected”.

Indexicality

Refers to the semiotic operation of juxtaposition, whereby one entity or event points to another” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 378). Related to indexicality is the term **indexical expressions** which refer to expressions whose interpretation requires the identification of some of the utterance context, as stipulated by their lexical meanings (Nunberg, 1993: 2).

Language ideologies

This refers to the ways speakers think about a particular language and how it should be used in a particular space; thoughts about language by their speakers (Kroskrity, 2004: 496).

Nationalism

The existence of symbols and beliefs which are either propagated by elite groups, or held by many of the members of regional, ethnic, or linguistic categories of a population and which implies a community between them (Giddens, 1981: 190-191).

Translanguaging

Wei (2011: 1222) views translanguaging as creating “a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience

and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience”.

Stylization

A strategy employed by speakers to ease communication with people from different backgrounds. The strategy entails use of different language styles to suit the particular situation in which the speakers are in (Coupland, 2001).

Transidiomaticity

The term refers to “the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different language and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant”(Jacquemet, 2005: 264-265).

Metrolingualism

According to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 240), metrolingualism refers to “those linguistic practices manifested by speakers that surpass boundaries of established social, cultural and political boundaries, identities and ideologies of these speakers”.

Postmodernism

Postmodern according to Lyotard (1984: xxiii) designates “the state of our culture following the transformations which, since the end of the nineteenth century, have altered the game rules for science, literature, and the arts.”

Linguistic landscapes

Linguistic landscapes are defined as “the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, etc.” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997: 25).

Cross-border languages

These are languages that are spoken across national boundaries; for the case of Africa, most are as a result of the European drawn boundaries (Ndhlovu, 2013; Were, 1967).

Linguistic varieties/linguistic resources

The different languages that speakers possess in their repertoire that they put to use depending on the situation in which they find themselves in.

Constructivism

Belief that language and identity are both dynamic and are constructed differently in different situations (Bailey, 2007: 258).

Linguistic ethnography

The study of language within the context of anthropology which involves looking at language as it is used in everyday life, thus combines linguistics and ethnography (Hymes, 1964: xxiii)

Truncated multilingualism

The term entails speakers having linguistic competencies which are geared towards specific situations (domains or activities) (Blommaert et al, 2005: 199).

Spacialisation

This refers to “the different processes by which space comes to be represented, organized and experienced” (Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010: 7).

Domain

This refers to the different settings of language use, for example, home, market, etc. and the specific activities associated with these settings.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide a discussion on research investigating language and identity, and specifically how these two concepts are connected to each other. I start with a general discussion of the concept ‘identity’, as well as a discussion on how language and identity intersect. Next, I provide a historical overview of the concepts from primarily a sociolinguistic point of view. The central approach in this thesis is a postmodern take on language and identity. Recently within this approach, a number of existing concepts have been redefined and a number of new concepts introduced. This chapter will provide a critical appraisal of some of these linguistic concepts, such as ‘practices’, ‘ideology’, ‘indexicality’ and ‘performativity’. I conclude this chapter by discussing research on how language has been connected to nationality as a particular identity category.

Following the postmodern principle, the concept of identity employed in this study will be based on that advanced by Hall (1996). He looks at the concept of identity not from an essentialist point of view but rather from a strategic and positioned one (Hall, 1996: 3). This means that identities are not unified, nor are they stable; rather, they are constructed differently in different situations, which make identity construction a process that is never completed – it is always on-going. So, as stated by Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 376), one should view the construction of identity as a dynamic process rather than a static one. A similar point is made by Bailey (2007: 258) when he says that “identities are constructed through the boundaries that groups construct between themselves, rather than the characteristics of group members”. Thus (Bailey, 2007) draws attention to the fact that identity is not pre-given but that groups “police” who can and cannot form part of them. Bailey's (2007) argument is built on what Barth (1969: 13) refers to as “self-ascription” (viz. how one defines oneself) and “ascription by others” (viz. how others define one).

As noted above, one cannot easily talk about identity without talking about language, because identity construction is greatly influenced by language. According to Bailey (2007: 258) it is through language that people “constitute themselves”. Spolsky and Asher (1999) note that it is not just language that influences people’s identities but also the language varieties that they

speak and those that they are exposed to. Thus taking a broader view of language, a position that is also adhered to in this dissertation, Bailey (2007) and Spolsky and Asher (1999) argue that language is very central to human identity. Thus, when one hears someone speak, one can immediately make guesses about the speaker's gender, educational level, age, profession, etc. (Spolsky 1999: 181). In this dissertation, I look at language from a postmodernist perspective. I follow Makoni and Pennycook's (2005) notion of languages being invented, which points to specific contexts through which languages are constituted and constructed. This means that speakers of different languages use language differently in different contexts. Furthermore, Makoni and Pennycook (2005) argue that linguistic labels are not natural categorisations of difference but constructed and invented to serve different purposes.

2.2 Historical overview of language and identity

In this section, I give a historical overview of the study of language and identity within the tradition of sociolinguistics. I trace this study from the earliest research within a variationist paradigm to current understanding of language and identity. Through this historical overview, I wish to position my own research within the postmodern paradigm and make it clear why I have selected this approach to inform my study.

2.2.1 The notion of identity in variationist sociolinguistics

Variationist sociolinguistics has evolved over the last nearly four decades as a discipline that integrates social and linguistic aspects of language. The field has been mainly inspired by the work of William Labov (Romaine, 1982: 1). When Labov together with Weinreich developed the theory of language change, this saw the birth of the field of variationist sociolinguistics, perhaps to answer some questions pertaining to language change (Tagliamonte, 2006: 4). Labov (1965, 1972) provided the field of sociolinguistics with insights into the occurrence of linguistic variation when he introduced the notion of the linguistic variable and its variants.

Therefore, one can view variationist sociolinguistics as –

That branch of linguistics which studies the characteristics of language that are in balance with each other, for instance, linguistic structure and social structure, grammatical meaning and social meaning, etc. The field thus refers to those properties of language that require reference to both external (social) and internal (systematic) factors in their explanation (Tagliamonte, 2006: 5).

Characteristics which were previously typically seen to exemplify identity such as social class were used as external factors in explanations of language change and variation in Labov's work. Thus the early work of Labov drew attention to the role that identity played in language variation and language change. Labov conducted two influential studies, one on the island of Martha's Vineyard in 1961 and the other in New York City in 1966. In the Martha's Vineyard study, Labov interviewed a number of speakers to ascertain which changes that had taken place in the way they used language. He observed that there was a movement away from the standard New English realizations of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ (as in *mice* and *mouse*, respectively) (Labov, 1972: 1). Labov noted that there was a centralization of /aw/ and that change began with a rural community of Yankee fishermen and later spread to the speakers of the same ethnic group in other communities. In order to relate language change as observed above to other aspects of society (such as identity), Labov (1972: 3) notes that explaining such changes in pronunciation calls for understanding the social life of the speakers of the language and the community in which the change occurs. This is because social pressures have an influence not only on human behaviour, but also on the language spoken in a community. Labov agrees that despite the change being phonological, the social stratification on the island of Martha's Vineyard has greatly influenced this change (Labov, 1972: 25).

In his other influential study, conducted in New York City, Labov (1972) viewed linguistic variation from two perspectives. The first was the 'social', which refers to the sociolinguistic variations that he found from his recordings. The second perspective was the 'stylistic', which refers to the variations produced by individuals if language is used in a social context, depending on the situation (Labov, 1972: 183). This with time may signal membership to different groups. These speakers, according to Le Page (1968: 192), create a system of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the groups with which they wish to be identified.

Expanding on Labov's theory of language change, Trudgill (2011: 1) argues that there is a relationship between type of society and the resultant language change. For instance, he affirms that linguistic simplification and linguistic complexification occur in different types of societies. Language change that involves simplification occurs in a community that is small and stable and that has relatively few outside networks; in this case, everyone knows everyone. By contrast, language change that involves complexification occurs in societies where there is high contact with members of other communities; this results into very loose networks. For instance, Milroy (1992: 203) proposes that the trend towards simplification in

late Old English can be associated with the degree of language contact that English had with other languages. In cases where the societies in question are multilingual, the resultant language change may be morphological simplification, especially in cases where there is a language used as lingua franca (Sankoff, 2002: 657).

Following Labov's initial work, other researchers added to the conceptual toolkit of variationist sociolinguistics. For instance, authors such as Milroy (1980) and Milroy and Milroy (1992) introduced the notion of 'social networks'. Social networks according to Milroy and Milroy (1992: 2) "relate to the community and interpersonal level of social organisation". In their studies, the authors were concerned with the linguistic and social variations that occurred in society at both the interpersonal and community level. The studies revealed that linguistic variation occurs as a result of the different social variables such as age, class, gender and the networks that they belonged to. The more loose the networks are, the more linguistic variation (Milroy and Milroy, 1992; Milroy, 1980). The field of variationist sociolinguistics managed to bring social class into linguistic study, using it as an explanatory factor for variation. However, variationist sociolinguists viewed identity as pre-given, with language merely being a reflection of identity.

2.2.2. Constructivist approaches to language and identity

Theorists who have social constructivist perspectives on language and identity emphasize the constructed and dynamic nature of language and identity. For instance, Sarup (1996: 11) states that "identity is a construction, a consequence of interaction between people, institutions and practices"(also see Bailey 2007). Contrary to the variationist sociolinguists, the constructivists believe that speakers of (a) particular language(s) have a role to play in constructing their multiple identities in the different situations in which they find themselves. According to Gee (2000: 99), speakers do this by positioning themselves differently in different contexts – these could be social, political or cultural. Gee (2000) adds that it is not only speakers who position themselves in society; other people also position them differently in different contexts. It is on the basis of the above arguments that authors such as Norton and Toohey (2011: 418) argue that identity construction is a double occurrence, in the sense that both 'self' and 'others' are involved. Drawing on the notion of identity being context-dependent, one can say that identities, or positions for that matter, are either given by social structures or are given by the 'other' people who live within the community.

Constructivists move away from the idea of identity construction being linked to attributes and behaviour that are culturally and/or biologically explained, to more socially generated language practices. The constructive nature of identity implies that it is the result of action, rather than action being the result of an identity (Bailey, 2007; Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Norton, 2013). Bucholtz and Hall (2004) drawing on Butler (1988), view identity as emerging from social interactions through the performative function of language. Thus, identity is inherent in actions and not in people. Identity is thus “a product of social action and depending on the situation, identity can change or the existing identities can recombine to meet new circumstances” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 376). The above arguments advance the dynamic nature of identity in contrast with the more stable psychological view (as echoed in the earlier sections). Similarly, Eckert (2000: 1) observes that as speakers of different languages engage in different linguistic practices in varying contexts, they construct social identities. Practice thus becomes a key notion in this approach, with researchers such as Eckert (2000) advocating that a community of practice or a group of people who come together for a common cause and engage in practices should be the locus of study for sociolinguistics and not the speech community.

Not only are practices key in this approach, context is another important part of social constructionist views of identity. Space is often seen as an organizing principle of context. Earlier on, Gumperz (1982) observed that space is part of what we refer to as context and is thus an active agent of communication. Speakers of (a) particular language(s) communicate in a given space, and they need to be aware of which space they occupy at a particular point in time in order for them to use the language(s) appropriate to that space. According to Blommaert et al. (2005), space is viewed as both physical and social. Both these types of space place demands on the speakers and account for the different languages that are used in different situations. Lefebvre (1991: xii) looks at the ‘social space’ as a ‘social construct’. This means that space is not pre-given; rather it is continuously constructed through different social and linguistic practices in which speakers engage. Blommaert et al. (2005: 206) building on Lefebvre's (1991) work view spaces as “inhabited, appropriated, shaped and (re)configured by the occupants depending on the purpose for which they are communicating”. Thus, according to Blommaert et al. (2005: 203), “spaces have influence on what people can do and become in them”. Speakers also have the ability to modify the space they find themselves in to suit their communicative purpose, and perhaps the repertoire that they possess.

Different environments place different linguistic demands on people. This means that a speaker may be an accomplished multilingual but not in the linguistic resources required in a particular space (Blommaert et al., 2005: 210). As observed by Busch (2015: 1), changes in space by speakers of different languages may bring with them opportunities on the one hand and challenges on the other. The opportunities may be opening up new avenues for speakers to construct new identities and re-invent themselves in speech. By contrast, challenges may involve situations in which speakers cannot cope linguistically in the new environment, and this may cause emotional stress and bring back traumatic past memories, especially in the case of immigrants. Busch (2015: 2) poses the question of what would happen to speakers who find themselves in spaces where the languages spoken follow different rules from their own. What adjustments do these speakers have to make in their linguistic repertoire so as to fit in this new environment? They may be positioned differently by the ideologies that govern these new spaces. This notion is discussed in more detail in chapter 6. Bourdieu (1977) is of the view that speech cannot be understood independent of the speaker. Furthermore, to understand the speaker, one also needs to consider the social relationships that this person has (what Milroy (1980) would call “social networks”, as discussed in section 2.2.1).

Peirce’s 1991 study of five female immigrants whose identities changed as they tried to learn the language of their new community, is a seminal study in the investigation of identity from a constructionist perspective. Through in-depth interviews, participants’ diaries and her own observations and reflections, Peirce (1995: 16) explores power relations which manifest in terms of gender, ethnicity and class. One of the immigrants interviewed was Martina, a migrant worker from Eastern Europe who came to Canada to look for employment as a Quantity Surveyor. When she failed to secure her desired job, she took a position in a restaurant in Toronto. Unlike Martina, her co-workers and her manager’s children spoke English fluently, having been born in Canada. Because of the inability of Martina to speak English fluently, she was positioned by others as an inanimate ‘broom’. In a bid to resist such kind of marginalisation, Martina positioned herself as a ‘mother’, and with this new identity, she had the right to speak, for she was not just an inanimate ‘broom’ but was now in a new relationship with the people around her – domestic rather than professional (Peirce, 1995: 23). The findings from this study illustrates that as members of a certain community or members of a certain group, we can always reposition ourselves even after other people have positioned us, like Martina did.

From a constructivist perspective, speakers of (a) particular language(s) do not use language as a fixed entity governed by various rules of language use, but rather use it depending on who they speak to, when they speak, where they are and for what purpose they are communicating (that is, language use is context-dependent) (Bailey, 2007; Norton, 2010; Norton and Toohey, 2011) . Scholars who subscribe to this paradigm are of the view that speakers of either one language or multiple languages are only able to engage in various interactions because they keep abreast with the context surrounding the interactions. Wenger (1998: 100) reminds us that there are rules to entering and participating in the social interactions that Norton and Toohey (2011) talk about above. Before getting involved in the interactions, participants must first reach mutual understanding with the members of the community with whom they wish to interact. Participants also need to be informed about the accepted code of conduct, and which repertoire to use. With all this in place, successful interaction can take place. To further this argument about rules of entry to specific interactions, Lemke (2002: 69) provides the illustration of how one cannot say that they know how to speak academic English, for instance, if they do not know how academics speak across various social contexts. He strengthens his claim by saying that one has to assume the identities, attitudes, values, and other dispositions of a particular group for them to be able to interact appropriately with members of that group.

There are some shortcomings to the social constructivist approach to identity. Firstly, they look at identity construction as based on how the world shapes us, but they do not address how we also affect the world, thus ignoring the reciprocal relationship between us and the world. Secondly, they talk about language and identity varying depending on varying circumstances, yet do not clearly explain the causes of such variances. Lastly, the constructivists argue that identity is inherent in actions and not in people, but one cannot separate actions from the people who perform them (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Eckert, 2000; Peirce, 1995). It is some of these aspects and others left unaddressed by the constructivists that the postmodern theorists attempt to address.

2.3. Postmodern approaches to language and identity: Recent theoretical work

There are many debates about identity which take into consideration processes of migration and globalization that result in people moving from one place to another. Hall (1996: 4) refers to this movement as being characteristics of the “post-colonial world”, and this era is commonly referred to as “the postmodern era”. Postmodernism has also contributed to

debates in the sociolinguistic approach to language and identity, but postmodernism differs from other views due to its acknowledgement of what Lemke (2002) refers to as “human agency”. According to Lemke (2002: 69), “when we are faced with different experiences or encounters that call for certain actions, we construct identities to suit the situation” – that is, human agency is involved in forming identities. In cases where the situations are linguistic, we construct different linguistic identities. Based on the above argument, identity, as viewed from the postmodern perspective, is the result of how we shape the social world around us – and not just of how we are shaped by the world, as advanced by the constructivists. Therefore, looking at language and identity from a postmodern perspective requires us to reconstruct the way we think about language and identity (Makoni and Pennycook, 2005: 138).

In postmodern accounts of identity, the performative role of language which culminates in constructions of different linguistic identities is important. “Performative”, according to Austin (1975: 6), is a term that refers to “utterances that do not just say something, but rather, perform an action”. For instance, when someone says before the registrar or altar, “I do”, he/she is not just reporting on a particular marriage, he/she is actually entering into marriage. This shows that as we use language, we are also performing actions. Similarly, Butler (1988: 528) in her studies on gender, talks about gender as not being just a role, but rather something that is performed – it is something that people do and not just something that they have. She affirms that gender is performed through all kinds of actions, part of the performance being through the use of language. Therefore, according to Butler (1988), identity is not tied to aspects like ethnicity, territory, birth or nation; on the contrary, it emerges from social interactions as people perform different actions while using language. Pennycook (2010: 20) not only sees language as one way of performing identity but also states that “language use is an act of identity that calls that language into being”. This means that identities are formed from the linguistic performances; they are not pre-given, and language is also formed through social interaction and is not pre-given either. Language and identity are thus seen as being in a reciprocal relationship. Language is viewed as constitutive and being constituted by one’s own social identity. Postmodernists emphasise how people shape the world and are shaped by the world around them as they use language(s) (we affect the world and the world affects us). Lastly, they also look at other identity variables like age, social class, gender, and ethnicity, some of which are immensely affected by the increased migrations and the emergence of the era of globalization (Austin, 1975; Butler, 1988; Pennycook, 2010). Following the above arguments, in this dissertation, I will view language and identity as dynamic and dependent on time and place, but also shaped by other identity variables like age, class, ethnicity, and

gender, which affect the way in which people interact and position themselves – not forgetting how they are positioned by others, resulting in constant construction of linguistic identities. The proponents of postmodernism, as seen above, have talked about different practices performed by speakers of the different languages. As speakers engage in the different practices, they have different perceptions of the language(s) they use and the other speakers with whom they are in contact. I explore these and related concepts below.

2.3.1. Practices

Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 377) define “practice” as “a series of actions that make up our daily lives”. This concept has found its way into the study of language and identity through the work of linguistic anthropologists like Bourdieu (1977). Their view of language is that it consists of more than just a set of rules; rather, language is a form of practice. In this regard, linguistic activity is not any different from other forms of social activities in which speakers engage in their day to day lives. *Habitus*, a term used by Bourdieu (1977) reflects how language and other social activities shape the lives of members of a given community. However, the linguistic and social practices differ depending on the different social variables involved, such as, age, gender, and social class. According to Bourdieu (1977), the habitual actions of members of a given community are the beginning of identity formation. As people interact through the use of language, they start to belong to different groups within the community in which particular linguistic and social practices are expected. Thus, as Goodwin (1990) points out, speakers are not tied to one group all through their lives; rather, they move between different communities of practice and, as a result, different identities are signaled at different times.

The notion of ‘practice’ was used in science and technology studies in an attempt to examine knowledge and its acquisition, specifically in situated learning (Lave and Wenger, 1991). These authors noted that the cultural practices in which speakers were involved were the basis of how they acquired knowledge – thus knowledge and therefore learning were embedded in cultural practices. Another Hoadley (2012: 289) asserts that “practice identifies knowledge with something people ‘do’ as part of their culture, profession, etc”. Therefore, Hoadley (2012) is of the view that knowledge is not about what one has in their head (cognitive) or how one behaves (behaviorism), but rather, knowledge is embedded in the different cultural practices that people carry out in different contexts. Those who view knowledge in the way described above call on educators to provide learners with contexts that will enable them to

‘do’ knowledge – that is, learners should be able to learn through participation in different cultural practices within their societies.

Linguistic practices

Building on work done in sociology, anthropology and education, linguists have started to investigate linguistic practices (Pennycook, 2010). Linguistic practices according to Pennycook (2010: 9) are “moulded by social-cultural, discursive and historical precedents and concurrent contexts that become central to any understanding of language”. Thus, languages are local and what we do with them in a particular place is as a result of our interpretation of that place, and the linguistic practices we engage in reinforce that reality of place (Pennycook, 2010). Following the same argument about languages advanced above, linguistic practices are always local and always occur in a particular place. Goldstein (2001) concurs with Pennycook (2010), stating that differences in language practices can be linked to the ways in which communities are differently situated within a regional, political or economic system.

Bourdieu as early as 1977 suggested that, as in the case of linguistic practices, non-linguistic practices may also carry important social information. Taking this extended view of practice, Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 377) emphasize how linguistic practices can often reveal important social information that is not available from the examination of other community practices alone, thus arguing for an integrated view of practice, taking context and all semiotic practices into account. Therefore, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) suggest that it is important to understand how culturally shared resources (such as language) are made to serve specific social needs of individuals, that is, through different practices in different places or different situations.

Pahta (2010) states that our social identities are constructed through linguistic practices by both the immediate social contexts in which we find ourselves, as well as the wider social and cultural contexts and the discourses through which linguistic practices are indexed. According to Milroy (1980), this larger context is crucial in shaping people’s individual linguistic choices – choices they make when speaking among themselves as well as when speaking with others in their different social networks. Language is thus more than a system of signs; as Norton (2013) argues, it is social practice in which experiences are organised and identities are negotiated.

2.3.2. Indexicality

The term “indexicality” refers to “the semiotic operation of juxtaposition , whereby one entity or event points to another” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 378). What this definition points to is that meaning is extracted from juxtaposed events or entities. For instance, smoke is an index of fire, and clouds are an index of rain. In relation to the above observation about the notion of indexicality, Ochs (1992) notes that, through semiotic associations, linguistic structures are affected by social structures such as gender. To illustrate these semiotic associations, Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 379) mention that certain particles in Japanese have come to be associated with “women’s language”. Thus the use of such particles *signals* the identity of women.

To further understand the notion of ‘indexicality’, one can consider words like *you* and *here* of which the interpretation is tied to particular contexts – in order for such words to be interpreted correctly, there has to be reference to particular settings. Such words are referred to as “indexical expressions”. Nunberg (1993: 2) defines “indexical expressions” as “expressions whose interpretation requires the identification of some of the utterance context, as stipulated by their lexical meanings”. Thus the context in which language is being used determines the referent of an indexical expression, which makes these expressions indicative in nature. That is, their meanings are not part of the utterances that contain them; rather, the context helps in their interpretation. However, Bar-Hillel (1954: 359) notes that “there are strong variations in the degree of dependence of the reference of linguistic expressions on the pragmatic context of their production”. For instance, interpretation of the sentence ‘I am hungry’ will require the hearer to have knowledge of the producer of the sentence plus the time of its production for one to assign the correct referent.

2.3.3. Ideologies

Although its origin is in the Marxist thought system, the term “ideology” has undergone several revisions in the way it is viewed by different scholars. More recently, ideology is viewed as “organizing and enabling all cultural beliefs and practices as well as the power relations that result from these” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 379). According to Kroskrity (2004: 496), although the relationship between language and thought has been given much scholarly attention, “thoughts about language” by their speakers have been less studied. And yet peoples’ ideologies vary according to different social variables like their age, gender, social class, etc. Therefore, ideologies provide an avenue for exploring variation in ideas,

ideals, and communicative practices. As a result, as speakers have their own ways of thinking about a certain language(s), they also keep in mind the perceptions that the other people with whom they are interacting have towards them and their language(s). We find evidence of this in Busch's (2012) assertion that perceptions and ideologies form part of one's linguistic repertoire. In other words, what constitutes a speaker's repertoire is not only the languages that s/he speaks, but also the languages s/he thinks s/he should use in a particular situation. Therefore, speakers are always aware of the existence of the language of the 'other'⁴ (Busch, 2012). The different perceptions that speakers have towards different languages is what is referred to as "language ideologies".

Silverstein (1979: 193) offers an alternative definition of language ideologies, namely "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use". The above assertion means that speakers can have an influence on the practices of the language(s) they speak. Another prominent researcher on language ideologies, Irvine (1989: 255), defines "language ideologies" as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". The cultural system of ideas being referred to in this definition is influenced by political and economic aspects of the community of which the speakers form part. From the findings of her study in which she set out to trace the differences in the attitudes that the Wolof speakers have towards French and Arabic, Irvine (1989: 254) asserts that "indexical correlations between realms of linguistic differences and social differences are not wholly arbitrary but are rather mediated by an ideological interpretation of the meaning of language use".

2.3.4. Performance

The difference between practice and performance is that "practice is habitual and oftentimes less intentional while performance is highly deliberate and self-aware social display" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 378). In this regard, authors such as Bauman (2000) and Hymes (1975) argue that performance occurs in all the different interactions that we have throughout our lives. Therefore, performance does not only refer to the social world but rather brings the social world into being. According to Butler (1988) the production of any identity will depend on the ideologies of the speakers for that identity to be acceptable. Austin (1975: 6) defines the term 'performative' as "those utterances that do not merely convey information but also

⁴ Speakers are aware of this fact from their own observation but also from the observation of other people who are involved in the communication situation.

perform an action”. Recall in this regard the example in section 2.3 of saying “I do” at the altar. Thus ‘performativity’ according to Pennycook (2004: 8) can be understood as “the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity”. Identity is thus not tied to aspects like ethnicity, territory, birth or nation; on the contrary, it emerges from social interactions as people perform different actions while using language (also see Butler 1988).

To relate language, identity and performativity, Pennycook (2010: 20) states that “language use is an act of identity that calls that language into being”. Thus, identities are formed from the linguistic performances; they are not pre-given. Such a view of identity helps us to understand how different identities are constructed over time through performance of various language acts. This is consistent with the postmodern formulation of performativity which opened up new ways of thinking about the relationships between language and identity. The conclusion that one can reach from Pennycook's (2010) assertion is that language is a major contributor to identity construction and it is indisputable that language and identity affect each other. Therefore, linguists and researchers need to understand that identities of members of different communities are likely to change or to be reconstructed as they engage in various linguistic practices – which calls to mind the performative role of language.

The arguments above reflect Walcott's (1977) findings from his study on “black diasporic language and culture”. In his study, Walcott (1977: 98) notes that “the black people in America have had an immediate relationship to identity and identification as acts which constitute performativity”. Drawing from the findings from the above study, the identity of the black people in America is something that can be invented, revised or even discarded if it no longer applies in the prevailing circumstances (affirming what Hall, 1996 and Norton, 2010 later asserted about identity being dynamic).

2.4. Language, identity and nationality

2.4.1 Introduction

After the era of post-colonialism (when most colonised countries had gained independence), there was a need for transformation into nations. When nations are at an early stage of development, Fishman (1968a) notes, there will be need for various transformations as part of the process of attaining nationhood, which come with their own challenges. Issues like the impact of society on language and language-related behaviours and how this results in the construction of different identities have become of interest to sociolinguists. These

transformations, according to Stroud (2007: 25) are regulated by the language practices in which the members of a particular country are involved and what they think of their own language(s). This brings us to the question of what a nation is; however, it has not been easy to define this term as the meaning changes over time. In an attempt to explain the term “nation”, Connor (1978: 381) said that,

The word nation comes from Latin and, when first coined, clearly conveyed the idea of common blood ties. It was derived from the past participle of the verb *nasci* meaning to be born. And hence the Latin noun, *nationem*, connoting breed or race. ... At some medieval universities, a student's nation designated the sector of the country from whence he came. But when introduced into the English language in the late thirteenth century, it was with its primary connotation of a blood related group. One etymologist notes, however, that by the early seventeenth century, nation was also being used to describe the inhabitants of a country regardless of that population's ethnonational composition, thereby becoming a substitute for less specific human categories such as the people or the citizenry.

Anderson (1983: 15) views a nation as “an imagined community”. In view of such a definition, Hobsbawm (1983) recommends that a nation should be seen as a constructed and not a fixed entity. In agreement with Anderson (1983) and Hobsbawm (1983), Smith (2002: 22) view nations as “communities that have their origins in some specific ancestries”, that is, nations have been formed through a process, a form of political structuring and restructuring in order to get what we have as nations today. As a result of the different processes that nations go through in their formation, Smith (2002: 6) acknowledges that nations differ. He believes that nation-formation is the product of changes such as globalization that have taken place in the world.

Giddens (1981: 190-191) defines nationalism as “the existence of symbols and beliefs which are either propagated by elite groups, or held by many of the members of regional, ethnic, or linguistic categories of a population and which implies a community between them”. Nationalism is thus a struggle for national control of the homeland and the expression of strong attachments to ancestries. In this regard, nations try to establish and protect their speech communities, and they do this mainly through the promotion of a national language – to which Pujolar (2007: 71) refers as the “one language, one culture, one nation paradigm”.

According to Simpson (2007: 1) nations like Thailand, Japan, Korea and China, struggled to attain nationhood because of the threat of Western imperialism. However, he points out that other nations [including the East African nations of Kenya and Uganda to which the Samia community belongs] attained nationhood only after the colonial powers had left. Most of the African states exist in their current states because of western colonialism and the imposition of borders without having concern for the formation or maintenance of similar communities. The result of the drawing of these borders sometimes was the separation into two of a single community, as in the case of the Samia community now found in both Uganda and Kenya (Ndhlovu, 2013; Simpson, 2007; Were, 1967).

Nations are thus modern constructs, as observed by Smith (2002), developing after the French and American revolutions (for the Western nations) and as a result of Western imperialism (for the African states). In this regard, Kearney (1997) observes that it was after the French revolution that people were identified with an organised centralised state. In contrast to what Smith and Kearney contend, Pujolar (2007: 72) points out that nations existed in the pre-colonial and colonial eras. She supports this by stating that, “the historical nation referred to a population sharing a common culture”. The common culture that Pujolar (2007) refers to had language as its main component, and there was always a pursuit for linguistic unification (for similar arguments, see Gal and Woolard, 2014 and Gellner, 1983). Nonetheless, whether one views a nation as historical or as a modern construct, what is important is that successful nation-formation requires that there is a group of people in a specified geographical area who share a common cultural and linguistic background, as authors such as Ricento (2000: 198) and (Pujolar, 2007) propose.

At the time of early independence in post-colonial states, it was believed that having a national language was an important part of nation building (Ricento 2000). The first step in nation-building was to do corpus planning that involved selecting a national language that would enhance modernisation and promote national unity (Ricento 2000). It was argued that it was only the already developed languages or those that could easily be developed that could fill the position of national language. It is thus not surprising that in the developed world, the major languages like English and French were preferred in the more specialised domains like education and administration whereas the indigenous languages were left performing the other functions. Fishman (1968: 43) argued that unity and economic development, that are central concerns in nation-building, could only be achieved if the citizens of a particular nation spoke one language (the national language). In such nations where a dominant

language already existed, language planning was easier than in nations that did not have such a language. The same was applied to most African states, including the new ones that were being formed after the end of the colonial era. According to Ricento (2000: 198), one of the reasons for the above scenario was because the sociolinguists at the time believed that homogeneity was the way to go if modernisation and development were to be achieved. They viewed linguistic diversity as an obstacle to nation-building and development.

For some time now, the African nations have placed emphasis on political integration and successful nation-building (Simpson, 2007). This is because of the language problems they face as a result of their ethnically fragmented nature brought about by the arbitrarily drawn European borders (Banda, 2015; Kibui, 2014; Nakayiza, 2013). Apart from the European imposed boundaries, the language ideologies that different linguists have also magnify the language problems of the African nation states. For instance, while theoretical linguists look at all languages as equal and advocate that they should have equal status in society, sociolinguists have pointed out that because of societal factors, some languages seem to be more equal than others (Banda, 2015; Blommaert, 2009).

Aronin (2005: 8) argues that all through history, in the colonial era and in the postmodern times, language was and still is key for the continuity of the human race; language is used by people belonging to different social groups as they engage in various social networks. This is usually seen as a symbol of group identity and this gives members of a particular group that speaks one linguistic variety a sense of belonging. They belong to not only that group but also to a wider community. The end result may be the establishment of different national identities and also different linguistic identities in the independent nations/states that are created, sometimes even across borders like in the case of the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya (Were, 1967). Thus, it is worthwhile noting that the importance of language in nation-building is the result of a *social* and not just a natural process. That is why Blommaert and Backus (2013: 13) argue for language to be defined as a socio-political, rather than a linguistic, concept. It thus follows that identity can be a product of a lived experience; by contrast, identity can also influence that lived experience. Having introduced the notion of nation-building with emphasis on the importance of language on identity formation, I now discuss other studies that have been conducted on language, identity and nationality that have followed a postmodern approach.

In addition to a national language being key in nation-building, self-identification is also important in this regard, because it distinguishes one cultural group from another. Based on that, Smith (2002: 17) gives five features that a nation must have to show that it has attained nationhood, namely:

- (i) A collective proper name
- (ii) Myths and memories
- (iii) A common public culture
- (iv) Common laws and customs
- (v) Historic territory or homeland

Having a collective name distinguishes one population from another, as does having different myths and memories which form a repertoire. A common public culture gives the members of a particular group unity and distinctiveness. The common cultures are important, because they link the current generation to future generations. For people to be said to belong to a nation, there must be some form of emotional attachment to an ancestral homeland with common laws and customs that are adhered to (Smith 2002: 17-22). Smith (2002) further notes that the processes of nation-formation are not definite; they are on-going until such a time that the people involved have it in their minds and hearts that they have attained nationhood. Even when this happens, this can only be a tentative assumption, because (as noted above), the process is always on-going. The foregoing section has provided an historical overview of language, identity and nationality; times have changed because of globalization brought about by continuous migrations of people from one place to another coupled with the changes in the post-colonial era. This has ushered in the postmodern era; I now look at language, identity and nationality from a postmodern perspective.

2.4.2. Postmodern approaches to language, identity and nationality

The role of individuals and society as a whole in the process of nation-building is what Ricento (2000: 208) regards as the distinguishing factor between historical and postmodern approaches to the study of language, identity and nationalism – he calls this “agency”. Because of globalization, new forms of social organisation have come into play, with linguistic variation as a central feature. Individuals and societies participate in the process of nation-building through the use of language (in all its varying forms) (Heller, 2008: 504).

Thus one needs to consider communities and identities as well as the different practices in which members of the community engage not as bound entities, but rather as continuous processes. For instance, Heller (2008) gives the example of Francophone Canada where the idea of languages being static, identities being stable and communities being uniform has been replaced by mobility and multiplicity. These dynamic concepts contribute to the social organisation of a nation state, because, as noted above, the process of state formation is always on-going.

Globalization has brought about various economic, social and political changes (Aronin and Singleton, 2008; Blommaert et al., 2005; Singleton, Fishman, Aronin, and Laoire, 2013). These changes affect speakers of different languages who find themselves together and having to communicate and engage in various language practices (Pujolar, 2007: 89). As a result of such changes, Anderson (1991) notes that the communities cannot remain the same; in fact, they are now more diverse than they were before because of continuous migrations of people and resources. Furthermore, identities in such globalised communities cannot be said to be static; they are always being constructed and redefined depending on where and with whom the members of the different communities find themselves (Pujolar 2007). The question that arises then is how states deal with the cultural diversity and unstable identities that come with globalization. The question posed above is answered by Pujolar (2007: 79) when she asserts that due to changes that have taken place in society, it is no longer the state that defines people as members of a certain social group; rather, it is the different social processes that individuals are involved in.

We noted above that African nations borrowed the idea of using one language as a uniting factor. This is becoming very challenging for some nations due to increased linguistic diversity and linguistic minority groups; as a result, it is no longer possible for nations to use the idea of monolingualism to promote national unity as it was in the past (see Baker and Mansour, 1995; Banda, 2009; Prah, 2010 for exemplification of the above argument). In fact, there are nations where the notion of one language has not been used; instead, several languages have been adopted. For instance, the Democratic Republic of Congo showed that it is possible to instil a sense of belonging to one nation (or to create a national identity) among speakers of different languages even with no single, shared national language (Simpson, 2007: 20). This is done in a bid to maintain good inter-ethnic relationships which help reduce conflicts, and generally no group feels left out.

In postmodern nations, as Moyer and Rojo (2007: 142) state, “knowledge of a language(s) is a form of social capital and as such unequal distribution is tied to real life chances for the people who possess this valuable resource”. In fact, speakers view some languages as economically more enhancing than others, which is sometimes known as the “commodification of language(s)” (Heller, 2003: 473). This means that for migrants, it is knowledge of the host nation’s language that will enable them to communicate with others in the community and gain access to economic, political and other resources (Moyer and Rojo, 2007: 142). However, Moyer and Rojo (2007) call upon pluralist nations not to confine migrants to learning the “host language”, but rather to allow them to maintain their cultural and religious heritage, which includes language. That is why international organisations like the European Union are campaigning for equal recognition of all languages – that is, the languages of each member state, including the minority languages (especially those of migrants).

Simpson (2007) adds that language is not the only important factor in terms of nation building. Other factors like religion, ethnic groups, the sense of belonging that a population has to a particular nation, and the identity of an individual state within the international world is equally important (Simpson, 2007: 13). To illustrate this, we see that as much as one language may be adopted as a national language, it may still fail to instil a sense of belonging in the people if they belong to different religious groups or if there are several ethnic groups.⁵ For instance, in Nigeria, one would expect that speakers of Igbo and Yoruba would be more united. This is not the case, despite their languages being mutually intelligible (Gordon, 2003).

2.4.3. Cross border languages in Africa and identity construction

Cross-border languages are a common occurrence in Africa because, as noted in the previous chapter, Africa was divided up by the European powers during the land scramble, and this resulted in some ethnic groups being divided into two (Barnes and Funnell, 2005: 41). This in some cases left one section of the ethnic group on one side of the border and the other on another side (in two or more countries), thus resulting in cross-border languages (Mpuga, 2003: 2). This is the case with the two Samia communities under study. Were (1967) confirms

⁵ In the presence of many ethnic groups, like it is in many African states, there is fear by smaller groups of being dominated by the larger groups. This makes it difficult to choose a national language from the indigenous languages.

this when he talks about the Samia of Uganda and Samia and Kenya⁶ being formerly one people, only separated by a European imposed boundary. In addition to the arbitrarily drawn borders, the African language ecology also explains the existence of many languages across national borders of different countries (Ndhlovu, 2013; Prah, 2010). This makes most of the African languages trans-border. As the speakers of trans-border languages are found in different nations, they meet speakers of other languages and because of the need to communicate, they learn the languages of others, the result being multilingualism. Because of the speakers of these cross-border languages being in contact with speakers of languages other than their own; as they live and interact with them, they constantly negotiate different linguistic identities.

The other reason for the existence of cross-border languages in Africa is human population movement. According to Ndhlovu (2013: 23), human population movement in Southern Africa and Africa as a whole is both a historical and a new phenomenon; the phenomenon is pre-colonial, colonial and also post-colonial. In the pre-colonial era, pastoralists used to move from their areas of origin to other places, including across borders, in search of water and pasture for their animals. In this regard, it is important to remember that there were no national boundaries demarcating states from one another – in other words, there was free movement both within and outside of different states. Ndhlovu (2013) points out that in the pre-colonial era, most of Southern (and Eastern) Africa was divided into kingdoms which were mainly formed after the so-called Bantu migrations. The Bantu are believed to have migrated from parts of the Benue Cross region in south-eastern Nigeria. Were (1967) (and other anthropologists) state that the Luhya (the main language to which Lusamia belongs) were a part of the great Bantu movement out of Western Africa around 1000BC. Whether in the pre-colonial post-colonial era, it is important to note that as these people moved and settled in the different areas, they identified themselves with the members of the communities with which they came in contact.

In the colonial era, for instance, some Africans were forced off their land as there was demand for land to promote industrialisation by the Europeans who occupied different parts of Africa. This forced many Africans to move away from their homelands in search of unoccupied lands, and this intensified the human movements that started in the pre-colonial era. As these

⁶ The Samia in Uganda are culturally and linguistically related to neighboring Bantu (like the Ganda – see Nannyombi & Rempel, 2011), just like the Samia in Kenya, although they are closer linguistically and culturally to the other Luhya dialects.

people moved, some crossed into other nations while the others stayed, thus the existence of the same ethnic group in two different countries (Brambilla, 2007; Were, 1967). Lastly, today, we still experience a high rate of movement of people not only within nation states but also across national borders (in Africa and elsewhere, those that were imposed by the colonialists). These movements are brought about by the current era of globalization. This has resulted in the opening up of national borders by some states to encourage free movement so as to enhance regional integration and transnational cooperation (Heller, 2003; Moyer and Rojo, 2007; Prah, 2009b). All the above reasons for human movements have led to the existence of cross-border languages whose speakers have to constantly negotiate and construct linguistic identities.

The Samia is one example of one ethnic group that exists in two different countries, that is, Uganda and Kenya – this means that the language, Lusamia, is spoken in both Uganda and in Kenya. Another example of a cross-border language is Chisena⁷ spoken at the border of Malawi and Mozambique (Barnes and Funnell, 2005: 41). The Sena people, just like the Samia, are found on either side of the border and, despite speaking the same language they have (as a result of the division) developed separately in terms of culture, politics, world view, education, etc. Outside of Africa, Edwards (1994: 34) gives the example of the people found at the Mexican-American border who were originally from Quebec. As much as they had to learn English because of their American residency, they still retained their ties with their French-speaking country and therefore do not lose their French. Cross-border languages are affected differently by social, economic and political pressures from the different countries in which they are spoken (Barnes and Funnell, 2005: 42; Timpunza-Mvula, 1992: 39). This includes the different language policies in force in these countries. For instance, the Chisena on the Malawi side of the border is influenced by both English and the dominant Chichewa language whereas the Chisena on the Mozambiquan side arise influenced by Portuguese. These influences by different languages lead to a state of multilingualism and, as a result, two different varieties of Chisena have been documented. Prah (2010: 178) states that sometimes what has been classified as separate languages occurring on the two sides of the border are actually mutually intelligible variants of the same language. However, Mansour (1993: 2) discusses the difficulty in distinguishing between languages and dialects based purely on linguistic criteria. He gives the example of Catalan which is spoken at the border of Spain and France. Catalan could be considered a separate language in both Spain and France,

⁷ Chisena refers to the language and Sena refers to the speakers of the language.

or it can be viewed as a Spanish dialect on one side of the border and a French dialect on the other.

Based on the observations above, there is an indication that the cross-border communities that exist today had the same origin. In this regard, Brambilla (2007: 23) notes that the border should thus not be looked at as merely a line on the ground but, above all, a manifestation of social relations involving various practices that go beyond the boundary. This means that, as much as borders are political divisions separating one nation from another, they are also avenues for developing new social networks amongst the cross-border communities. The border is thus a medium of communication and construction of meanings and identities that are produced through it. What the above assertions mean is that, as much as the border is symbolised by a static line that separates two nations, it does not hinder daily interactions between the border communities.

In her study on the Kwanyama people on the Anglo-Namibia border, Brambilla (2007: 22) was interested in ascertaining “what happens when a border is imposed on a population, how a new social cultural and territorial reality takes shape and what relationships develop between the people in the borderland” (for similar interests, see Nugent, 2002; Van Schendel, 2005). This study on the Kwanyama people was mainly concerned with examining the role that the border plays in the construction of the identities of cross-border communities – both the territorial and human consequences of the Anglo-Namibian border. Cross-border languages are envisaged as meeting points and bridges into interstate cooperation. The significance of cross-border languages resides in their ability to create cultural links and linguistic unity that transcend political national borders (Brambilla, 2007; Dereje & Hoehne, 2012; Ndhlovu, 2013). Although cross-border languages may be known by similar or slightly different names in each country, most cross-border languages have high degrees of mutual intelligibility, to the extent that speakers of related varieties can easily understand each other without resorting to interpretation. Makalela (2009) has demonstrated that the degree of mutual intelligibility among the varieties of the Sotho-Tswana group of languages (Sesotho of Lesotho; Southern Sotho (Sesotho) and Northern Sotho (Sepedi) of South Africa; and Setswana of Botswana) is such that their speakers “feel at home” with each other’s languages. The cross-border phenomenon provides a new theoretical perspective and empirically grounded lenses for looking at the prospects for regional integration based on the everyday multilingual identities and discursive practices of those involved in cross-border trade.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed and reflected on some salient issues surrounding the concepts of language and identity. I started off by giving a general overview of identity, emphasising its dynamic nature and how it is constructed differently in different situations (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Hall, 1996: 3; Norton, 2010). I also noted that we cannot talk about identity without talking about language, because language is vital in identity construction to the extent that, according to Spolsky and Asher (1999: 181), when we hear someone speak, we can tell the group(s) with which that person is affiliated.

I took a historical perspective of the investigation of language and identity within sociolinguistics. The variationist sociolinguists, started with the presupposition that there are features within a language that differ because certain characteristics of the speakers of that language differ. A shortcoming of this approach was that it did not address how people position themselves and are positioned in society. The constructivist perspective thus put forward that identity is constructive in nature: people can choose to become what they want through their various actions, especially as they use language. Within postmodernist accounts of language and identity, the performativity of identity is further emphasized. Identity is seen as socially and culturally constructed as speakers perform different roles using language. This is possible because speakers have various linguistic resources in their repertoires from which they chose what to use depending on the interactive situation. The various practices in which the speakers are engaged as they perform different actions using language are dependent on the ideologies that the speakers have: ideologies about the language(s) that they are using and ideologies about the people with whom they are interacting. As speakers make choices of the different linguistic resources to use in the different situations, they signal different linguistic identities. To further understand the relationship between language and identity, I discussed concepts such as ideology, practice, indexicality and performance.

Scholars like Brambilla (2007), Simpson (2007) and Ndhlovu (2013) discuss various ways in which the African nations as they exist today have been formed, emphasising the role of language in nation-building. They argue that these states have been formed as result of human movements that occurred right from the pre-colonial era, through the colonial era to the current post-colonial (or “postmodern”) era. Another reason that the scholars give for the existence of the African nations as they are is Western Imperialism. This, coupled with globalization and the opening up of national borders to enhance regional integration and

cooperation, has led to the emergence of the same ethnic group in two nation states, resulting in cross-border languages. There is also the phenomenon of totally different ethnic groups finding themselves in the same area and needing to communicate. These people have to forge a sense of belonging which in some countries has happened through one language, but in others (like the Democratic Republic of Congo), several languages have been used and this has still forged national unity.

From the discussions in this chapter, linguists and researchers studying language and identity, especially among cross-border communities, should take into consideration the dynamic nature of language and identity and the emergence of globalization, which has made the borders porous, with various activities being carried out at and across the border. This has resulted into multilingualism, and therefore language and identity studies need to take a multilingual spatial perspective – that is when these concepts will be fully understood. I now move on to discuss the concept of multilingualism (more specifically African multilingualism) in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

MULTILINGUALISM: AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I critically discuss the concept of multilingualism. Firstly, I give a historical account of the academic study of multilingualism, with a particular focus on postmodern views as this is the theoretical approach that I take in this dissertation. I give a historical account, because the roots of a concept can give one insight into how it is currently understood and investigated. Secondly, I cite some definitions of multilingualism, but focus mainly on those that reflect the types of multilingualism evident in the two communities under study and on those that are aligned with the theoretical approach I take in this dissertation. Having defined multilingualism, I discuss the two types of multilingualism that I found to be evident in the two communities under study, that is, individual and societal multilingualism. With the increased interest in the study of multilingualism, researchers have proposed new concepts to explain how people in multilingual societies make use of the linguistic resources in their repertoire. I thus explore some of these concepts, such as translanguaging, metrolingualism and trans-idiomaticity. I then discuss the different causes of multilingualism, after which I describe the multilingual language situation in some parts of the world, acknowledging the aforementioned increasing interest in the concept of multilingualism. Finally, I compare Western and African multilingualism, because as much as multilingualism in Africa and in the Western world show similarities, there are notable differences between multilingualism in these two parts of the world.

3.2. Multilingualism: An historical perspective

Multilingualism has of course existed throughout human history. However, recent studies argue that contemporary multilingualism is distinct from multilingualism in the past (Aronin and Singleton (2008: 1). The contemporary period that is considered here, according to Singleton, Fishman, Aronin, and Laoire (2013: 3), is the period that sociologists and philosophers refer to as the ‘postmodern or globalization era’. Other authors, such as Best and Keller (1997), Dickens and Fontana (2015) and Watson and Gibson (1995), suggest that the postmodern era is distinct in that there are changes in peoples’ perceptions about themselves and about others and a general change in the way in which people view the world. Together with these new perceptions of self and others, there is also increased mobility of people across

the globe and an emergence of new technologies which have led to new experiences. These changes, together with the social, economic and political changes that are taking place, all have implications for the people affected by them.

According to Marcus and Fischer (1986: 8), postmodernism highlights “crisis of representation” which to some may mean an era that presents both new challenges and opportunities; yet to others, it is just an end to history as it was known and a transition to another period of time. This transition is what Best and Keller (1997: viii) refer to as “the postmodern turn, an era in which the world is viewed and interpreted differently as a result of the changes that are continuously taking place”. However, although scholars have tried explain the term “postmodernism”, Best and Keller (1997: 4) maintain that “there is no single explanation for the emergence of postmodernism and the belief that we are in the ‘time of the posts’”. Nevertheless, despite the absence of a concrete and clear explanation of what postmodernism means and entails, it is clear that there are changes that have taken place and continue to take place; one such change is the increase in the number of multilingual societies that are becoming more prevalent than monolingual societies. The other change is the increase in interest in the study of multilingualism.

Before the postmodern era, multilingualism existed, but was not discussed as intensely as currently, especially in the case of Western societies. For instance, in Switzerland, there are four official languages, namely German, Italian, Romansch and French. In Belgium, there are French and Flemish speakers; in Canada, there are English and French (Edwards, 2002: 33-34). This has been the case for centuries, and has been reported before. However, in many cases, societal multilingualism (discussed in section 3.4) existed in these contexts. With increasing migrations and globalization, the need to learn more than one language (so individual multilingualism) is on the rise more than it was before. The same observation made above by Edwards (2002) can be made in the case of Africa, namely that many languages were spoken in a single country. For instance, in Uganda and Kenya, several languages were spoken in the past and are still spoken, thus both countries can definitely be said to be highly multilingual (Kibui, 2014; Ladefoged, 1971). However, the difference is that the magnitude of movement of people does not compare to what is happening currently. Thus, with the increased movements of people from one place to another for social, economic and political reasons, the present era has seen the rise of multilingualism in various parts of the world, including in Africa. This, coupled with the aftermath of colonisation, has seen most African

states becoming increasingly more multilingual than they were before as observed by authors such as Ennaji (2005), Prah and Brock-Utne (2009) and Prah (2010).

Singleton et al. (2013) note that currently, unlike in the past, the social, political and economic lives of the speakers of the different languages is affected by multilingualism – sometimes directly, and at other times indirectly. Thus, multilingualism cannot be separated from the daily activities of the speakers of the various languages, and speakers use different languages as the situation demands. This trend is unlike multilingualism before the postmodern era where factors like ethnicity and religion affected people's daily lives and multilingualism was merely supplementary. According to Singleton et al. (2013), the speakers of the single language that existed in a community identified themselves as members of that language group and spoke the same language. However, with the current increased language diversity and mobility of people, speakers of different languages need to constantly negotiate linguistic identities to suit the different situations that they find themselves in (Singleton et al., 2013).

Franceschini (2009) and Edwards (2002) do not completely agree with Singleton et al.'s (2013) description of multilingualism as “new”, because what is described is actually not new: Africa and Europe have been multilingual for many centuries. Rather what is new is the research world's recent interest in this phenomenon in Europe because of the current social conditions of migration. What is currently occurring is a shift in focus from studying one language in isolation to studying the reality of multilingualism in Europe. This does not mean that the phenomenon of multilingualism did not exist in history (Trotter, 2000; Tsitsipis, 2006). Several languages were in contact with each other and there was always a need to communicate with other language groups, as Franceschini (2009: 30) observes. Through the changes that multilingualism has undergone over time, it has developed into one of the most salient features of postmodern human society as a whole, but also of some specific language communities (Singleton et al., 2013).

As I positioned my research within the postmodernist framework, I now discuss definitions of “multilingualism”. I give various definitions of multilingualism, but I focus mainly on those pertaining to the kinds of multilingualism that exist in the two communities under study.

3.3. Definitions of multilingualism

As noted by Kemp (2009: 11), defining multilingualism is a complex task. This is because defining this concept requires taking into consideration two factors. Firstly, one needs to think about how, when and why various speakers make use of different languages. Secondly, one should take cognisance of the researchers' different backgrounds and fields of interest, because these have an effect on how the researchers will define multilingualism. Regardless of these complexities, several scholars have given their views on multilingualism, and these definitions have evolved over time, just like the phenomenon itself.

Multilingualism as defined by earlier authors like Mackey (1962: 27) refers to "knowing two or more languages". Over the years, definitions of multilingualism have tried to address the notion of proficiency, for example how proficient a person should be to be counted as a multilingual. However, as Cook (2012) points out, it is now generally acknowledged that authors will define multilingualism depending on their research questions, methodologies and theoretical frameworks. Within more sociolinguistic investigations of multilingualism, definitions such as that offered by Franceschini (2009: 33), namely "the capacity of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life" are commonly used. On this definition, usage of more than one language is not restricted to individuals but rather encompasses all contexts of language use and also takes into consideration the competence (the so-called "capacity") that these speakers have in the different languages. Another observation that Franceschini (2009) makes is that when looking at multilingualism in a given country, it is important to consider all the languages in use in that particular country. These languages will include the official, national, regional, minority and migration languages, not forgetting any varieties of these languages. As the notion of maximal multilingualism (full proficiency in each language in one's linguistic repertoire) has generally been abandoned by sociolinguists, it is more common to define multilingualism as "the ability to function in more than one language without reaching the same degree of grammatical perfection in all the languages known by the individual" (Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou, 2009: 461).

The above definitions indicate that multilingualism can be both individual and societal. In the next section, I turn my focus to these two types of multilingualism, exploring the distinction between individual and societal multilingualism and examining how the two interrelate. I also

consider the implications they have for the linguistic identity of the members of different communities.

3.4. Individual and societal multilingualism

Multilingualism has been studied both as an individual and as a societal phenomenon as could be seen in the above sections. It can denote the acquisition, knowledge or use of several languages by individuals (i.e., individual multilingualism) or by language communities in a specific geographical area (i.e., societal multilingualism). Sridhar (1996: 47) explains the difference between individual and societal multilingualism as follows: When multilingualism is viewed as an individual phenomenon, we are concerned with issues such as how one acquires two or more languages, how these languages are represented in the mind, and how they are accessed for use in the different contexts. By contrast, when multilingualism is viewed as a societal phenomenon, one is concerned with the roles that the different languages in each person's linguistic repertoire play, how the speakers make choices about which language(s) to use, and the effect of social factors like race, religion, ethnicity and class on language use (Sridhar, 1996).

Societal multilingualism can influence a state's choice of which language(s) should become national or official languages and which languages should be used as media of instruction in their educational institutions (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004, Kwesiga 1994; Lodhi 1993). These decisions, whether by individuals or states, have an effect on the speakers of the different languages. The speakers often have to make different linguistic choices in the different situations they find themselves in.

In a multilingual setting, speakers have linguistic repertoires that may consist of varieties of the same language or entirely different languages or both (Sridhar, 1996). According to Grosjean (1982), each language or variety in the repertoire fulfils a particular role. This may result in the construction of different identities as speakers use the different languages or varieties. The different languages and linguistic varieties complement each other to bring about successful communication in a multilingual society. To exemplify the verbal repertoires possessed by multilinguals and the manner in which they complement each other, Pandit (1972: 79) illustrates a day in the linguistic life of a spice merchant in India.

A Gujarati spice merchant in Bombay uses Kathiawali (in his dialect of Gujarati) with his family, Marathi (the local language) in the vegetable market, Kacchi and Konkai

in trading circles, Hindi or Hindustani with the milkman and at the train station, and even English on formal occasions.

From this example given by Pandit, one sees that multilinguals do not necessarily have to know the languages in their verbal repertoire very well; they only need to be able to communicate in them to the extent that the particular situation requires.

According to Sridhar (1996), competence in a language may range from knowledge of a few lexical items or some formulaic expressions such as greetings, to an excellent command of grammar and vocabulary and knowledge of specialised registers and styles. Because of the intense contact among languages in multilingual communities, Canagarajah (2007a: 931) observes that “languages themselves are influenced by each other, losing their separateness”. As a result, speakers use different languages to suit the communicative situation. This communicative reality raises many questions for language acquisition: What kind of competence do people need to communicate in such contexts where different languages mix and complement each other? How do people produce meaning out of this seeming chaos of multiple systems of communication? It is clear from the above observations that this linguistic pluralism has to be negotiated actively to construct meaning (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Prah, 2010a; Rothman and Nino-Murcia, 2008). The participants in an interaction produce meaning and accomplish their communicative objectives in relation to their purposes and interests. In this sense, meaning is socially constructed – it is not pre-existing – which means that meaning does not reside in the language; it is produced in practice as argued by Pennycook (2010; 2004). These observations further support the notion of speakers not having to be fluent in the different languages in their repertoire (Grosjean, 1982; Pandit, 1972). Thus, not only have recent sociolinguistic approaches to multilingualism acknowledged that “perfection” should not be expected in all the languages that speakers know, but a whole set of theoretical concepts aiming to describe this new approach have also emerged.

3.5. New theoretical concepts to describe multilingual language practices

In this section, I will describe a number of related theoretical concepts which have been introduced to describe multilingual language practices, or social issues which influence these multilingual practices. These new theoretical concepts were born out of increased ethnographic studies on multilingualism which aimed to account for how people use the linguistic varieties they know in everyday interaction, in other words how people actually use

language as opposed to how they say they use language (Joworski, 2014: 138). How people think language should be used (that is, their language ideologies) forms part of their linguistic practices (Busch, 2012), and many ethnographic studies now acknowledge this.

3.5.1. Translanguaging

The term translanguaging according to Baker (2011: 288) refers to “the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages”. The two languages involved function as mediators in understanding during the teaching and learning process for ease of communication. Thus, information is conveyed in one language (e.g. English) and is digested, and then feedback is given through the other language (e.g. Welsh). According to Williams (1996), the second language helps the listener to fully understand the message that is being passed on. The term ‘translanguaging’ is said to be invented by Cen Williams in 1994 in reference to the use of English and Welsh in the teaching and learning process. However, earlier work such as that of Faltis (1990) and Jacobson (1983) gave accounts of the concurrent use of two languages in bilingual classrooms and the different ways in which languages were switched, especially during teaching. Earlier research from South African contexts also expresses the same use of two languages especially in the classroom setting (Agnihotri, 1995).

As noted above, the term ‘translanguaging’ was first used in Wales in reference to the two languages, English and Welsh. English was more dominant and thus more prestigious, whereas Welsh struggled to survive (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). However, in the late 20th century, as pointed out by Blommaert and Backus (2011) and Blommaert et al. (2005), those who knew both languages were recognised as having an advantage over those who had knowledge of only one of the languages. This positive move towards the usage of both languages led to the emergence of the term ‘translanguaging’, first in the education context and later spreading out to the investigation of everyday linguistic practices. Some proponents of translanguaging argue that when a speaker has knowledge of two languages, both are active even when only one of them is being used. When the need arises for the other to be used, it is available (Hoshino & Thierry, 2011; Thierry & Wu, 2007; Wu & Thierry, 2010).

Currently, the concept translanguaging is used to capture multilingual language practices not only in educational settings but in other everyday settings as well. Translanguaging may be looked at as another strategy that multilinguals employ to communicate in various contexts. Garcia (2009: 45) refers to translanguaging as “multiple discursive practices in which

bilinguals engage in order to make sense of the world”. According to her, this way of looking at translanguaging covers multilingual practices which have been referred to by other authors as ‘code switching’, ‘code mixing’ or even ‘stylization’. Code switching as defined by Cook (1999: 193) refers to “going from one language to the other when both speakers know the same languages”. Another definition of code switching, that by Milroy and Muysken (1995: 7) is “the alternative use by multilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”. In relation to these definitions, Gumperz (1971: 3) had earlier pointed out that “for a multilingual to be able to communicate effectively, s/he should be able to move from one language to another as the situation demands”. Like code switching, stylization is a communicative strategy in multilingual settings. According to Coupland (2001: 345), stylization refers to the “deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context”. Later, Coupland (2007) looks at stylization in the sense of ‘branding’. He notes that the different languages that multilinguals have in their repertoire enables them to concretize their affiliations to the different groups to which they belong. The above assertion implies that the identities of multilinguals are not fixed, but are rather negotiated in different situations.

Code switching and stylization, just like translanguaging, are communication strategies employed in multilingual communication where speakers do not necessarily need to have full proficiency in the different language(s) used, but rather need to be able to move from one language to another or from one variety to another.

3.5.2. Trans-idiomaticity

Trans-idiomaticity is a concept related to translanguaging. The former “is used to describe the communicative practices of transnational groups that interact using different language and communicative codes simultaneously present in a range of communicative channels, both local and distant”(Jacquemet, 2005: 264-265). According to Jacquemet (2005: 265), “anyone present in transnational environments whose talk is mediated by deterritorialized technologies, and who interacts with both present and distant people, will find herself/himself producing trans-idiomatic practices”. Another definition of ‘trans-idiomaticity’ is given by Maryns and Blommaert (2001: 64): “the use of communicative resources that are not associated with a (perceived) linguistic community and are therefore subject to authority judgements from ‘idiomatic’ users of the language or code”. Following the above definition, authors such as Rampton (1999: 501) caution that trans-idiomatic language use raises

questions about what exactly the communicative codes mean and how unpredictable the mobile resources are.

Hardin (2001) gives an example of trans-idiomaticity from India where different phone operators through reterritorialization assure their callers that they will be serviced by people not far away from where they are calling from. The phone operators do this by using cultural and communicative practices that are similar or close to those of the callers (Landler, 2001). Thus, in trans-idiomatic environments, speakers use a mixture of languages when interacting with friends and co-workers. For instance, speakers of a particular language can watch broadcasts or listen to music in different languages simultaneously (Jacquemet, 2005: 265). These trans-idiomatic practices may occur in various environments, from areas of colonial and postcolonial contact, borderlands, and diasporic nets of relationships to the most remote and self-contained areas of the globe. People who are able to operate in these trans-idiomatic environments are those who have multiple linguistic resources, which means that the languages they use will depend on the context in which they interact (Jacquemet, 2005: 266). Depending on the communicative needs and wants of the speakers, trans-idiomatic practices may involve borrowing from different languages or the actual use of more than one language.

In their account of narratives of Sierra Leonean asylum seekers in Belgium, Maryns and Blommaert (2001: 79) observe that there is always a relationship between code switching and code mixing, on the one hand, and identity construction, on the other. For instance participants positioned themselves differently in the narratives by changes of voice – which means that every different voice used meant signalling of another identity, for example, a rebel, a victim or simply an asylum seeker. This is in line with what Jacquemet (2005: 266) asserts, namely that through trans-idiomatic practices, different groups of people who find themselves together across transnational borders construct different identities as they participate in various social networks within and outside their communities. As much as individuals seem to be responsible for the negotiating of different identities as a result of the use of different languages, there are other factors that also come into play. Political, social, economic factors and the cultural settings of a particular community influence what languages are used in the different contexts and thus which identities are negotiated. Such factors determine which languages are superior or appropriate in particular situations.

3.5.3. Heteroglossia

Heteroglossia is not a new concept, but under current global conditions have become increasingly popular in the investigation of multilingualism. The term ‘heteroglossia’, introduced by literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin, can be defined as discourse which combines and mixes forms and contents that represent “the co-existence of sociological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different sociological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth” (Bakhtin, 1981: 291). Thus the term ‘heteroglossia’ encompasses:

Dimensions of multidiscursivity, linguistic diversity and multivoicedness as inherent to any form of living language and established as a ‘dialog of languages’. This is regardless of whether this dialog plays out within what is referred to as one language, or between different languages that have established content and mutual recognition with each other.

(Bakhtin, 1981: 294-295)

Based on the definitions above, heteroglossia means that speakers use the different linguistic resources available to them in different ways, that is, they may combine them, use them alternately or in juxtaposition. For example, in many Finnish new media discourses, heteroglossia manifests in the choice of language; in mixtures of languages, registers, styles, genres; and in the recycling of linguistic and textual elements from other texts (Leppanen, 2007: 149). According to Woolard (2002), speakers operating in multilingual contexts simultaneously make linguistic choices, sometimes combining resources from different languages and at other times selecting features associated with registers, genres, and styles from one language. These choices are often motivated by social and cultural norms and conventions of the prevailing context in which the speakers find themselves (Leppanen, 2007: 150).

According to Ivanov (2001: 259), heteroglossia considers two main issues, namely,

- (i) The simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs
- (ii) The tensions and conflicts among those signs caused by the different sociohistorical associations.

In other words, heteroglossia takes into consideration the social and pragmatic functioning of language, that is, that language is essentially social. This is in agreement with Malinowski

(1965: 7) who argues that, “the main function of language is not to express thought, not to duplicate mental processes, but rather, to play an active pragmatic part in human behaviour”. Building on the above argument, Bailey (2007: 263) recommends that language is never a neutral instrument of pure reference. This is because actual speech always occurs in a social context; which context always has a historical perspective. Therefore, language, whether in spoken or written form, is always influenced by both past and on-going social and political negotiations. However, it is important to note that heteroglossia also pertains to intra-language variation like dialects and registers, unlike multilingualism that pertains only to the use of different languages (Bailey, 2012: 499). Thus, according to Bailey (2012), heteroglossia views language and communicative practices from a philosophical perspective.

Unlike other older concepts like code switching, heteroglossia allows one to distinguish between local functions of particular code switches and the functions in the larger socio-political field of identity formation in many ways (Bailey, 2007). One such way is that meanings of the various forms and signs used by speakers depend on past usages and associations of such forms for their reference rather than just on the arbitrary meaning (Bailey, 2012: 502). Therefore, in the interpretation of meaning in language use, heteroglossia takes into account not only the surface forms of the exchange, but also the historical and social relations of the participants (Bailey, 2007: 269).

Bailey (2012: 502) analyses a multilingual interaction between two teenagers, Janelle and Isabella, who speak both English and Spanish. His interest is to find out what kinds of forms are used in the interaction and what tensions and conflicts are involved based on the socio-historical associations of the forms. From his observations, Janelle and Isabella switch between English and Spanish during their interaction. Because the two participants in this exchange are students, they use English because it is prestigious especially in educational institutions to which they belong- thus English associates them with being educated. The use of Spanish by Janelle and Isabella in the interaction is indicative of their history; their parents originated from the Dominican Republic where Spanish is spoken to the USA. From this exchange, there is evidence that code switching generates meanings that are distinct from the ones communicated through monolingual talk (Heller, 2007; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1998; Woolard, 2004). If the two participants had made use of only English or Spanish, we would not have known about their different social or historical associations. Thus, the different languages are used as a way of negotiating different social and communicative worlds (Bailey, 2012: 503). Therefore, from the interaction analysed by Bailey (2012: 505), one can

say that language use is reflective of linguistic and social relations of the participants involved in communication.

3.5.4. Metrolingualism

Metrolingualism, introduced by Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 240), is viewed as “those linguistic practices manifested by speakers that surpass boundaries of established social, cultural and political boundaries, identities and ideologies of these speakers”. Thus, metrolingualism describes the ways in which people in especially urban centres who come from different linguistic backgrounds make use of language(s) to negotiate different identities. That is why Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 241) state that,

there is a recent movement in bi and multilingual studies involving a shift away from a focus on how distinct codes are switched or mixed, in favour of an interest in how boundaries and distinctions are the results of particular language ideologies and how language users manipulate the multilingual resources they have available to them.

According to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), the phenomenon that two people in a multilingual context can use two different languages that are not native to any one of them shows the need to move away from just multilingualism (knowledge and use of more than one language) to metrolingualism (use of different languages based on the language ideologies that the users in question have). This observation is in contrast to use of language based on ethnic and linguistic affiliations – so it is not just switching from one language to another *per se*, but rather using languages depending on what each language means for the people in a particular context. People in multilingual contexts may not decide which language(s) they will use prior to a given conversation, but they already have a set of ideal and orderly linguistic practices which come into play depending on the situation.

As stated above, metrolingualism considers language use mostly in urban settings. However, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 245) clarify that metrolingualism as a practice is not confined to urban centres, but rather should be used as a broad term for describing data regardless of whether it was collected in the city or in rural areas. Currently there is an increased mobility of peoples from different linguistic backgrounds, so people increasingly find themselves with people with whom they do not share a linguistic background – and this happens in both urban and rural areas. Therefore, by way of contrast, metrolingualism differs from multilingualism and plurilingualism in that the main focus for metrolingualism is not just how many languages

one knows or can speak, but rather how one's languages are used in a particular space and time (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010).

The concept of metrolingualism was applied by Joworski (2014) to account for language use in the field of performing arts. In his application of the concept of metrolingualism to two pieces by the artist Laurie Anderson, Joworski (2014: 140-142) observed that Anderson "anticipates a more wide-spread onslaught of linguistic and artistic creativity, where code-mixing, sampling of sound, genres, languages and cultures are the norm" (for the same observation, see Pennycook, 2010: 85). Further observations revealed that "when used as an artistic material, language may be easily transformed from a singularly conceived, bounded and finite 'code' to an amorphous, fuzzy and disorientating process of Languaging of unclear and tested origin, ownership and ambiguous meaning" (Joworski, 2014: 151). Based on the above observation, language should be looked at not as just an abstract entity, but from the local perspectives of the users. This statement is premised on the fact that the different social activities in which speakers are engaged may require use of different linguistic resources. According to Blackledge and Creese (2008: 535), "some language users at one point in time hold passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of a particular language to their sense of identity". In the same regard, Canagarajah (2007b: 94) argues that "language is not a product located in the mind of the speaker; but rather a social process constantly constructed in sensitivity to environmental factors". Therefore, language users should not be (pre)defined by their geographic location, ethnicities or other already ascribed identities, but rather in terms of their various language practices (Pennycook, 2010).

3.5.5. Linguistic repertoires

A concept that has been used since the inception of sociolinguistics is 'repertoire', which is defined by Gumperz (1964: 137) as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction". Similarly, Banda (2009: 6) refers to linguistic repertoire as "the total range of codes available to a speaker that allow him/her to perform different roles across ethnic, community, regional and national boundaries". These two scholars view repertoires not from an essentialist perspective, but rather from a social interaction position, as do Hall (1996) and Norton (2010). Linguistic interaction, a constituent of social interaction, is a process of decision making in which speakers have a range of possible expressions from which to select depending on the situation of language use and the meanings that they wish to convey (Gumperz, 1964: 138). While acknowledging that

linguistic repertoires are manifest in speakers' daily interaction, as noted above, Hymes (1977: 31) holds the view that the concept of linguistic repertoire cannot be understood by only observing speakers interacting but rather, he also advocates for the consideration of the speakers' own ideologies and interpretations. For this reason, Wei (2011) suggests that one conducts interviews and hold group discussions with the speakers to find out what their own perceptions about the notion of linguistic repertoires are. As noted in chapter 1, a linguistic repertoire is not a static phenomenon, but is achieved differently in different communicative situations. It is thus not surprising that the idea of linguistic repertoires is gaining relevance in sociolinguists as it allows us to move away from the conception of languages as clear cut, static entities.

Resulting from the dynamism of the linguistic repertoires that speakers possess, speakers use different styles as they engage in interaction, and these styles signal the different social groups that they belong to (Gumperz, 1964: 148). As a result, different repertoires are selected in different communicative situations, as advised by Bourdieu (1977), because the course of interaction is determined by different factors, some of which may not even be seen or known. These factors, which may include age, wealth, prestige, culture, etc., help to guide the speakers and enable them to choose the most appropriate expressions for the type of exchange, taking into account whom they are interacting with and for what purpose. The choice of the most appropriate expressions introduces the notion of register which is defined by Biber (1995: 1) as any [linguistic] variety associated with any particular contexts or purposes. Therefore, the notion of repertoire should not be viewed as the possession of immobile linguistic resources. Rather, as Blommaert (2010) notes, repertoire is not tied to a specific space or nation. Instead, speakers vary the different linguistic resources in their repertoire depending on the communication situation. Thus, when considering linguistic repertoires, one should consider the dynamic and mobile nature of language. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 248) state that repertoires are shaped by the particular practices in which individuals engage, and these are always changing. In the same regard, Blommaert (2010) recommends that repertoires be understood from the perspective of their functions and not just from abstract assessments of what they mean.

With the emergence of globalization that entailed an expansion in mobility, social transformations, different linguistic practices and increased communication across the globe, Busch (2012: 3) advocates for re-examination of the term 'repertoire'. This is because communities are no longer stable; rather, they have varied social networks and varied

linguistic practices, and all these affect speakers' available linguistic resources and the choices that they have to make while interacting. As Busch puts it, linguistic repertoires in such globalised environments are affected by the changing linguistic practices that depend on the existing social contexts. Thus, speakers in these environments have to deal with different communication situations, what Wei (2011: 1222) refers to as 'translanguaging space'. These are spaces where translanguaging takes place and the space that is created through translanguaging. Bhabha (1994) views this space as one in which identities, values and practices are generated. Thus, the different languages in one's repertoire can be seen as avenues that give speakers opportunities to engage in interaction. However, it should be noted that the absence of (a) particular language(s) may deny speakers the opportunities to participate in some interactions (Busch, 2012: 7).

From the above contentions, Busch (2012) suggests three ways of viewing the notion of linguistic repertoire: (i) a third-person perspective focusing on how speakers interact by means of language, (ii) a second-person perspective focusing on how they become constituted as speaking subjects through language, and (iii) a first-person perspective focusing on how they live language as a subjective experience.

As noted above, regional contexts are considered in an effort to understand the concept of repertoires, thus the social groups to which people belong and with whom they interact, as referred to in the preceding arguments, may be local but sometimes they may cut across borders. In the era of globalization that is briefly referred to above, different changes have taken place around the world, and the world is now sometimes referred to as 'superdiverse'. In the next section, I explore how language and identity are conceptualised in such superdiverse environments.

3.5.6. Language, identity and superdiversity

In the introductory part of Blommaert's (2010: xi) book "Sociolinguistics of globalization", it is noted that we need to find another way of thinking about linguistic communication in the current global world which is characterised by more migrations of both people and commodities (including language) as well as by socio-economic inequalities. Because of colonisation and the new trend of economic globalization, we have seen an increase in the movement of people from different parts of the world to settle in other areas. This could be to find employment or education or to carry out trade (Blommaert, 2010: xii). For instance, over the past ten to fifteen years, the UK has seen a tremendous increase in the number of

immigrants, which has led to diversification of the country, as observed by Vertovec (2007: 1028).

With the emergence of a world like the one Blommaert (2010) describes above (i.e., a world of migration and global communication), the idea that language equals identity may no longer hold, because we are moving away from “old norms” (such as stability, homogeneity and boundedness) to scenarios of mobility and political dynamism (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 10). These changes have been described by Vertovec (2007: 1025) as moving away from ‘diversity’ to ‘superdiversity’. Vertovec then goes on to explain why notions of stability and homogeneity can no longer work in the superdiverse world: As people migrate, they bring with them multiple variables that are determinants of where, how and with whom they live. Such variables include the country of origin, religious affiliations, multiple identities, cultural practices, specific social networks, etc. What then is superdiversity?

Superdiversity, as defined by Vertovec (2007: 1025), refers to “some current levels of population diversity that are significantly higher than before”. Vertovec (2007: 1025) coined the term to describe “the phenomenon of globally expanding mobility, which entails new and increasingly complex social formations and networking practices beyond traditional affiliations”. Thus, the term ‘superdiversity’ is used to describe the changes that have taken place in society, experiences that people are going through that surpass anything previously experienced in the society. This means that as people migrate from one place to another, they engage in interactions with different people, and new identities are formed. To further this argument, Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 8) remind us that with migration, it is not only people who move, but also language varieties. In this process of migration, therefore, there are distinctive communicative processes, and these have different consequences on the neighbourhoods involved. For instance, if there is anything that is to be advertised or announced in a particular neighbourhood (one that has ‘immigrants’ from different places), the language used will have to accommodate the different people in that neighbourhood. According to Blommaert and Backus (2012: 5), ‘old’ migrants share spaces with a variety of ‘new’ migrants who are coming from different parts of the world, and thus both groups need to be considered.

In superdiverse environments, described above, people cannot be said to obviously belong to certain national, ethnic or socio-cultural groups or to obviously have certain identities. According to Blommaert and Backus (2012), such aspects are not stable anymore; rather, they

are always changing depending on where the people in the ‘diverse’ world find themselves: in these environments, “patterns of learning [and using] languages are widely diverse” (Blommaert and Backus, 2012: 7).

In relation to the above, emergence of new media technology has enabled the people who have dispersed into other areas to stay connected to their social, cultural and political roles (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011: 9). The existence of media technology does not only impact on the dispersed people, but also the ‘host’ communities. (The result of these continued connections is transnational networks.) Therefore, the changes in communication as noted above are more than just changes in the material world, but are real life experiences that people go through as they engage in various social practices in their new communities. Recently, a new concept has been introduced to refer to multilinguals specifically in contexts of global migration, namely that of new speaker.

3.5.7. New speaker

Globalization, as discussed in earlier sections of this thesis, has brought about different changes in different societies. The ‘new era’ according to O’Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo (2015: 1) is “characterized by new types of speakers, new forms of language and new modes of communication”. The term ‘new speaker’ is used for speakers in both minority and majority language contexts as many people all over the world have either learned or used a language which is not their ‘mother tongue’ or ‘native’, ‘first’ or ‘family’ language. By description, the term ‘new speaker’ is used by Ortega, Urla, and Amorrortu (2015: 85) to refer to “those [speakers] who have learned a language by means other than family transmission”. According to the above authors, this group of speakers is relevant for consideration for future language planning efforts. In addition, such speakers may be the only source for future transmission of an endangered language as we see the case of Breton (Timm, 2003: 35). Another description of new speakers is “individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners” (O’Rourke, et al, 2015: 1).

We find examples of new speakers in Ireland where whoever has gone through the Irish education system has been exposed to the Irish language, and those who are not native speakers of Irish could be defined as new speakers (O’Rourke and Walsh, 2015: 64). In some minority communities, the new speakers are not fully recognized as legitimate speakers

(O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2011). In fact, Ortega et al. (2015: 86) stress that as much as a new speaker may learn a language to a high degree of competence, these speakers may still not view themselves as authentic speakers of the new language that they are learning. Sometimes it is the native speakers of the language that these new speakers have learnt that do not regard them as 'real' speakers of the language; this may result in struggles of who owns the language and who does not (O'Rourke and Walsh, 2015: 63). However, as O'Rourke et al. 2015: 2) note, in some communities, the 'new speakers' actually outnumber or have even replaced the native speakers. For example, a study carried out by Ortega et al. (2015: 88) indicated that there was an increasing number of young people who were learning Basque, especially through formal education in Basque-medium schools. As a result, the new speakers now outnumber the native speakers in these areas where the study was conducted (viz. in Bilbao, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Bermeo and Zumaia). This increase in the number of new speakers has been attributed to access to Basque-speaking networks, for example friends and people at workplaces (Amorrortu, Ortega, Idiazabal, & Barrena, 2009). These categories of people that the new speakers are in contact with greatly influence their learning of (a) language(s) (Amorrortu et al., 2009).

"*Ni euskaldunberria naiz*", meaning "I am a new speaker", is a phrase that new speakers of Basque often used (Ortega et al., 2015: 94). These new speakers based this kind of self-identification on four different criteria, that is, mode of acquisition, competency, belief that their mental schemes were Spanish, and their usage of Basque. In terms of acquisition, Basque was acquired at school and not in a family setting like in the case of native speakers. As far as competency was concerned, the new speakers felt that they were more competent in Spanish and not Basque and thus believed that even their mental schemes were in Spanish. The new speakers labelled themselves "*euskaldunberria*" because they mostly used Spanish and not Basque in their everyday interactions. There are differences between new speakers and the traditional speakers of a given language. As Hornsby (2015: 107) points out, the differences can be "indexed through accent, the lexicon and grammatical structures". The differences between the two types of speakers are either linguistic or related to power differentials. "The linguistic differences will include: phonological, lexical and syntactic while the power differences will revolve around language ownership and usership of the language that is in question" (Hornsby, 2015: 109). In a study carried out in Brittany, Brussels and London amongst speakers of Breton and Yiddish, traditional (native) speakers noted that some of the phonological features of new speakers were "inadequate". On the other hand, the new speakers sometimes resisted adopting the phonological features of the traditional

speakers (Hornsby, 2015: 110). The new speakers, according to Trosset (1986: 185), were afraid of losing their identity if they acquired native-like phonological features; afraid that they would “become another person”.

3.6. Causes of multilingualism

Multilingualism can develop as a result of various factors. These include migration, colonialism, the need to trade, education, etc. In much current literature, multilingualism is primarily treated as caused by migration, and historically this has also been the case (Grosjean, 1982: 33). According to Sridhar (1996: 48), when people move, they move with their language; and they may choose to maintain their home language in addition to learning the language of the area in which they have settled, the result being multilingualism.

The discussion of multilingualism as a result of migration often brings to mind the urban centre as a point of language contact. Backhaus (2007: 1) states that “the city is a place of language contact” and notes that cities have always attracted groups of people from different linguistic backgrounds. He mentions ancient cities like Rome, Athens and Constantinople which were also characterised by the existence of speakers of different languages. This scenario is not any different from the modern cities both within and outside Africa. More insight into the concept of multilingualism, especially in urban centres which Backhaus (2007) talks about, is given by Prah (2010) in his study of multilingualism in urban Africa. From his study of five female students in Nima (Accra, Ghana) and two female students in Katutura (Windhoek, Namibia), Prah notes that there is a high degree of linguistic variation in the major towns of Africa to which people flock mostly in search of employment. He gives examples of other urban centres like Johannesburg (Soweto or Alexandria), Lagos (Surulele) and Nairobi (Kibera) where people from different cultural backgrounds meet and a need to interact arises, which leads to learning of the language(s) in the area, which in turn results in multilingualism in that community. The resultant multilingualism in the community later spreads within the nation (Prah, 2010: 170). Despite early linguistic anthropological work such as that of Hymes (1962) and Gumperz (1964), which investigated multilingualism in rural settings, a focus on urban settings have started to dominate research. This development can be seen in studies on variation such as that of Labov (1972), Trudgill (1974a, 1974b) and Milroy (1980). This focus on language use in urban centres are still active amongst scholars researching multilingualism, especially in the postmodern era as discussed in section 3.2. The

assumption that multilingualism is primarily an urban phenomenon thus persists, if one looks at the dominant research paradigms.

In addition to migrating in search of a better life, trade is another factor that leads to multilingualism. Those who move to other places to trade often learn a lingua franca that aids them in communication during trade activities. They speak this lingua franca alongside their native language, resulting in multilingualism. For instance, Russian was used as lingua franca in the former U.S.S.R., especially by immigrants in search of a better life through carrying out trade); and Hausa is used as a lingua franca in most of West Africa and Swahili in East Africa, especially in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda (Grosjean, 1982: 33).

Political federalism is another factor that has brought about multilingualism in different societies. The result of colonialism was the introduction of colonial languages as official languages in most colonised nations. These languages were the languages of the colonial masters, for instance English in the case of Uganda and Kenya (Kwesiga, 1994). Other countries adopted a national language in addition to the official languages. This meant that the country became multilingual because the citizens had to acquire the national language and learn the official language in addition to their native languages. This can be observed in Kenya, where Swahili and English are the official languages and Swahili is the national language (Attorney General, 2010; Kibui, 2014). In Uganda, despite the absence of a national language, Luganda is still the language of wider communication and is acquired by especially those who have moved to the capital, Kampala. This means that Ugandans may learn English, especially at school, and acquire Luganda, in addition to their native language(s) (Kwesiga, 1994; Nakayiza, 2013).

Another way in which federalism resulted in multilingualism was through the drawing of borders of some African countries (Ndhlovu, 2013; Okello and Musoke, 2003; Prah, 2009). These countries include Uganda and Kenya that are at issue here. Some linguistic groups have been divided by these politically imposed borders and have thus found themselves in more than one country. This means that these people will speak their native language plus the national language of the country that has control over them and may in fact also speak the official language of that particular country (Grosjean, 1982: 33). In addition to the official languages of their respective countries, these linguistic groups will learn the other languages that they are in contact with, both within their communities and outside, including across the border. The result will be speakers using more than one language depending on the prevailing

language domain, as we saw in the previous section; details of this is discussed in chapter 6. Drastic changes have taken place, as noted in section 3.2, leading to increased migrations across the globe, and more specifically on the African continent. Increased migration together with the aftermath of colonialism has seen more people coming in contact with speakers of other languages, resulting in more than one language being used by both individuals and communities.

3.7. Multilingual situation in some parts of the world

There has been a great interest in multilingualism over the last two decades, and this has had an effect on how it is represented in the media and in public discourses. This is as a result of changes such as globalization, which has led to movements of people from one place to another, in addition to political and economic changes (see section 3.2 above). As stated by Grosjean (1982: 1), multilingualism is present in every country of the world and it is evident in all classes and age groups – thus the assertion that it is difficult to find a society that is genuinely monolingual (see also Crystal, 2008). In this regard, Grosjean (1982) points out that even countries that appear monolingual, like Germany, are not monolingual *per se*. This is because there are many migrant workers in Germany who speak their native language in addition to German (Grosjean, 1982: 6). Another example of a country that is thought to be monolingual and yet has many bilinguals is Paraguay. The colonial language, Spanish, is the official language while Guarani is the national language. Spanish is used in education, in the army and in conducting other government business while Guarani is used at home, especially in the rural areas (Grosjean, 1982: 10).

Scholars have distinguished between various forms of multilingualism, and one type entails there being several language groups in a country or a region and each of these different groups are primarily monolingual. Canada is a good example of this form of multilingualism (French, English and, to a lesser extent, German speakers are found in Canada). In such a case, the nation is seen as multilingual but this does not mean that all individuals in that nation or region are multilingual. Grosjean (1982: 12-13) refers to this as the territorial principle of multilingualism. The opposite of the above is referred to as the personality principle of multilingualism, where bilingualism is the official policy of a country and most individuals are multilingual (Grosjean, 1982: 12-13). We find examples of such multilingualism in India and several countries in East and West Africa. Nonetheless, it is not easy to find nations with strictly one of the two forms of multilingualism described above;

what is common is a combination of the two (Sridhar 1996: 47), and this is true for Uganda and Kenya where the two communities under study are situated.

In the multilingual settings described above, a need to communicate always arises as speakers of the different languages come in contact with each other. In such a case, there are two options for these speakers. One is that the different speakers will learn each other's languages, and the other is to adopt a third language that will be used as a lingua franca (like Swahili in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda). Whatever option is adopted, the end result is multilingualism, because the speakers now have other language(s) in addition to their native language. Grosjean (1982) also cites examples from Lebanon and the Philippines to further illustrate the reality of multilingualism. In Lebanon, more than half the population is bilingual in either of the three languages, that is, Arabic, French and English (This is in addition to the indigenous languages). Although Arabic is the official language, one finds newspapers and radio and television programs in both Arabic and English. Most of the road signs and legal documents appear in all three languages in order to be accessible for a large percentage of the population. The case of the Philippines is more or less the same: The ex-colonial languages are used alongside the local vernaculars and Filipino, thus making most of the Philippines multilingual (Grosjean, 1982: 8).

The fact that the interest in multilingualism seems to be growing currently does not mean that it is a new phenomenon; in fact, it has existed throughout human history. Apart from the Old Testament Bible story of the Tower of Babel, there are many other accounts given by different authors showing the existence of people and communities that use different languages – a sign of multilingualism, for example, accounts given by Rindler-Schjerve and Vetter (2007) and Trotter (2000). Based on the above observation, authors such as Grosjean (1982) and Weber and Horner (2013) assert that multilingualism rather than monolingualism is the normal state of affairs around the world. If this is the case, then it is likely that few language groups have exist in isolation of other language groups, and it is this contact that leads to the state of multilingualism that is being discussed in this chapter.

The assertion that authors such as Grosjean (1982) and Crystal (2008) make about multilingualism being the normal state of affairs is true if we look at the extent of multilingualism in most countries of the world. Below is an exemplification with the status quo in the United States.

The United States has probably been the home of more bilingual speakers than any other country in the world. Ever since the beginning of the great Atlantic migration, wave upon wave of non-English speakers has inundated the American shore. A vivid appreciation of the need for survival caused most of the immigrants to learn as much English as was necessary to make their way in the new environment. But at the same time most of them continued to use their old language whenever occasion offered. More than that: many of them passed on their language to their descendants, thereby making them also bilingual. So it has come about that millions of Americans have been predestined by birth to a more or less pronounced bilingualism.

(Haugen, 1969: 1)

In Africa, the situation does not differ vastly from what is stated to be the case above for the United States. For instance, in Ghana, there are over eighty languages that are in contact with one another and as a result, and most people speak two or more languages (Berry, 1971). Grosjean (1982: 9) reported that about 90% of the population of Tanzania spoke at least a local language, and Swahili, which makes most Tanzanians at least bilingual, and that English is commonly spoken in addition to Swahili and the local languages. The local languages and Swahili are used in different domains. For instance, at home, in village activities and in the performance of indigenous religious activities, the local language would be used, whereas Swahili is used for basic educational instruction, in hospitals, in political meetings, in regional trade and in commerce. English is mostly used in certain government offices, in secondary education, in universities, in technology, in higher courts and in carrying out international business (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir, 2004; Lodhi, 1993; Rubagumya, 1991).

In Uganda and Kenya, the situation is not very different from the accounts of multilingualism in Tanzania that we have looked at above. Both Uganda and Kenya were colonised by the British and only attained their independence in 1962. Swahili and English had been introduced by the Arabs and the British, respectively (Kwesiga, 1994: 57; Lodhi, 1993: 81) and these continued to be used alongside the native languages. Later, debates started about which language was to become the official language – in both Kenya and Uganda, it was resolved that English would be the official language. Kenya adopted Swahili as its national language. Recently, in the provisions of the new constitution according to Kibui (2014: 89) Swahili was recognised as the national language as well as the official language in addition to English. Kibui (2014) notes that Swahili is not widely spoken in the rural areas where the

indigenous languages are preferred. In Kenya, English as an official language is used as a medium of communication in the formal sectors like in Education (especially higher education), in government, international business and diplomacy (Ogechi, 2003). On the other hand, Kibui (2014: 93) notes that Swahili is used in carrying out government business and in inter-ethnic communication.

In Kenya, Swahili is also used as a medium of instruction from primary one to three and also it is a lingua franca for communication amongst Kenyans that speak different languages. English (the official language) is used as a medium of instruction from primary four onwards and also in performing all government businesses. However, during official functions, English is used but so is Swahili. As official languages of Kenya, English and Swahili are used concurrently during public functions. At home and when performing cultural ceremonies, local languages are mostly used, but if the speaker senses that there are people who do not speak the native language of the area, Swahili is used instead of the local language (Muaka, 2009; Nabea, 2009; Ogechi, 2003; Okombo, 2010).

In Uganda, as mentioned above, English is the official language as per the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the Amended Constitution of 2005. English is used as a medium of instruction, in performance of all government business and it is the major language used in the media, in other words, it is the language of official communication in Uganda (Katamba, 2006). Luganda (a local language) was proposed as national language, but this proposal was resisted, and to date Uganda does not have an agreed upon national language. In Uganda, the local languages are used at home, during the performance of certain cultural ceremonies and also, recently introduced, as a medium of instruction from primary one to four⁸. After primary four, English is now used as a medium of instruction and the local language may be offered as an optional subject (Nakayiza, 2013; Namyalo and Nakayiza, 2015).

In most African countries, similar to what we have observed above, a colonial language is used as the official language. The question arises as to why a foreign language has such a status when there are so many African indigenous languages. The reason is because these colonial languages are written (and because they have international status, and can therefore link the African countries to the outside world (Grosjean, 1982: 10). Lastly, colonial languages are at times chosen as official languages in order to avoid the internal divisions that

⁸ Primary one is equivalent to Grade 1 in the South African school system and primary four to Grade 4.

may arise if one of the ingenious languages is chosen over the others. In short, the colonial languages are more powerful than the indigenous languages and, as a result, they spread their influence over others. Native speakers of African languages furthermore have a sense of pride when they speak colonial languages, which affords further status and power to the colonial languages. These reasons explain why in Senegal, where the indigenous language, Wolof, is spoken by about 90% of the population, French is the official language. The same applies to Niger, where Hausa, which is spoken by the majority of the population, is not the official language but French is.

As my discussion shows, most African countries are highly multilingual. In the next section, I explore some of the differences that exist between African and Western multilingualism.

3.8. Differences between Western and African multilingualism

Both African and Western countries exhibit forms of multilingualism. We have seen cases of both Western and African multilingualism in the previous sections and in recent times, the interest in multilingualism has grown in the Western world. Whereas there are similarities between African and Western multilingualism, there are also some clear differences. Banda (2009: 5) states that to view “Africa’s multilingualism as being equivalent to European multilingualism is theoretically misleading and has often led to the adoption of policies and models which are impractical in African contexts”. He goes on and puts forward the following differences between Western and African multilingualism (Banda, 2009: 5):

- (i) Whereas in the West, one could mostly survive with only one language, in Africa this is next to impossible;
- (ii) Even though the formation of the European Union led to free travel, in Europe there are still distinctive borders which more or less coincide with linguistic borders (e.g. France, Russia, England, Belgium [Flemish Flanders and French Walloon], etc.). In Africa many languages cut across borders. Most African languages tend to cross borders;
- (iii) As noted by Myers-Scotton (1993), to speak and know “more than one language in one conversation in one day is the rule rather than the exception in Africa) but not necessarily in the West”.
- (iv) The default reference for research and planning for multilingualism in the West is often that of immigrant/migrant families;

- (v) Multilingualism in Africa often refers to the use of related (Bantu) varieties of language, e.g. Setswana and Sesotho (in South Africa) while multilingualism in the West, often involves the use of “unrelated languages such as English, Portuguese, French, German, Russian (particularly in relation to the languages of immigrants, such as Arabic, Hindi, Chinese, etc.)”;
- (vi) Multilingualism in the West is characterised by monolingual communities living alongside each other; while in Africa, multilingual “communities live side by side”;
- (vii) In Western settings additional languages are often acquired through schooling, while in Africa multilingualism is natural and additional languages are acquired through natural and everyday interaction;
- (viii) Western multilingualism usually entails that “several written languages”; in Africa written languages are used alongside languages with no written system.
- (ix) In Western contexts the same languages are usually used in the home, school and workplace, “this is often not the case in Africa”.

Banda (2009: 6) states that the policy makers have often transported Western assumptions of multilingualism to African contexts; with the result that models of bi/multilingual education for example do not work in Africa. Prah (2010: 170), in similar vein, notes that the kind of multilingualism found in Africa does not come about as a result of some kind of planning and is thus usually not organised. Rather, multilingualism mostly thrives in the urban areas, in which people settle for various reasons such as trade or education. These different groups of people bring with them their own language(s) and then learn other languages spoken in the area (including those of other groups who have settled in the area), resulting in multilingual speakers. According to Prah (2010: 173), the above takes place as people try to survive amongst the different people they find themselves, because they need to communicate, trade and peacefully live together. He goes on to assert that the existence of multilingualism allows for the construction of different identities as people adopt and discard identities as the need arises – to be precise, depending on where and with whom they find themselves.

Another difference that can be noted is that in African multilingualism, the different languages typically “protect” each other. This is made possible by speakers of a particular language, regardless of whether it is their native language or not, assisting in the survival of that language (Prah, 2010: 171). Prah gives examples of languages like Ga, Ewe, Swahili, Zulu, Lingala, Hausa, and Bemba in Africa which are spoken more by non-mother tongue

speakers, and this large number of speakers has continuously contributed to the survival of these languages. Banda (2010) notes that this kind of support that languages receives is common in the case of African languages but not Western languages.

In relation to the above argument, the different languages that exist in African multilingualism are used differently, in different language situations, and for different purposes depending on the needs that arise. This means that a language used in one situation may not be relevant in the other. For instance, (Prah, 2010) gives an example from Ghana to show how Hausa may be very useful for a customer visiting a butchery in Nima-Accra, but probably of little use to the teacher in the same neighbourhood. This is would be atypical in Western multilingualism. For example, in Canada, Switzerland, or Belgium, the languages French, German and Swiss German, respectively, tend to be used in all social domains, not in restricted contexts only, and this is different to what would be the case in an African multilingual setting (Prah, 2010: 172). In addition, in African multilingualism, the languages that were introduced by the colonialists (like English, French and Portuguese) tend to be viewed as superior and more powerful than the indigenous languages and are used in very specific domains, e.g. in education and other formal settings.

The traditional perspective, as noted by Siemund, Gogolin, Shulz, and Davydova (2013: 4), is that language diversity, in this case multilingualism, is the existence of different languages, each belonging to a particular nation or state. This means that the people living in a particular area or territory are associated with that particular language – they must learn that language in order to communicate effectively. This however is a description of what is found in Western multilingualism and not in African multilingualism. Switzerland provides an example of what is described above. Switzerland has four official languages, namely German, French, Italian, and Romansch, which are very territorial, meaning they are used in specific and different parts of the country (Weber and Horner, 2012). The Swiss are thus required to learn the official language of their territory as L1 as well as another Swiss national language as L2. Weber and Horner (2012) state that although there are various national and indigenous languages in Africa, English is often perceived as the key to upward social mobility. This is unlike in the West, where all national and/or official languages usually have the same status. In fact, in African multilingualism, the official language will be used for official government business in all regions of the country.

Many of the characteristics of African multilingualism is now also exhibited by Western nations, hence the coinage of terms such as “superdiversity” (See section 3.5.6 for discussion on superdiversity). Many African scholars of multilingualism have however, questioned the use of this term. Makoni (2012: 193) for example, argues that

Mass movement of populations is not new to Africa, so if diversity is accentuated by migration, then prior to colonialism there was considerable migration; however, it is framed as nomadism! The differences lie in the terminology: people moved—they simply did not need passports!

His argument thus speaks to the fact that mass movement and migration is seen by the West as new while for centuries movement was a natural occurrence. Along similar lines, Ndhlovu (2016: 28) argues that the idea of superdiversity is “fraught with limitations” and that “what is currently being described as superdiversity does not necessarily typify a new phenomenon (Ndhlovu, 2016: 35). Instead, Ndhlovu (2016) argues for the use of Southern theory in the description of multilingualism and identity construction. Referring to a number of scholars (such as Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012; Connell, 2007; Rehbein, 2015), Ndhlovu (2016: 36) states that what a Southern theory perspective adds is

A case for a radical rethinking of social science theorization and its relationships to knowledge, power, democracy and identity discourses in a manner that takes into account the experiences of the majority of the world’s populations. The main argument of Southern theory is that the Global South does also produce knowledge and understanding of society; that Southern knowledge systems need to be recognized and included on the table of ideas about development, social progress and what it means to live life and live it well.

Stroud's (2016: 15) idea of turbulent multilingualism is one example of work informed by a Southern perspective. Stroud (2016: 15) states that turbulence refers to “the disruptive revolutionary moment where different orders and regimes of understanding may come together through moments of dissonance, disagreement and contest”. The coming together of different orders and regimes is often the case within multilingual encounters in Africa.

3.9 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to trace the course of multilingualism from historical times through to the postmodern era, with a view of understanding and appreciating the role it plays

in enhancing effective communication and its associated benefits. Multilingualism in the postmodern era has been said to be different from what it was in the earlier times. The differences can be exhibited in its characteristics or in the role(s) played by multilingualism in the current times. Multilingualism is part and parcel of the daily lives of many speakers today; for effective communication, one mostly needs to speak more than one language. This is unlikely to have been the case in historical times; then, learning a second language would have been optional, as one would have been able to speak one language only and still communicate effectively.

I have also attempted to discuss some new concepts that have emerged as a result of the ever increasing need people from different linguistic backgrounds have to communicate with each other. Concepts such as translanguaging, heteroglossia, metrolingualism and linguistic repertoires have been discussed. The overarching view of this chapter is one that follows Blommaert (2010: 102), when he says that multilingualism is a matter of degree: We are all multilinguals in a way as at some point we all use different registers, styles, accents, etc., and it is just the extent to which we do this that differs. It thus follows that multilingualism is present in all nations, in varying patterns of distribution. Labels such as “monolingual”, “bilingual” and “multilingual” reflect the linguistic policies the individual countries have toward their language groups more so than the degree of individual multilingualism found in those nations (Grosjean, 1982: 24).

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I give a detailed description of the methodological aspects of the present study. First, the ethical considerations outlining the research protocol are discussed, followed by a detailed exploration of ethnography, which is the main methodological strategy in this study. Within ethnography, I position my study as a linguistic ethnography. I then discuss the context of the study, the sampling procedures and the different data collection methods that go hand in hand with ethnography. Lastly, I give a brief description of how I analysed the data that I had collected.

4.2. Ethical considerations

Before contacting any potential participants, ethical clearance for conducting the study was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities) of Stellenbosch University, and a research permit was obtained from the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology. Being a member of the Ugandan community under study and having relatives across the border in the Kenyan community, I proceeded to obtain permission for data collection from the local authorities of the two communities. In addition, I obtained permission for data collection from the district officials that head the towns of Busia. As is customary, the local leaders, like the Local Council leaders (LCs), gave verbal permission and followed it up with written permission.⁹ The local leaders know their people well in the areas in which I was interested and would presumably act in the best interest of their people. These authorities did not only grant me permission to conduct my study amongst their people; they also helped me with the recruitment of some of the participants in the interviews, and they would introduce me to the participants before I could start with the

⁹ I took care not to show the participants the permission letters that I obtained from their leaders. Doing so could have affected the quality of the data collected, as soliciting permission letters from authority structures is not “the Samia way”. Had the participants known that I had obtained permission in writing (rather than asking for permission verbally and letting a verbal agreement to my request suffice – that is, had they known that I did not operate in the system of taking the other party’s word for what had been said verbally but had requested a response in writing), they might have mistrusted me. The reason for this is that the Samia would regard an enquirer carrying letters on her as a spy or as a government employer whose bona fida should not be trusted.

interviews (see section 4.6). For attendance and observation of different cultural ceremonies, permission was sought from family members before I filmed and took field notes.¹⁰

According to Flick (2007: 126), it is important for the researcher to ensure that the intentions of the study are made clear to the participants. Consequently, before each interview, I explained to the participants what the purpose and procedures of the study was and I availed consent forms for those who were willing to participate to sign. The information in the consent form made it clear to the participants that they could terminate the interview at any time and could also ask for their data to be withdrawn from the study, without providing reasons. The participants were also informed that they would remain anonymous and all the information they gave would be treated as confidential. To ensure a transparent framework of participation, as advised by Flick (2007), I only interviewed those who signed the consent forms.

Further ethical guidelines pertaining participants, as maintained by Flick (2007: 126), include safeguarding participants in any research against harm or manipulation. One of the ways of achieving what Flick (2007) states is by avoiding covert observation. According to Flick (2007), the participants in research should be aware that they are being studied, and this should only occur after they have consented to taking part in the study. However, as I discovered while carrying out fieldwork, it may not always be possible to respect privacy of participants completely as researchers occasionally have to enter the private spaces of the participants. Another issue of contention that is central to research, according to Flick (2007), is the issue of anonymity. In some cases, it is difficult to manage issues of anonymity, especially in a study like the current one in which the researcher gets to speak to the participants directly, some of whom are known to her. This is even more complicated when photographs are taken or filming takes place during data collection and such data are later used for presenting and illustrating findings. Aware of all these ethical considerations, I first introduced myself to the local leaders of the various places I went to, and they always accompanied me and introduced me to some of the members that I would later interview. In most of the places I visited, I was introduced to someone by the local leader who in turn

¹⁰ Because I am a member of one of the communities (that in Busia, Uganda) although I now live in the capitol, Kampala, and because I have relatives across the border in the other community (Busia, Kenya), it was easy for me to attend the ceremonies that needed invitation, like baptism/naming and marriage ceremonies. I then asked for permission to film the ceremonies. As regards funerals/funeral rites, no invitation is needed; it is assumed that all community members who can attend the ceremony will do so. So the only permission I asked for was to film (this also had its own challenges, as discussed in the next section under ethnography).

introduced me to others, and in that manner my intentions were made known by the leader to one participant who then made them known to other potential participants.¹¹ In case of filming different cultural ceremonies, like I mentioned above, permission was sought from the different families directly. In the case of taking photographs of the public signage, permission was sought from the district officials¹² and local leaders. In addition, my research assistant also came from one of the communities (on Ugandan side of the border) but knew some people in the other community (on Kenyan side of the border). Therefore, with all the necessary ethical clearance together with the permission of the local leaders in the villages and at district level, I embarked on the research, which took an ethnographic approach, as I explain in the following section.

4.3. Ethnography

According to Flick (2007: 40), ethnography involves “the flexible use of several methods in addition to observation over an extended period of being in the field and participating in one way or the other”. Ethnography is thus a comprehensive and complex research strategy. The researcher needs to stay in the field over an extended period of time so that s/he gets “an understanding of the social world from the perspective of the members inside that social world” (Holloway, 2005: 79). As a result of the extended period of time the researcher stays in the field, the informants grow used to the researcher and behave naturally rather than ‘putting on a performance’. During this study, I lived amongst my participants for a period of six months, observing them in the markets and at cultural ceremonies and generally observing how language is used as members of these communities interact. In support of Holloway's (2005) argument of researchers having to live with the participants, Woods (2006: 3) is of the view that “researchers need to be close to the groups they are studying, live with them, look at the world through their eyes, empathize with them, [and more generally] explore the nature of their interests and understand their relationships”. Such arguments gave me the impetus to go and live amongst the Lusamia speakers so as to experience their social life in order to obtain accurate and reliable data from them.

¹¹ Whereas I did go through the consent form with each participant individually and thus ensured that they were aware of the nature and purpose of the study (amongst other things), such introductions and vouching for intentions are important in the Samia communities, for without them bona fides might be mistrusted and people will be unlikely to consider participating.

¹² Busia on either side of the border is a district with district officials. For one to do any kind of research in either district, the officials have to be informed of one's intention and need to agree that the research may be done in their district, but they need not issue one with a permission letter. Even if they did issue a letter, it was just a formal gesture but I did not have to carry it with me as I mentioned earlier since it would have different implications for the participants in the interview.

Emerson et al. (2011:1) observe that “ethnography calls for studying people as they go about their daily lives. It requires building rapport with the population, sometimes learning the local language and immersing oneself in people’s activities”. For me to study people as they go about their daily lives, that is, to carry out participant observation, to interview participants, attend cultural ceremonies and take photographs of the public signage, I had to gain access to the communities being studied. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) advise that, in order to carry out successful ethnography, issues of access should be taken into consideration. The authors recommend that the researcher should negotiate access to the field and establish a good relationship with the researched community. I had this in mind when I sought to commence with my fieldwork. I am an insider to the communities I wished to study, as I grew up in Busia, Uganda, and have relatives in the other community (the Samia in Busia, Kenya). Being an insider gave me access to the Samia communities, but I had been living in the capital Kampala for a number of years at the commencement of my study. For this reason, I still had to live amongst and interact with the members of both Samia communities in order to gain the trust of the participants by establishing interpersonal relationships with them before being granted access to their social lives and those of their acquaintances.

Living with members of a community that is under study for a certain period of time is in agreement with Dwyer and Buckle's (2009: 58) assertion that prior membership to a group confers greater legitimacy in the eyes of participants as opposed to approaching a group from the outside. In addition, familiarity with a group’s norms, beliefs and practices, or possessing attributes similar to community members, facilitates acceptance and therefore access. Insider researchers are thus often able to access informants more easily and use their shared experiences to gather a richer set of data. Kerstetter (2012: 100) agrees with Dwyer and Buckle (2009) when he says that insiders are uniquely positioned to understand and relate to the experiences of those groups of which they are members. According to Merton (1972: 12), no matter how careful and talented an outsider may be in terms of carrying out research, s/he is in principle excluded from gaining access to the social and cultural truth of the people under study. I took advantage of being an insider, which means I was known to some local leaders whom I contacted and they then introduced me to those I did not know. These local leaders helped me to identify potential participants and introduced me to the district leaders who had to grant me permission to observe and take photographs of the linguistic landscape. Being an insider and having the approval of the local leaders led to me being able to observe and photograph without causing any suspicion; at the time of data collection and still at the time of writing, there is high terror alert at the border because terrorists have crossed into

Uganda before, so if I was seen taking photographs without permission, I would be looked at with suspicion.

Despite the advantages of ethnography and specifically those of being an insider to the study community, ethnography also has some limitations. Holloway (2005: 80) cautions that it is difficult for one to study one's own group and remain a 'cultural stranger'. An insider would already have internalized the set of rules and norms of that community and thus cannot pretend to be ignorant of them when asking informants about them. In addition, Holloway (2005) also questions the notion of generalizability of findings that ethnography adheres to. She states that no two settings are identical and therefore findings from one setting cannot necessarily be applied to another. Aware of these limitations, I used various methods of data collection so that my own biases as an insider (perhaps manifested through my observations) could be checked by the individual and focus group discussions. I also followed Samias on social media like Facebook and was diligent in checking my assumptions and conclusions with them. Furthermore, my approach to research is embedded with the view that research findings are co-constructed and thus that I can never disentangle myself from the research findings completely. My data is thus interpreted with this in mind.

4.3.1. Linguistic Ethnography

My study is positioned as a *linguistic* ethnography (LE). Hymes (1964: xxiii) defines LE as "the study of language within the context of anthropology", and it involves looking at language as it is used in everyday life. Similarly, Rampton, Tusting, Maybin, Barwell, Creese and Lytra (2004: 2) state that "Linguistic Ethnography generally holds that language and social life are mutually shaping, and that close analysis of situated language use can provide both fundamental and distinctive insights into mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural production in everyday activity". LE is thus a theoretical and methodological development that has been established, as Creese (2008: 229) notes, to counteract the shortfalls of the essentialist views of social life. This means that LE defines itself in a new intellectual climate of late postmodernism and constructivism which are the theoretical underpinnings of the current study. Linguistic Ethnography (LE) has been developed and influenced by authors from a variety of disciplines, for instance by Hymes (1962, 1964, 1974, 2003) when he advanced the notion of ethnography of communication. LE has also been influenced by interactional sociolinguists like Gumperz (1982b, 1999).

To further explain the notion of LE, Tusting and Maybin (2007: 576) point out that LE is a linguistic methodology used to study language use in a range of social settings. The advantage of LE, as argued by Rampton et al. (2004: 4), is that it combines linguistics with ethnography, thus allowing the researcher to analyze concepts in the “abstract” discipline of linguistics using ethnographic methods that are more geared towards social reality.

4.4. Context of the study

As I have already discussed details of the context of this study in Chapter 1 (see sections 1.2, 1.6.1, 1.6.2 and 1.6.3), I will only give a brief overview in this section. In ethnography, Marcus (1995: 96) upholds, research can be done at different sites: one site, two sites (bi-sited) or more than two sites (multi-sited). Thus, the researcher, guided by his/her research question(s), observes different situations within one or more study sites, depending on the study objectives that s/he has set out to achieve. The present study took the multi-sited approach; data were collected at multiple sites in each of the two towns (Busia, Uganda and Busia, Kenya) and in the villages surrounding these towns.

The Samia community is highly multilingual; and people of different linguistic backgrounds interact daily with the Lusamia speakers. These people come to the Samia community for different reasons and for different periods of time; for instance, some come to trade, others marry into the Samia community, and yet others come to visit, as will be shown in the findings in the subsequent chapters. The accounts on Lusamia and the Samia culture will be primarily based on the observations from my research, on my own knowledge as a member of one of the communities and on regular contact and interactions with the other community. Published academic work about the language and culture of Samia, and more specifically in relation to the construction of linguistic identities, could not be found; my study is in fact the first known sociolinguistic study carried out on Lusamia and the Samia culture.

Having established the kind of data that was to be collected in order to answer the research questions, a pilot study was carried out. The pilot study is briefly discussed in the next section and the participant selection in the next.

4.5. Pilot study

In order to ensure that the questions for the interviews and the observation guide were appropriate to the objectives of the study, I conducted a pilot study. The pilot study also ensured that the electronic instruments to be used, like the audio recorder and video camera,

were effective and captured the raw data with sufficient quality. To achieve the above, I tested out the interview questions with 6 members (3 from Busia Uganda and the other 3 from Busia Kenya). After doing so, the interview questions were refined. I tested out my observation schedule at 3 cultural ceremonies; 1 baptism ceremony (Kenyan side of the border), one introduction ceremony and one funeral (Ugandan side of the border) and the schedule proved to work well. As for linguistic landscaping, I started by taking photographs of names of 5 shops and 2 names of health facilities in Busia Uganda and the quality of the captured images were high enough to serve the purposes of this study. After I had done the pilot study and I was sure that my guides and instruments were appropriate for the research, I then embarked on selection of participants, ceremonies and linguistic landscapes for the main study.

4.6. Selection of participants for the main study

A population, as defined by Parahoo (1997: 218), is “the total number of units from which data can be collected, such as individuals, artefacts, events or organizations”. Another definition given by Polkinghorne (2005: 140) describes a population as “participants who can provide substantial contribution in filling out the structure and character of the experience under investigation”. Following the above definitions of population, I, with the help of the local leaders to whom I had introduced myself (see sections 4.1 and 4.2 above), selected 50 participants, 25 from each of the two Samia communities on the Uganda-Kenya border, for both the individual interviews and the focus group discussions. I held five focus group discussions and each focus group had 10 to 12 members. Two of the groups consisted of people from the Ugandan side of the border alone, another two of people from the Kenyan side, and the remaining group of a mixture of people from both sides of the border. This was done to obtain the views of people from each side of the border first and then from the mixed group. The local leaders again helped me in organizing these groups and finding venues for the focus group discussions. The local leaders knew the participants and their schedules very well and thus knew the best time for the group discussions to ensure that their other programs were not interfered with. The local leaders also knew which venues were available and in which venues there would be minimal disturbances during the meetings. A total of 12 cultural ceremonies were also observed, six on each side of the border: two marriage ceremonies, one naming ceremony, one baptism, and two funeral ceremonies.

The participants in the study, the selected cultural ceremonies and the markets visited were obviously just a sample of all of those people that live in the two towns, all of the ceremonies

performed and all the markets held, respectively. I had to use a specific sampling procedure to select this sample, and I describe this procedure below.

4.6.1. Sampling procedure

Sampling, as defined by Flick (2011: 70), is “a process of selecting subjects who are representative of the population”. Therefore, as stated by Boeije (2010: 35), elements that are believed to have the information that is required for a particular study are selected intentionally from a defined research population. The selected participants, according to Polkinghorne (2005: 140), should be those who have experienced the phenomenon under study and can thus provide the relevant information required by the researcher. What the arguments above mean for researchers like me is that the choices we make in our sampling will later affect our analysis of the data that we collected. Thus, authors such as Huberman and Miles (1994) observe that caution should be taken when deciding, for instance, whom to talk to where, when, about what and why, because these decisions place limits on the conclusions one can later draw. This means that the researcher needs to use sampling techniques that will lead to the desired data. In the same regard, Merriam (2002: 12) recommends that “since qualitative inquiry seeks to understand the meaning of a phenomenon from the perspectives of the participants, it is important to select a sample from which most can be learned. This is called a purposive or purposeful sample”.

In adherence to what the above authors advocate for, I used purposive sampling procedure to recruit participants in the two communities and to make the selection of the cultural ceremonies and markets that I observed (see section 4.6 above). I was also purposive when observing the linguistic landscape – for instance, I would look out for busy places in the towns, i.e. areas visited by most people (for instance, around the main markets in the two towns of Busia), so that I could see how the different languages that are spoken in these two communities are represented in public space. This idea of looking out for language use in public space around busy areas in the two communities means that, in a way, I purposively selected the linguistic landscape that I observed.

To compare data obtained from both the individual interviews and focus group discussions, I used the same sample, that is, the 25 participants from each side of the border. My aim was to check for accuracy and later perhaps make generalizations for the whole population. Involving samples consisting of members of the community, cultural ceremonies and linguistic landscapes was a way of triangulating the sample selection. Triangulation,

according to Polkinghorne (2005: 140), allows accounts from different perspectives about the same experience and aids the researcher in recognising variations in how the phenomenon unfolds. While acknowledging that data collected from this sample may not necessarily reflect the average opinion or experiences of all possible participants, Boeije (2010: 35) asserts that this allows for rich analysis because participants are selected depending on the needs of the study. The participants chosen were of different ages and genders, and I was known to some before the interviews commenced. I describe the characteristics of these participants in the next section.

4.6.2. Characteristics of the participants who took part in the main study

As mentioned in section 4.6 above, 25 participants were selected to participate in both the individual interviews and focus group discussions on each side of the border. The ages of the Ugandan participants ranged from 20 to 83 years (see Table 1 below). Twelve were male and 13 female. As regards the relationship between me and the participants prior to the interviews, most of the participants were unknown to me at the onset of this study: I knew only five of the 25, three of whom were local leaders¹³ and two of whom were relatives of a friend of mine. These five people introduced me to the other twenty whom I did not know.

On the Kenyan side of the border, the ages of the participants also ranged from 20 to 83 years. Eleven of the 25 participants were female and 14 were male. In terms of relationship with the participants prior to carrying out the interviews, I only knew two participants. One was one of the local leaders and the other was a relative of my father whom I had met at home during a ceremony. This local leader introduced me to other local leaders and these plus the one relative of mine helped me to identify the other participants.

¹³ The local leaders are always known to people in the communities, because the members of the community need letters from them from time to time as the need arises. I thus knew some local leaders already for this reason. One of them is my father's uncle.

Country of residence	Gender	Age				Total
		20-35	36-51	52-67	68-83	
Ugandan	Male	2	4	4	2	12
	Female	4	2	4	3	13
	Total	6	6	8	5	25
Kenyan	Male	1	4	5	4	14
	Female	2	2	4	3	11
	Total	3	6	9	7	25

Table 1: Summary of characteristics of interviewed participants

4.7. Specific data collection methods

As explained above, this study took an ethnographic approach and employed various data collection methods which included participant observation, interviews (both individual and focus group) and linguistic landscaping, each discussed below. Flick (2007: 40) states that in many kinds of ethnographic research, there is evidence of triangulation where more than one method of data collection are used in the same study, and Angrosino (2007: 35) argues that triangulation in ethnographic studies helps the researcher to reach more accurate conclusions. This argument is part of the justification for this study employing various research methods. In addition to recommending triangulation, Angrosino (2007) calls on researchers to observe and take part in the different activities in which their participants are involved. Therefore, researchers are called upon to adopt both a constructivist and postmodern perspective, both of which were indeed adopted in this study.

4.7.1. Observations

I collected a large amount of my data through direct observation. Authors such as Holloway (2005) and Polkinghorne (2005) argue that observers attempt to become part of the culture, taking note of everything they see and hear and also interviewing members of the culture to deepen their understanding of the phenomenon under study. In order for me to learn much and understand better the issue under study, I lived in the two communities under study, and I observed the speakers of Lusamia, taking notes of how they used language in different social interactions. I also observed different social events in which the Samia speakers on both sides of the border participate, and I further observed how language is used in the public space. (All these observations are presented in detail in the ensuing discussion.) I lived in the Samia communities so that I could gain access to and understand the social life of the Samia.

While living in these two Samia communities, the local leaders (with whom I had already established rapport) introduced me to families who were about to carry out different cultural ceremonies such as weddings, namings, baptisms and funerals. They explained to the members of these families that this was an academic study and that the information obtained would not be used for any other purposes other than academic ones, and that they would not be identifiable from the manner in which the findings would be reported. Such introductions enabled me to gain access to these ceremonies with ease. Apart from attending ceremonies following the introductions by the local leaders, I also attended some ceremonies in my already existing networks (in which my intentions were trusted). All attended ceremonies were audio-recorded and video-recorded with the help of a research assistant.¹⁴ While the research assistant carried out the recordings, I concentrated on observation (keenly following what was happening so that whenever something was not clear, I could ask the people around me for clarity) and taking field notes. However, at funerals, where there was a somber mood, I did not want to be seen filming because it would have been uncomfortable for me and for some family members, so I resorted to only audio-recording the ceremony, still with the permission of the family members.¹⁵ The audio- and video-recordings were then transcribed and later analysed, as will be discussed briefly in section 4.8 and later in detail in chapters 5 and 6.

In addition to the audio- and video-recordings, I also took field notes (as stated above) to which I later referred, especially during the transcription of the recordings of the ceremonies and the interviews. This is because, as mentioned in the preceding sections, this study employed triangulation in both collection and analysis of data. Field notes, according to

¹⁴ The research assistant was a 24-year-old male member of the Samia community (a close relative of mine) who was born in Busia, Uganda and had lived there for all his life. I trained him in using the recording equipment at my disposal, whereafter he accompanied me to all ceremonies, focusing on recording the proceedings in a non-intrusive manner.

¹⁵ I asked for permission to record the funerals that I attended from some family members, but it was not possible to consult each member of the family beforehand. Although those that I sought permission from would have been comfortable with me filming the funeral, I had to bear in mind those whom I had not consulted and who might find such recording intrusive and/or disrespectful. In addition, I became uncomfortable at the thought of filming people who are mourning, especially where it was a loss of a parent and the children were wailing. I also learnt after attending one funeral that some members of the Samia community, especially the less educated, do not want funerals of their loved ones recorded as this would be a constant, unwelcome reminder of their departed loved one. By contrast, at the baptism, naming and the weddings and introduction ceremonies, members of both communities were eager to have their ceremonies recorded, and they would request a copy of the recording from me. I attributed this difference to the fact that funerals are sombre ceremonies whereas the latter ceremonies (baptism, introductions, etc.) comprise happy moments that one would not mind keeping a record of.

Holloway (2005: 81), are writings about the experiences in the field. The researcher records what he/she observes about the social life and culture of the participants under study. Therefore, field notes act as reference points for the researcher later during the organizing and analysis of the data. Emphasizing the importance of field notes, Holloway (2005: 82) states that “every responsible researcher is expected to record their observation in form of field notes”. I thus took notes while visiting the markets, attending cultural ceremonies and observing the linguistic landscape. These notes were in form of an outline which I later expanded when I was organizing data for analysis. These notes later served as a reminder of certain observations made during the interviews, during visits to markets and while attending cultural ceremonies. Some of the notes I made during the individual interviews helped me later in constituting the groups of people to participate in the focus group discussions. Through the use of these notes, I was able to identify members that had the relevant information and that could contribute to the focus group discussions.

To add to observation data already collected from the ceremonies, I also visited some markets on both sides of the border. Because I am a member of one of the communities and have relatives in the other community, I have knowledge of the existing markets in these areas and the days on which they are the busiest. I thus selected two of the busiest markets on the Ugandan side and two of the busiest on the Kenyan side. These particular markets were selected because many people from both sides of the border go to buy and sell various items there. There are set market days in both Busia, Uganda and Busia, Kenya. On such days, Ugandans visit markets in Uganda but also cross the border to the Kenyan side, and Kenyans do likewise. Thus, these markets bring together people speaking different languages who have to find a common language in which to communicate. While in these markets, I heard different languages being spoken and also observed varying patterns of their use. I interacted with the sellers and buyers and inquired about their language practices and if there are any language problems that they face while attending these markets. The observations that I made in the different markets will be discussed in detail in chapters 5 and 6 when I discuss the data.

Apart from attending ceremonies and visiting markets, I also attended an annual cultural event, called “*esidialo*”. This is a special cultural event organized annually that brings together the Lusamia speakers from both sides of the border. It is held on 1st of January of every year and it is hosted alternately by the Ugandan and the Kenyan Samia. I had the opportunity to attend two of the events, one organised and hosted by the Kenyan community on 1st January 2015 and the other organised and hosted by the Ugandan community on 1st

January 2016. I attended these events to enrich my understanding of the social life of the Samia on both sides of the border, specifically their use of language(s) in the different spaces in which they find themselves. I was able to seek clarification from some of the members in attendance, including the cultural leaders, on issues that had arisen from the interviews already conducted and what I had observed during the ceremonies and in the linguistic landscape. I also took field notes at these two events that later aided me when I was carrying out more interviews. In addition, I also took photographs of the different activities that were taking place during the festival.

4.7.2. Linguistic landscaping

In order to complement the observational data from the cultural ceremonies, the markets and the other events in which the Samia engage, I also observed and took photographs of language displayed in the public space of both communities in order to investigate the ways in which displays of visual language contribute to the way space and place are constructed. This approach is more commonly referred to as “linguistic landscaping” by authors such as Backhaus (2007), Shohamy (2006) and Shohamy and Gorter (2008). While living in the two communities, I observed and took photographs of names of buildings, names of roads, public notices around the town and markets, names on small kiosks, names of schools, etc. I carried out Linguistic landscaping after the observations I made in the communities and after the interviews that I carried out. Thus the interpretations I make of the LL data are mostly backed by the data from the observational and interview data.

I found that a useful starting point when working with public signage was to build on the work of Stroud and Mpendukana (2009). These authors place language as used in public space into two categories, namely sites of necessity and sites of luxury. Sites of luxury are typically those which include signage “around products and services at the higher-end scale”, while sites of necessity often display signs lower in the “economic hierarchy” (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009: 367). There is a difference between sites of necessity and sites of luxury in terms of (i) the material used to make them and (ii) where the signposts are placed. For instance, signage in sites of luxury is produced using high-cost materials and usually comprises big billboards or screens for advertising supermarkets, car dealerships, etc. In contrast, signage in sites of necessity is often made from temporary and non-durable materials like cardboard or simple wood on which the name of a particular shop, school, etc. is painted. Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) have also added the category of sites of implosion to classify

sites where the distinction between luxury and necessity is not clear-cut. In the two communities, I observed all three sites described by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) but mainly the ‘sites of necessity’ given the sampled location. I took photographs of the public signage to ascertain how language used in public space is related to the way people in this community use language variedly. The findings on the language used in the public space in the towns of Busia, Uganda and Busia, Kenya are presented and discussed in chapter 6.

According to Holloway (2005), data from observations become the starting points for interviews. This held true for the present study: Whatever I did not understand or was not clear to me from and in my observations, I asked participants about during the interviews and obtained clarification in this manner. Next, I discuss interviews as another data collection method that I used to complement the data from the observations.

4.7.3 Interviews

Interviewing, according to Holloway (2005: 39), is the most commonly used data collection method in qualitative studies. This is because, through interviews, the participants are given a chance to describe their own experiences and views of the world. Burgess (1984: 102) refers to an interview as a “conversation with a purpose”. The main aim of using interviews in qualitative research, according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 1), is to enrich and capture explanations about participants’ lived experiences before the researcher draws any conclusions. This means that the participant is very important in this kind of inquiry. To emphasize the role of the participant as the source of information during the interviews, Holloway (2005: 39) observes that “the aim of the interview is to capture the participant’s own words, their thoughts, perceptions, feelings and experiences”. However, as Talmy (2010: 16) argues, themes uncovered through interview data are co-constructed by the researcher in interaction, and constitute not only “talk about Identity” but also the performance of identity. I thus view my interviews as not simply giving my insight into the identities of the speakers; rather, I am aware of the fact that interviews become another space where individuals could perform identities. I conducted two types of interviews: individual interviews and focus group discussions. I used an interview guide during both types of interviews. This guide was an outline of the different topics and themes that I needed to investigate and these were helpful in probing for responses, especially during the focus group discussions.

4.7.3.1. Individual interviews

A total of 50 individual interviews were conducted (see section 4.6 for the details on composition and selection of participants). These interviews had both structured and semi-structured parts. The interviews were used to collect data on the participants' identities, attitudes and perceptions towards their own language and the other language(s) with which they are in close contact, and the social interactions in which they engage in their various networks, both within and outside their communities. According to Milroy (1980), social networks can be used to account for variability in individual linguistic behavior in the communities. In this study, I thus asked about such social networks in order to discover with which different people the participants interact and to examine the effects that such interactions have on the construction of linguistic identities.

Once the local leaders introduced me to the participants, they ceased to be involved in the study; they did not sit in on any interviews. Some interviews were held in one homestead.¹⁶ Here, I interviewed some members of that homestead and others from neighboring homes. The other individual interviews were conducted in individual homes, in a convenient place inside or outside the house, as found for us by the person to be interviewed. This sometimes came with challenges as the participants obviously had various activities to perform throughout the day. Some participants needed to do household chores or grocery shopping or had to collect children from school. In an attempt to limit our interviews being interrupted by the above responsibilities that the participants had, I informed them beforehand of the day and time that I would prefer to visit them and checked whether this would suit them. This then gave the participants the opportunity to schedule their day accordingly.

On the Kenyan side of the border, there was one incidence in which I was busy interviewing a participant when the head of the household, his two sons and their wives arrived home together with two friends. They listened to a part of the interview, and became interested in the study. So after the interview, I explained to them the aim of the study, gave consent forms to those who could read, and explained the content of the consent form to those who could not read. They all signed the consent form and we started a group discussion.

¹⁶ In the Samia community, a father and his sons share a compound. When the sons get married, they set up home with the father. This means that a particular home can actually consist of many 'homes', each with its own head but all with one overall head, the father.

I conducted all interviews in Lusamia as I was dealing with people in the rural areas of Busia town, of whom few were educated (and, in the Samia communities, being educated is equated with, amongst others, the ability to speak English well). However, a small number of the participants could speak English, and there was Lusamia-English code switching during such interviews.

4.7.3.2. Focus group discussions

According to Stewart, Shamdasani and Rook (2007: 51), focus group discussions are conducted “to obtain specific types of information from a clearly identified set of individuals”. To follow up on the individual interviews, the same participants were organized into groups of between 10 and 12, and focus group discussions were held with the help of an interview guide. After the individual interviews, I would inform those participants I felt would contribute much to the group discussions that I would be calling them yet again to enquire about their willingness to take part in another interview, but this time in a group setting. Those participants who accepted were then later informed of the day, time and venue of the group interview, most of the time through their local leaders or friends.

According to Flick (2008), there are various ways of constituting focus groups. One thereof is to select participants who know each other or are related in some way (other than being involved in the same research study). Another is to select participants who do not know each other, who have never met and may not even do so again after the focus group discussion. The participants in the focus group discussions in the present study were a mixture of what Flick (2008) describes: some knew each other beforehand; others first met during the discussion. However, Holloway (2005) partly disagrees with Flick (2008) on the issue of selecting participants who already know each other, on grounds that although members of a focus group [should] share common experiences, they do not have to know each other. Four of the groups that I constituted consisted of people from only one side of the border and the fifth had a mixture of people from both sides of the border. Some participants in the latter group reserved comments and hesitated a lot before speaking (unlike in the case of the same-country groups), perhaps because they did not feel very free to air their views as they did not know many of the other group members. The hesitation by some of the members of the mixed group indicated to me something about group dynamics and identity. It thus seemed that following Flick's (2008) recommendation rather than that of Holloway (2005) was beneficial in the case of this study.

The focus groups took the form of unstructured interviews. According to Clark (2013: 171), “an unstructured interview can be more free-flowing and not tied to answering specific questions. This can help the researcher to gather more information than that obtained in the individual structured or semi-structured interview”. However, Clark (2013) notes that the unstructured interview has the disadvantage of the participants deviating or the researcher being carried away and losing sight of the objectives of the discussion. To counter that, I had some questions ready to assist me in bringing back the discussion to the main points of focus, but not so many that the interviews would be classified as semi-structured. The interviews were recorded using a digital audio recorder to save the time that online transcription would have taken and to enhance the accuracy of the information, as Creswell and Plano (2011) advise. These free discussions enabled me to obtain more, rich and varied data to supplement that obtained from the individual interviews. However, conducting group interviews is not a data collection method without limitations, as discussed below.

Limitations of focus group discussions

Focus group discussions, like any other data collection method, have limitations. Parahoo (1997) mentions the following obstacles to successful group discussion.

1. Some participants may be introverts while others are extroverts, and the extroverts may dominate the discussion. This could cause the researcher to lose useful information that would have been provided by the introverts, had they been given an opportunity to do so. This can obviously affect the outcome of the focus group discussion.
2. The environment in which the discussion is carried out can inhibit or foster successful group discussions. If the discussion is held in a noisy place, for instance near a road or market, then the participants may be distracted from time to time.
3. The recording device may be incapable of capturing the voices of participants who are not positioned very close to it.
4. The researcher may also have problems taking notes when many people are speaking, and as a result some important information may be left out.

In addition to the above limitations, Holloway (2005) points out that it is not easy to control focus groups, especially if the numbers are large, and transcription is far more difficult in the

case of large groups as some people's voices may not be loud enough to be captured audibly by the audio-recorder. Transcription and analysis of data obtained through focus groups can also be time consuming. In the case of the current study, the interviews were held in Lusamia, so I had to transcribe the Lusamia recordings after which I had to translate these transcripts into English. I then had to code and categorize the data into themes (see section 4.8 below).

I was aware of the above-mentioned limitations when I started the focus group discussions, so whenever there was one person dominating the discussion, I would tactfully ask another if they thought the same or had a different view. At times, I addressed participants who were very silent and encouraged them to express their views on or knowledge about the issue being discussed. This gave most participants an opportunity to get involved in the discussions. As regards the issue of some participants' voices not being captured by the audio recorder, I had a research assistant to help with me with recording and sometimes with taking notes. The research assistant would move the audio-recorder closer to the person who was speaking to ensure that all that was being discussed was captured. I was thus able to concentrate on the discussion; I only took down notes on the main points.

During the focus group discussions, the responses to the different questions the researcher raised did not differ much from those obtained from the individual interviews. The only difference was that the focus group discussions allowed room for addition of information by another participant to what someone had already said.

4.8. Data management and analysis

4.8.1. Introduction

In this section, I discuss how I managed and analysed the data that I collected, ranging from the way in which I stored the data to the way in which I organised it during data collection and after I had left the field. Once I had collected all the data that I thought was necessary to answer the research questions that I had posed at the beginning of the study, I had to organise the data and ensure that it was ready for analysis. I transcribed the interview and observation data, coded it, identified themes and later analysed the data using thematic analysis, as I explain in the next sections.

4.8.2. Transcription and translation

To organise the interview data I collected, I first listened to the audio recordings of the interviews (both individual and focus group discussions) and then transcribed what I heard

into Lusamia. I then translated these transcriptions into English to prepare them for analysis. To ensure quality in transcription and translation, I made use of a trusted professional transcriber and translator to check my transcriptions. As stated above, the interviews were conducted in Lusamia, because most of the participants did not speak English, and even the few who did were more comfortable being interviewed in Lusamia (with occasional switching to English). The other reason for conducting the interviews in Lusamia is that, as an ethnographer, I had to immerse myself in the community and speak the language of the community so that I would not be viewed as a stranger from the city who prefers to speak English. Following Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009: 180) recommendation for researchers to do their own transcriptions, I did the transcriptions myself, and this helped me to familiarize myself with my data and not to miss out on any relevant details that I would later need for analysis. I then watched the video recordings of the ceremonies and translated these into text. The recordings sometimes consisted of a mixture of two or three different languages. With the Samia community being found in Busia town which is multilingual, the ceremonies are sometimes held in more than one language. I thus ensured that all the data from these recordings was translated into English. The transcripts of the data from the interviews were stored separately from those from the recorded ceremonies. Later, these were compared with the field notes. These data were first coded and then analysed mainly using thematic analysis where the data is organised around central themes, as put forward by authors such as Starks and Trinidad (2007) and Braun and Clarke (2006).

4.8.3 Coding

After I had transcribed and translated all my data into English, I had to organize it in such a way that I would be able to easily identify certain portions of data that I would need as examples while writing up the dissertation. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) recommend that researchers go through their data several times so that they identify those data extracts that can be used to answer the research questions that were posed at the beginning of the study. I thus went through the data and I decided to use coding as a way of organizing my data. I created different codes which denoted certain portions of the data. A code, as defined by Saldana (2013: 3), is a “word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a salient attribute to a portion of data”. From this definition, it is evident that with the help of codes, the researcher is able to interpret certain portions of data based on the objectives that s/he set out to achieve. In this regard, I started to code my data during the process of transcription, translation and later when I was searching for themes from the data, as recommended by Bryman (2015). The

code had elements that indicated whether it was an individual interview, focus group discussion or observation, and also indicated from which side of the border (country) the relevant respondent came. For instance, for the individual interviews that I carried out with a respondent from the Kenyan side of the border, I coded as follows: IITKE1: This code can be read as: Individual interview transcript (IIT), Kenyan respondent (KE), respondent 1 (1). Another example of a code that I used is FGDTUG1: This could be read as: Focus group discussion transcript (FGDT), Ugandan respondents (UG), group 1. An example for a code for observation is as follows: OBTMKE1: This is read as: Observation transcript market (OBTM), Kenyan side of the border (KE), market 1 (see list of codes for more illustration). After coding several chunks of data, I was ready to identify and categorise the data into themes as discussed below.

4.8.4. Themes and theming

Thematic analysis, as defined by Braun and Clarke (2006: 79), is “a method for theming, identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. By description, a theme is “an outcome of coding and categorization” (Saldana, 2013: 14). It thus follows that themes are identified after coding and that the researcher reads through the codes over and over again so as to identify similar patterns that help to address the objectives that were set at the beginning of the study. After coding, as I explained in the previous section, I then embarked on the process of theming, which according to Bryman (2015) involves looking through data and giving names to certain portions of data that represent a certain aspect that is crucial to the study at hand. I identified two main themes; multilingualism as linguistic repertoire and language, specialization and identity. These main themes had subthemes that I used in the analysis. After the process of identifying the themes, I started the analysis, citing examples from my coded data from time to time (as discussed in detail in chapters 5 and 6).

During the writing of the data chapters, it was easy for me to move through the data and cite examples to build my arguments as all the data was coded and themed. I now move on to discuss how I analysed the data in more detail after all the coding and theming had been done.

4.8.5. Data analysis

Data analysis, according to Flick (2004: 4) involves “reducing big data sets to core elements or expanding small pieces of data by adding extensive interpretations”. Thus the process of data analysis involves organizing, providing structure and eliciting meaning from the data.

This process is done through different analytic procedures with the aim of turning the usually large amounts of data collected by the researcher into portions that can be easily understood by the other stakeholders in the study, as Gibbs (2007: 1) recommends. I used thematic analysis to analyse data in this particular study so as to represent the voices and experiences of the members of the Samia community that I studied. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 78), thematic analysis is compatible with the constructionist and postmodernist paradigms that inform this study, making it the most suitable method of analysis. Being a flexible method, I was able to give a detailed and rich account of the data that I collected. Authors like Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2003) and Creswell (2011) have criticised thematic analysis as a method that lacks clear guidelines on how exactly it is done, which means that it could be a case of “anything goes”. Another criticism by the same authors is that thematic analysis leaves out what may be important information and yet not salient, especially in the identification of themes, and yet researchers rely on the themes for analysis and the write-up of results. Despite the above limitations, Braun and Clarke (2006: 11) contend that thematic analysis is so far the most “useful in capturing the complexities of meaning within a textual data set”. It is thus well suited for an ethnographic study like this one which entailed studying and later representing the experiences of the members of the Samia community. Having discussed that manner in which the different data were collected, recorded, transcribed, coded and analysed, I now turn my focus to the ways in which I ensured that my findings were valid.

4.9. Validity

Authors such as Shenton (2004) note that there have been concerns about the validity of qualitative work. However, there are certain measures that can be taken to ensure that the data collected, the findings and the conclusions are valid. Woods (2006: 4) suggests three ways in which the validity of qualitative work can be enhanced. First, the methods used by the researcher should be those that leave the study situation as unperturbed as possible. In this regard, Woods (2006) calls on researchers to use methods like participant or non-participant observation, interviews or conversations and the use of key informants. In the current study, following the recommendations of Woods (2006), I observed members of the Samia community while they performed several cultural ceremonies, while in the markets and also while attending annual events, like *esidialo*. In addition, I conducted both individual and focus group discussions; these were in the form of unstructured interviews, as Woods (2006) suggests. I also employed purposive sampling to include key informants, those that I believed had the necessary information that I required to answer my research questions.

A second measure that Woods (2006) advances is that of using respondents who experience the phenomena that is under study, as a way of validating the findings. This is because it is assumed that those people who experience the phenomena under study will be in a better position to give valid information on the phenomena. Based on the above recommendation by Woods (2006), in my quest to find out how the Samia construct their different linguistic identities, I interviewed and observed only those in the two Busia towns who are speakers of the Samia language. As much as this criterion of getting information assists in validating one's findings, Woods (2006) notes that this measure may have the limitation of the researcher being caught up in the internal politics of the community. In this regard, as I explained in section 4.7.1, I was aware that I was an insider to the community and therefore always checked my potential biases.

Lastly, according to authors such as Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Woods (2006), triangulation is another way of ensuring validity of findings. As mentioned in earlier sections of this chapter, triangulation involves the use of different methods during data collection to ensure that adequate and accurate data are collected. For instance, in this study, I made observations at selected cultural ceremonies and markets and then followed up the observations with individual interviews. This was done to clarify some of the issues that I had observed; I needed to hear from the Lusamia speakers themselves if what I had observed was actually typical or at least representative and whether my interpretations of the observations were accurate. To further validate my observations, I followed up the individual interviews with focus group discussions and later compared all this data with the data that I obtained by means of linguistic landscaping. This process, referred to as structural corroboration by Eisner (1991: 110), is “a means through which multiple types of data are related to each other to support or contradict the interpretation and evaluation of the state of affairs”. Therefore, in the current study, I ensured validity of my findings through obtaining information from the members of the Samia community themselves and by employing different methods in data collection. These measures were applied both during data collection and data analysis.

Despite my conscious attempts to collect data in an academically justified, sound and professional way, the process was bound to come with some challenges. I discuss some of the challenges that I faced in the following section.

4.10. Challenges I faced during data collection and data analysis

I faced various challenges during data collection and analysis, and I will highlight some in this section. I will also discuss some of the measures that I took to counter some of these challenges. One challenge pertains to the cultural ceremonies. Despite being invited and introduced by the family members, I sometimes sensed some discomfort and questioning looks on the part of some of the other guests, especially when I started filming a particular ceremony. To counter this challenge, I asked my research assistant to pause the recordings a bit while I explain to the other guests that I am a student and that I am collecting data on the Samia people and their language for my PhD study. Because I am an insider to the community, I mostly knew at least some of the other guests at the ceremonies that I attended, and it is these people that I would ask to accompany me as I explained myself to the other guests. I would then be given the go ahead to continue filming the ceremony. Of course, that would have caused an interruption, which meant that I missed some parts of the ceremony. Nonetheless, these occurrences were minimal as I always sought permission to record the ceremonies from the families concerned beforehand. The way in which I compensated for the gaps in the recordings of some ceremonies was to attend more ceremonies than I had originally planned to attend. This meant that if I missed certain aspects of one ceremony, I could capture those aspects at other, similar ceremonies.

Another challenge that I faced was that of being an insider. As much as an insider has certain advantages (referred to in section 4.7.1 above) over someone who is from outside the community, being an insider still had its challenges. Sometimes I had to get involved during or after a ceremony, like an introduction ceremony,¹⁷ especially if it was for someone that I knew well. If I knew the family and/or their other guests, I would have to socialise with and talk to them at the ceremony. I would then have to remind myself that I am actually at the ceremony in my capacity as researcher and that I needed to get back to checking on my research assistant and taking field notes. As mentioned above, I had a number of ceremonies to choose from, so if I realised that I had missed out on certain aspects at a particular ceremony (due to having to act as a community member for certain periods during the ceremony and not just as a researcher), I would ensure that I captured all relevant aspects of

¹⁷ As explained in chapter 1, this is a ceremony during which the family of the groom is going to be introduced to the family of the bride. The ceremony is held at the bride's home, usually in the village (not the town).

another ceremony (especially where I had no contacts with the people at that ceremony), after which I would look at the two recordings and two sets of field notes to compare them.

During some of the interviews that I held at one of the local leader's homestead, the overall head of the home wanted to be around while I conducted some of the interviews. I sensed discomfort about this in the members of his household. What made the matter more complex is that he was the one who had introduced me to those being interviewed. I interviewed a few people in his presence but later requested him politely to excuse us. He understood my request and left us. From then on, I would always explain to the people who introduced me to participants that if they stayed, the people would not be comfortable, and this helped me to overcome this challenge.

The approach that I employed in this study also posed some challenges for me as a researcher. An ethnographic study, as explained in section 4.3 above, requires a lot of time in the field; I was supposed to live with the respondents for a long time to be able to fully understand their behaviour, especially as regards to how they use language in different situations. Given that my PhD programme was a funded three-year programme (after the three years, I would have had to fund my own studies, and my personal finances would not have allowed me to do so), I did not have all the time I would have liked to live in Busia so as to fully understand the members of the Samia community. I could only live with the Lusamia speakers for an uninterrupted period of six months, after which I kept going back from time to time, having consultations and attending some more ceremonies whenever I had a chance to do so. This means that I did not lose contact with the community and my participants after the six-month period; all through my data analysis and writing up of my findings, I kept in touch with the members of the Samia community. This helped me confirm certain issues that were still not very clear to me and allowed continuous consultations and clarification and confirmation of my interpretation of the data even during the data analysis and writing up phases of the study.

Another limitation to the study was that most of the Lusamia speakers who participated in the interviews expected payment for their participation, so as soon as they were requested to participate, they would ask how much they would be paid. From this, one could clearly see that other researchers had conducted studies in this community before me¹⁸ and that researchers from some organisations offered the participants money, before or after

¹⁸In the recent past, different Non-Governmental Organisations had been conducting research here, especially on health related issues like HIV and basic hygiene.

participating in interviews or filling out questionnaires. The local leaders that introduced me to the participants had to explain to the interview participants that I was a student and lacked sufficient research funds to pay them for their participation; that Busia is my home area (in the case of Busia, Uganda); and that, if they consented to participation, they should give me the necessary information that I needed without expecting payment as, through my study, the Samia people and their language would be read about and become known beyond the Samia community. On the Kenyan side of the border, the local leaders would explain to the participants that I was a daughter of their relatives from across the border and, since we are one people, they should avail to me the information that I needed without requesting payment. This explanation had to be given to the participants in both the individual and the focus group discussions. This of course was time consuming as the explanation had to be given to participants in the individual interviews individually – only in the case of the focus group discussions could the local leader address a group of them together. Since people in these communities respect their local leaders, I was able to carry out the interviews without paying the participants for their participation.

Organising and analysing the data that I collected was also another challenge that I faced. I had data from the interviews (both individual and focus group discussions), observations at cultural ceremonies, in the markets, at events held by members from both communities, recordings of different cultural ceremonies, etc. I had to transcribe the interviews which were in Lusamia and later translate them into English. This was a very tedious process. In theory, I could have employed someone to help me with the transcriptions, but, like I explained above, I had financial constraints and I also wanted to engage with the data that I had collected. In addition to transcribing the interviews, I had to turn the video recordings into text – sometimes it was in Lusamia, sometimes in Luganda, or sometimes in three different languages (as I explain in chapters 5 and 6), but I had to translate these into English before I could embark on writing. One challenge was that, although I speak all the languages present in the recordings, I am not a mother-tongue speaker of all of them/ I overcame this challenge by giving these transcriptions to experts in the different languages to ascertain whether they were accurate and later giving the English translations to them to ensure that I had translated accurately. This required good planning and was more time consuming than originally thought.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter made concrete the methodological approach adopted in the current study, highlighting ethnography as the main research strategy. Within ethnography, the more recent, but now widely used, Linguistic Ethnography (LE) was deemed most appropriate for this kind of study, where language is studied as it is used by people in their everyday social interactions. Issues of ethical clearance were discussed, starting with seeking permission from the concerned research bodies to seeking consent from the participants in the study. In ethnographic studies, there is use of social networks, where the one who knows the researcher introduces him/her to another person; in my case, I was an insider to the community, because Busia is my family's home town. Even so, I asked the local council leaders to introduce me to potential participants, and this helped me gain access to larger sections of the communities. In order to obtain data from those people who have the experiences that are of interest to my study, I used purposive sampling.

To ensure adequate and reliable data, triangulation was used: the two types of interviews supplemented the observations and linguistic landscaping. The data analysis took the form of thematic analysis, and as I analysed the data that I collected, two major themes emerged, namely (i) multilingualism as linguistic repertoire and (ii) language, specialisation and identity. I observed that the two communities under study are multilingual and the members of the two communities use different languages in the different spaces that they find themselves in. More than 90% of the people in these communities speak more than one language in the different interactions that they are engaged in both within and across the border. I divided up these broad themes into several sub-themes that further explain the main themes. In the next two chapters, data that supports the different subthemes is presented, interpreted, discussed and interpreted against existing theory as found in the literature.

CHAPTER FIVE

MULTILINGUALISM AS A LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first in which I present the data and discuss some salient findings. In this chapter, I discuss findings centred on one theme, that is, multilingualism as linguistic repertoire. The linguistic repertoires of my participants are such that it is difficult to isolate particular languages and/or varieties (although I do this to some extent in my discussion, to make certain points salient). Rather, the multiplicity of linguistic forms that my participants know – rather than the choice of particular language(s) – enables them to interact in a number of social situations. This is akin to the concept of multicompetence (Cook 2003), developed in psycholinguistics, which refers to knowledge of two or more languages in one mind. Cook (2003: 5) says the following about so-called multicompetent L2 users: “The L2 user has other uses for language than the monolingual” and the L2 users’ knowledge of both their L1 and their L2(s) is different from the knowledge of monolingual speakers of the same languages. Thus the linguistic varieties that make up the linguistic repertoire of the multilinguals in my study are different from that of monolinguals. So the difference is not only one of quantity; the linguistic repertoire also works differently in interaction. I discuss the fluid and complex nature of these repertoires, as well as the incompleteness of knowledge of various languages. These two points are not mutually exclusive; in fact, they are interconnected and are complementary in helping us to understand the complex nature of multilingualism as linguistic repertoire. My point of departure for this chapter is Busch’s concept of the linguistic repertoire. Busch (2015: 2) suggests that the linguistic repertoire can be investigated from a third-person perspective where the focus is on how “speakers interact by means of language”, a second-person perspective, which focuses “on how they become constituted as speaking subjects through language”, and lastly a first-person perspective which focuses “on how they live language as a subjective experience”. Although my study is grounded in linguistic ethnography and can at first glance be seen as taking only a third-person perspective (through observations), the variety of methods which I used allows me to explore the linguistic repertoire from all of the above-mentioned perspectives. I use data from the interviews, which can be regarded as giving a first-person perspective, as participants reflected on their own experiences. Secondly, I take a third-person perspective in that I draw on my observations and field notes. I also take a second-person perspective in that I investigate how the linguistic

landscape constitutes “speaking subjects” (Busch, 2015: 2) in the area in which I collected my data.

In this study, I employed the deductive method of identifying themes, as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), where the data that I collected determined which themes I created. I looked at my data in relation to the research questions. I then coded the data, after which, as explained in the previous chapter, I embarked on the process of theming, which involves looking through data and giving names to certain portions of data that represent a certain aspect that is crucial to the study at hand (Bryman, 2015). The themes that I identified had various subthemes: The theme, Multilingualism as linguistic repertoire had two subthemes: Fluid and complex linguistic repertoires of Lusamia speakers and Incompleteness of knowledge of languages. The theme, Language, Spacialisation and Identity had the following subthemes: The border as constituting identity, Linguistic practices of the Samia and Contact of the Samia speakers with speakers of other languages. I then used these themes and subthemes as a guide in analyzing my data, as discussed in the following sections of this chapter and later in chapter 6. I will give examples from the data which are representative of the larger data set.

5.2 Fluid and complex linguistic repertoires of Lusamia speakers

Lusamia speakers on both sides of the national border are indisputably multilingual. Out of the 50 Samia speakers that I interviewed individually, 90% reported speaking more than one language. For instance, 20 of the 25 Ugandan individual interview participants reported knowledge of Luganda¹⁹, 2 of Lusoga, 20 of Swahili, and only 3 of English. On the Kenyan side of the border, the linguistic situation is somewhat different from what I observed on the Ugandan side. Although both communities are multilingual, the particular linguistic resources in their repertoires differ. For instance, all the 25 Kenyan participants that I interviewed individually reported that they spoke Swahili, 4 mentioned that they had knowledge of English, 10 that they speak Luhayo, and 1 that s/he has knowledge of Lumataki; and 90% said they had knowledge of the Ugandan Lusamia.²⁰ One, perhaps surprising, finding is that only a

¹⁹ Some said they could speak Luganda; others said they could understand Luganda but not speak it; and yet others said they spoke a little or understood a little Luganda. Whatever the case, I will follow what Blommaert et al (2005) suggest about a speaker not having to be fluent in all the languages in their repertoire, and that even languages in which a speaker has limited proficiency are viewed as part of the speaker’s linguistic repertoire. Details of this discussion occur in section 5.3.

²⁰ More than half of the respondents from both Uganda and Kenya agreed that the Lusamia spoken in Uganda and that spoken in Kenya differ in pronunciation, word choice and general grammatical

small percentage of the respondents on both sides of the border reported knowledge of English, which is the official language of both Uganda and Kenya. Although research elsewhere alerts one to the fact that there is no guarantee that an official language is necessarily spoken by the majority of the inhabitants of a specific country (e.g., Mpuga, 2003; Namyalo and Nakayiza, 2015), it would be assumed that the majority of the Samia on either side of the border would report knowledge of English, even if only partial knowledge. This is not the case, because this study (as mentioned in chapter 1) focused on speakers of Samia who live in the rural areas around the border of Uganda and Kenya. In these areas, 90% of the people that I interviewed indicated that they had not received formal schooling, and in these countries English is mainly acquired through formal education. Thus, most individuals in rural areas have only limited knowledge of English.²¹

Apart from the languages mentioned above, there are others spoken in the Samia community. (I will discuss the details thereof in section 6.4 under the subtheme ‘contact of Samia with speakers of other languages’). At first glance already, just from providing the responses of Lusamia speakers on the question of how many languages they speak, it is evident that they have various linguistic resources within their linguistic repertoires. The differences in the linguistic repertoires of those who live on the Ugandan side and those who live on the Kenyan side can be explained by investigating the role of mobility and space in the linguistic repertoire (see, for example, Banda, 2010; Blommaert et al., 2005; Blommaert and Backus, 2012; and Busch, 2012 who all elaborate on this idea). This particular aspect of the linguistic repertoire will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. A cursory mention of these factors are however necessary here to explain these differences. The differences in the particular make-up of the linguistic repertoires can be attributed to the spaces in which they move and the people with whom they interact in these spaces – hence, for example, the prominence of Swahili in the repertoires of Kenyans, whereas Swahili is much less dominant in the repertoires of Ugandans. The everyday encounter is thus key in influencing the linguistic choices that these speakers make in multilingual contexts and ultimately in the formation of linguistic repertoires. Apart from interaction, speakers’ own ideologies and interpretations of the situation will also determine the linguistic choices that they make (Hymes, 1977: 31). In other words, as Blommaert (2009: 427) points out, “speakers have their own views about

structure. This argument means that, at least in the minds of its speakers, there are two varieties of Lusamia which will be used differently as the situation demands.

²¹ Those who are educated do not live in the rural areas; they either move to the capital city (Kampala for Uganda and Nairobi for Kenya) or go to Busia town.

their own languages and those of others”. For instance, during one of the focus group discussions on the Ugandan side of the border, one of the participants code switched between Lusamia and English whenever she had something to contribute as illustrated below:

I asked participants what they appreciated about the Kenyans (trying to establish the attitudes and perceptions that the Samia speakers have towards others). Below is the response of one of the participants in Samia:²²

Esindu simbekombaho esilayi, bali DEVELOPMENTAL [English], CHANGE [English word] yiriwo ehongo niwewunja e Kenya nende eweffe e Uganda. Bali namachi ka TANK [English]. Kata omundu naba natesobola muno, niwewunja enyumba kyabwe, echihira chiri PERMANENT HOUSES [English].

What I admire about the Kenyans is that they are developmental [English], there is a big change [difference] [English] when you look at Kenya and here in Uganda. The Kenyans have tank [English] water. Even if one is poor, when you look at their houses, most of them are permanent houses [English words].

(FGDTUG1)

One may ask why this participant uses English, especially, since the participant admittedly only speaks a little English and knows that I speak Samia. One possibility could be that this speaker is aware that it is prestigious to speak English and she is aware that the interviewer is a researcher, who is educated and thus has proficiency in English. The respondent thus wants to identify with the elite class represented here by me, the interviewer. She is also aware of the context of this interview. I had introduced myself as a student and the medium of instruction in education in Uganda is English (Mpuga, 2003; Nakayiza, 2013). So since we could be seen to be in a type of educational setting, it was only appropriate that she uses English at some point. This respondent could not speak only English during the interview, because she indicated at the beginning of the interview that she spoke only a little English.²³

²² In the excerpts, I use bold italicised text for the participants’ utterance and non-bold italicised text for the English translation thereof. Where words in a language other than the predominant language of the utterance are used, I place these in small capital letters and indicate in square brackets the language concerned. Explanatory comments are also placed in square brackets.

²³ This proposition is reflected in many other findings that I present, because the interviews were carried out in Lusamia and most cultural ceremonies were also conducted in Lusamia. In some cases, other languages like Luganda, Swahili, English, Kinyore and Lusoga were used, but their use was

One possible interpretation of this snippet of data is that we find evidence of how language ideologies influence interactions, and conversely how participants shape these interactions: Because the participants interacted with me specifically (and viewed me as educated and thus proficient in English), they drew on this part of their linguistic repertoires during our interactions (see Appendix I for more interaction in one of the focus groups on the Ugandan side of the border).

Everyday interaction, as well as historical interaction (such as colonialism), both shape linguistic repertoires. For example, those who speak English do so because English is an official language, a remnant of the colonial past, whereas some speak particular languages because of intermarriage. Thus Busch's (2012: 19) view that other, earlier discourses influence the linguistic repertoire finds evidence from this context. Other historical processes, such as policy making, influence language ideologies and the languages that people speak. The national language policy of Kenya makes provision for English and Swahili as official languages and Swahili as national language (Attorney General, 2010; Kibui, 2014), whereas that of Uganda makes provision for English as official language (Katamba, 2006; Ladefoged, 1971; Mpuga, 2003). As mentioned in previous sections, Uganda does not have a national language.

Other social interactions which shape the linguistic repertoire are contact in market places, for example, which necessitates the use of linguistic resources other than, in this case, Samia and the official and national languages. Not only do these linguistic varieties become part of the linguistic repertoire; they also influence the use of existing codes in the repertoire. As seen in section 2.3.1, 'practice' is "a series of actions that make up our daily lives (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004: 377). As speakers engage in different social activities daily, they are continuously making linguistic choices as they interact with others. In the interviews I found that speakers seamlessly used words from other languages, indicative of the kinds of everyday interactions they have with speakers of other languages. For instance, when I asked one Ugandan participant what activities she engaged in daily, she had this to say in Lusamia:

Nimaho, ndakeniyaho abeho nabecha, olundi ndacha mu SOKONI [Swahili word for 'market']

I dig, I visit relatives and friends, and sometimes I go to the market [Swahili].

limited compared to Lusamia. This is partly explained by the fact that the study was carried out mainly in the rural areas of Busia town as justified in chapter 1.

(IITUG5)

In another individual interview, I asked a Ugandan participant whether he habitually crossed the border and, if he did, what he went to do across the border. Below was the response:

Yi. Ninja mba njire okulayo nga amafuta, handi nyala ohuyirahoyo amadimwa OBA
[Luganda word for 'or'] *obule*.

Yes. When I go across the border, I go to buy some paraffin, and I can also take some maize or [Luganda] millet.

(IITUG12)

The Ugandan participant in the second example above uses a word from Luganda (the most widely spoken language in Uganda, as mentioned earlier). The reason is the regular contact that Samia speakers in Uganda have had with speakers of Luganda in their various interactions within and outside their communities.

The Samia on the Kenyan side of the border also use words of other languages while speaking Lusamia. This was exemplified when I asked participants in one of the focus group discussions held on the Kenyan side of the border how they were treated by the Samia in Uganda when they crossed the border. This was the response of one of the participants in Lusamia:

Bawuma ESHIDA [Swahili word for 'problem'], *n'ochayo owulirasa bilayi*

They do not have a problem [Swahili], when you go there [to the Ugandan side of the border], you just feel OK.

(FGDTKE1)

The Kenyan participant above is responding to me in Lusamia but chooses the Swahili word *ESHIDA* for 'problem' instead of the Lusamia word *obudinyu*. Similar to the example from the Ugandan side of the border, this participant uses the Swahili word because of the influence of Swahili on him as a Samia speaker living in Kenya where Swahili is widely spoken. To further exemplify the use of words from other languages when speaking Lusamia, I provide a response from a participant on the Kenyan side of the border. I asked him to tell me about the different cultural ceremonies that are conducted out in Kenya among the Samia. Below is his response in Lusamia:

Waliwo KAMA [Swahili word for 'such as'] *engannyo, nanu balanga bati, MAKUMBUSHO* [Swahili word for 'remembrance'], *ndabonanga abandu nibacha ohudehia nga bahwesa omuhana, endaalo chino, mukendasa bilayi nimuwawo.*

There are [ceremonies] such as [Swahili] last funeral rites, now they call it, 'remembrance' [Swahili], I used to see when people want to marry a girl, they would pull her, but these days, you just go well.²⁴

(IITKE6)

In the above example, the Lusamia-speaking Kenyan participant uses the Swahili word *KAMA* for 'such as' and *MAKUMBUSHO* for 'remembrance'. We thus see a case of using words from other languages, in this case Swahili, because, as noted earlier, it is both the national and the other official language of Kenya. Thus, Swahili words are also used because the speakers of Lusamia (being in contact with speakers of other languages) often use Swahili as lingua franca. If one considers these examples from a historical and spatial perspective, one could argue that they are reflective of what Sankoff (2002) asserts about multilingual language contact situations: When speakers are in contact with speakers of other languages, the result may be morphological changes in the different languages, especially where a language is used as lingua franca. In this study, I do not explain the details of the different changes that take place in the Samia language due to contact with other languages. My main focus is how this contact leads to the construction of linguistic identities as the speakers learn and use different languages variedly.

From a historical and spatial perspective, but one that is grounded in linguistic *practices*, one could interpret this alternatively as translanguaging, that rather than seeing this as language contact (one language with clearly definable boundaries influencing the other), this is a case of a seamless flow between varieties. Wei (2011: 1222) views translanguaging as creating “a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience”. This view of Wei (2011) seems to capture the social interactional data. This point I will return to later on in this chapter.

From the findings of this study, the overall visible effect of contact of speakers of different languages in the Samia community is emergence of a multilingual community in which more

²⁴ In the past, when a man identified a woman to marry, he would mobilise his male friends and relatives, and they would wait for the woman at the well or when she is collecting firewood. They would then take her to the man's home by force, sometimes she would be beaten if she resisted. After she was at the man's home, the parents would then be informed and negotiations would begin, after which the necessary payments would be made, and that marked the beginning of that marriage. It is against this backdrop that the respondent says, “... these days, you just go well”, implying that currently, it is done more peacefully now than in the past.

than 80% of the members speak more than one language. In the Samia community under study, we see individuals as multilingual and generally the whole community as well (that is, both individual and societal multilingualism). This confirms observations made by scholars like Cenoz (2013) and Sridhar (1996) who note that, in most of the multilingual societies, there is evidence of both individual and societal multilingualism. It further supports scholars of African multilingualism that states that in Africa multilingual communities live alongside each other (Banda 2009).

I had already confirmed that individuals in the Samia communities are multilingual, as in seen at the beginning of this section. I then needed to find out about societal multilingualism. To ascertain this from the members of the community themselves, I posed a question during the interviews about what other languages the participants heard being spoken in their areas. In Table 2 below is a summary of their responses. The table reflects the fact that different languages are spoken in the Samia community, thus that societal multilingualism is present. Thus, both individual Samias and the Samia community are multilingual.

Ugandan side of the border	Kenyan side of the border
English	English
Lusamia of Kenya	Swahili
Luhayo	Lusamia of Uganda
Swahili	Luhayo
Luganda	Lumataki
Lusoga	Gikuyu
Ateso	Luluya
Karimojong	Jaluo
Lugwere	Kinyore
Lugisu	Lunyolo
	Lubukusu

Table 2: Sample of languages spoken in the Samia community (as reported during individual interviews)

The above examples are from the interviews that I conducted; however, as this study followed a triangulation approach in data collection, I now draw on examples from my own observation in this regard. This is to further illustrate the notion of multilingualism as linguistic repertoire – further confirmation that the usage of different languages in the Samia community eventually leads to the construction of different linguistic identities. I attended a baptism ceremony on the Ugandan side of the border and made the following observation:

As the reverend and the choir entered the church at the start of the service, the song that ushered them in was in Luganda. When they were already inside, the reverend instructed the congregation in Lusamia, “*Mubwihule olupapula bibiri mw’asatu*” ‘Open page two hundred and thirty’. Then a Luganda Bible is read (of course in Luganda). All the prayers are made in Luganda, because they are reading from a Luganda prayer book. The whole baptism ceremony is in Luganda, except for a few jokes that the reverend makes, especially when he is asking for the names of the children being baptised. For instance, when he is asking for the child’s name, he says, “*MUTUME OMWANA ONO ELINNYA*” [Luganda] ‘Give this child a name’. During offertory and thanksgiving, a Lusamia song is sung. The preacher [who is different from the reverend who has been baptising] speaks Lusamia and English, most of the time switching from one language to another.

(OTBUG1)

Just like in the previous examples, multilingualism is evident in this example. Three languages are used in this case, that is, Lusamia, Luganda and English. Luganda is used all through the prayers and reading of the scriptures, because Lusamia is not a written language, so the church in the Samia community (on the Ugandan side of the border) relies on the Luganda Bible, Luganda hymn books and Luganda prayer books. However, during preaching, the clergy try to use Lusamia as much as possible. They can however not preach entirely in Lusamia. Because most of the clergy are educated, they tend to use English as well. Also, sometimes they use English because they have noticed people in the church service that they assume or know do not speak Lusamia (recall that the Samia community is multilingual) and the clergy want whoever is in attendance to understand the message that they are preaching. What is interesting is that, during offertory and thanksgiving, a Lusamia hymn (and not a Luganda one) is sung. This could be to signal identity of the Samia people – because, as Gee (1999) observes, people constitute themselves through language, that is, language signals membership to certain groups. So although the sermon and all related activities have been taking place in mostly Luganda and English, at the point of offertory, the choir sings a Lusamia hymn. The only reason why they are using Luganda religious materials is because

these materials are not available in Lusamia since, as mentioned earlier, it is not a written language.

Having observed the situation on the Ugandan side of the border, I was interested in finding out what happens on the Kenyan side of the border. I would not have assumed that the situation is the same since different multilingual environments manifest multilingualism differently, as mentioned in earlier in this chapter. In addition, the current study is considering two communities, thus there is need to see what the linguistic situation is like for the same ceremony but on the other side of the border. To achieve this, I attended a baptism ceremony, this time on the Kenyan side of the border, and below is what I observed:

In the Catholic Church, the mass started off with a Lusamia hymn; however, the readings were taken from a Kinyore²⁵ Bible, and the hymn and prayer books were also written in Kinyore. The preaching was done in Kinyore with the priest switching a few times to Lusamia and Swahili. When it was time for the actual baptism ceremony, the parents brought the children forward, and the priest would say certain words in Kinyore (as written in the prayer book) and then ask the parents in Lusamia, “*Omwana wuno niye nanu?*” ‘What is the name of this child? The parents would then answer in Lusamia. While the actual baptism is going on, the Kinyore hymns are used interchangeably with songs in Swahili and Lusamia by the choir. During offertory, a Lusamia song was sang and later a Kinyore hymn as the priests and the choir moved out at the end of the mass.

(OTBKE1)

From my observation above, three different languages are used. As I mentioned in the example of the baptism ceremony on the Ugandan side of the border, the Catholic Church on the Kenyan side of the border also looks to other languages (in this case Kinyore) for a Bible, prayer book and hymn book. Despite using Kinyore, the priest bears in mind that this is a multilingual community and speaks Swahili from time to time. One could argue that in order to signal the Samia identity, the asking of the child’s name is done in Lusamia to emphasise that, although Kinyore is being used, the community to which these children belong is a Samia one. Language use as noted by Blommaert et al. (2005: 205) is affected by the situation in which speakers find themselves. This assertion confirms what earlier authors such as Milroy (1992) and Hymes (1974) argue about languages being used variedly. Based on the above observation that I made, I agree with the authors above because different languages (like Lusamia, Kinyore and Swahili) are being used variedly in the different ‘parts’ of the

²⁵ Kinyore is one of the languages in the Luhya language family to which Lusamia spoken in Kenya belongs. The Catholic Church in the Samia community on the Kenyan side of the border relies on the Kinyore religious materials since Lusamia is not written.

baptism ceremony. For instance, the prayers are said in Kinyore and the preaching also takes place in this language. But when it comes to the actual baptising of the children, the priest asks for the name of the child in Lusamia. Yet still, Swahili is also used in some cases, for instance, to make a few jokes during the preaching.

Unlike on the Ugandan side of the border where the linguistic situation is the same in both the Catholic and Protestant Church, on the Kenyan side of the border, there are some variations in language use. I thus also observed a baptism ceremony in the Protestant Church on the Kenyan side of the border and below is what I observed:

The baptism service started with hymns mostly in Swahili and the Bible readings were also done in Swahili (from a Swahili Bible), because like I mentioned earlier, Lusamia is not a written language and this means that the Bible that is available and that can be understood by the majority of the people in that area is the Bible written in Swahili. The priest started preaching in Swahili, but he would make a few jokes in Lusamia. If a parent did not respond to being asked the name of the child in Swahili, the priest would repeat the question to the parent in Lusamia. Towards the end of the mass, a few Lusamia hymns were sung, especially during offertory and when the priests and the choir were moving out of the church.

(OTBKE2)

Recall from the observation on the Ugandan side of the border (OTBUG1) that the readings during the baptism ceremony were done in Luganda. By contrast, from the observation on the Kenyan side from the Catholic Church, the Bible, hymn books and prayer books were written in Kinyore. Here in the observation in the Protestant church, the Bible, hymn books and prayer books are in Swahili and the preaching is also done in Swahili. What is similar in all the three ceremonies, regardless of which side of the border, is that Lusamia is used. The difference is that, on the Ugandan side of the border, English is sometimes used, which I did not see happening on the Kenyan side of the border. This is perhaps because Swahili is the lingua franca in Kenya, and it is assumed that whoever is in the congregation understands Swahili. This is unlike on the Ugandan side of the border, where Luganda (which is thought to be the lingua franca) is not known by everyone.

In the two examples of baptism ceremonies on the Kenyan side of the border (OTBKE1 and OTBKE2), we see that Quane's (2009) assertion above does not just apply to different countries. In the case in point, it is the same ceremony in the same country, but we observe different linguistic situations. I asked participants why in the Catholic Church Kinyore is mostly used unlike in the Protestant Church where Swahili is mostly used. I was told by some of the participants in the interviews that the Catholic Church is conservative and they have

continued to use Kinyore which was used in the past. In addition, in the Catholic Church, it is only the priests who are ordained who preach, and so whoever is invited to preach in a particular church will have knowledge of Kinyore. By contrast, the Protestant Church is “flexible” and they embraced Swahili as lingua franca and therefore are comfortable preaching in it and using the Swahili prayer and hymn books. Another reason for use of Swahili is that sometimes people who are not Samia are invited to preach, and Swahili then becomes the common language between the visiting preacher and the congregation. However, I noted that this is not a generalisation that can be made of all the Catholic and Protestant Churches; there are exceptions to this rule.

On further observation of another ceremony, there was more evidence that multilingualism is part of speakers’ repertoire in the Samia community. I observed two naming ceremonies, one on either side of the border. On the Ugandan side of the border, the ceremony started at about 7am. Several people were invited, especially close relatives, but most importantly, some clan leaders had to attend. During the ceremony, the child being named was placed at the entrance of his father’s house, a chicken was slaughtered and it was passed around the child’s head three times while saying the following words:

Hukulihe baaba, niwe Otukei, ohutula olwaleero, niwe baaba weffe, otasumbuwa abandu mudaala muno.

I have named you my father, you are called Otukei, from today onwards, you are our father, do not disturb anyone in this home.

(OTNUG1)

After that, the members present were served food and they disperse after sharing the meal. On the Kenyan side of the border, less people are invited, but the procedure is more or less the same. The following words are uttered as the chicken is being passed around the child’s head:

SASA [Swahili word for ‘now’], ***niwe laata weffe mungo muno, ni waliwo ESHIDA*** [Swahili word for ‘problem’], ***niwe otukolola. nanu huhusaba ofukirire eliita lino.***

Now [Swahili], you are our father in this home, if there is a problem [Swahili], you are the one to guide us. Now we ask you to accept this name.

(OTNKE1)

Similar to the Ugandan side of the border, those present are served a meal consisting of the local millet bread (*obusuma*) and chicken, specifically the chicken that was passed around the child’s head (the chicken having been roasted, not cooked as shown in figure 2 below).



Figure 2: Practices during naming ceremony

Looking at the excerpts above, the words said during the naming ceremonies on the two sides of the border do not differ much. What is visibly different is the use of Swahili words by the Samia on the Kenyan side of the border: *SASA* for ‘now’ and *ESHIDA* for ‘problem’, with the latter word also occurring in a previous example. These are Swahili words that are known by the Samia; however, in this case, they are specific to the naming ceremony taking place, presupposing what Blommaert et al. (2005: 203) point out that “knowledge of language is rooted in situation and dynamically distributed across individuals as they engage in practices”. However, this is a cultural ceremony and we would have expected only Lusamia to be used. This expectation is only borne out on the Ugandan side of the border. On the Kenyan side, Swahili has become part of the Samia speakers’ culture to such an extent that it is almost impossible for the Kenyan Samia to speak Lusamia without code mixing with some Swahili. This variation in language use among the two groups of Samia would be dialectal according to Biber (1995: 1). In this particular example, it is geographical since the two groups of people are found in different geographical locations. I will however not delve into the dynamics of languages and dialects since, as I said at the start of this dissertation, I will consider Lusamia of Uganda and Lusamia of Kenya as two languages.

On inquiring during the interviews with participants on either side of the border about funerals, I was told that language use during funerals is not significantly different from

language used in everyday interactions. I asked the participants directly if there was any special language used during funerals. The participants noted that mostly the same language is used, although there may be some differences. In fact, they pointed out that some of the words at a funeral would not be used at a wedding. To me, these propositions were indicative of Milroy's (1992) presumption that speakers will vary their language use depending on the situation they are in. This presumption is true for the different cultural ceremonies performed by the Samia, including funerals. Lusamia may be used at the funeral, but we do not expect the same words and sentence constructions to be used. In this regard, 15 of the 25 participants in the interviews on the Ugandan side of the border asserted that the language used at funerals was the same as that used in their daily interactions; however, they noted that there may be some slight differences given the context. The other 10 participants felt that it was different usage of language because it is a sad moment and the language also changes to suit the situation.

As much as the above examples from both the interviews and the observations I carried out show that the Samia speakers are multilingual as well as the Samia community, not all the speakers of Samia have complete knowledge of all the languages spoken in the community. I thus explore this notion of “incompleteness” in the next section.

5.3 Incompleteness of knowledge of languages

Even though the participants identified discrete languages when asked about the languages they hear around them, from the interviews it emerged that knowledge of language(s) was often not complete. From my sample, 20% of the interviewed respondents acknowledged that they speak a little English, a little Lusoga and/or said, “I try Swahili.” Authors like Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou (2009) argue that, whether an individual speaks two or more languages fluently or does not reach the same degree of perfection in all the languages in his repertoire, it is still a state of multilingualism. In agreement with the above authors, Franceschini (2009: 33) holds that, in public discourse, especially in multilingual settings, one's knowledge of different languages is relative. One does not need perfect knowledge in the different languages for them to be considered as existent in one's repertoire. In this sense, knowledge of a language is viewed from the functional and practical perspective, rather than from the mastery of grammatical rules. The above view held by authors such as Psaltou-Joycey and Kantaridou (2009) and Franceschini (2009) is premised on the argument that not even a native speaker of English may know all the different registers in English (for instance,

‘legalese’) and yet s/he knows the English language well, apart from this particular register. In this case, the Samia speakers have knowledge of different languages, although they may not have native-like knowledge of the languages. For instance, a Samia speaker will have knowledge of Lusamia, Swahili (especially in the case of Kenya – because it is both the official and national language), Luganda (especially in Uganda – because it is the language of wider communication), another language spoken in the neighbourhood and possibly a little English (as was suggested by some respondents and evidenced through code switching during the interviews). Thus, even without complete knowledge of the mentioned languages, the Samia speakers are able to use these languages when the situation demands.

This finding is in line with the recent development of theoretical concepts to describe this “incompleteness” of linguistic repertoires. These concepts include “truncated multilingualism”, translanguaging and code-meshing and transidiomaticity (Baker, 2011; Blommaert et al, 2005; Cook, 1999; Jacquemet, 2005) as well as the re-emergence of concepts such as heteroglossia and metrolingualism (See Chapter 3, section 3.5 for more information). Blommaert et al., for example (2005) are of the view that multilingualism should not be defined in terms of speakers having full competence in the different languages in their repertoire, but rather, what should be emphasised is being able to communicate using these languages in the different situations that prevail. Blommaert et al., (2005) refer to this notion as ‘truncated multilingualism’ which entails speakers having linguistic competencies which are geared towards specific situations (domains or activities) (Blommaert et al, 2005: 199). In the case of the Samia under study, the speakers have some knowledge of the different languages in their repertoire and only put to use what is required in a particular situation. Thus, despite not having full competence in certain languages, the Samia speakers can use these languages when the situation demands. To counteract the incompleteness in the knowledge of the different languages in their repertoire, the Samia speakers adopt various strategies in order to communicate in different situations which would have required their full competence of the languages. One such a strategy as observed by Henzl (1973: 2017) is adjusting their linguistic forms to what they think their listeners will easily understand. They may adjust their choice of words, the way they pronounce certain words or the general grammatical structure of the language. Blommaert et al. (2005) do also make provisions for the fact that in some spaces having this “incomplete” knowledge is not enough. This I also found in my observational data and in my interview data. For instance, during the interviews on the Kenyan side of the border, one of the participants said in Lusamia:

Nomanomaho Oluganda ludidi, nanu ninyambuha e Buganda, mbulira koti ali syengene hulwohuba manyire emboosi ndidi.

I speak a little Luganda and when I cross the border to Uganda, I feel excluded when people speak it because I only know a few words.

(IITKE8)

Apart from the data from the interviews, data from observations of selected cultural ceremonies also has indications of incompleteness in knowledge of the different languages in the speakers' repertoire, this is the case not only for informal interactions, but also in more formal interactions. For instance, I observed a baptism ceremony in church on the Ugandan side of the border (see OTBUG1 in section 5.2). From my observation, I found out that the priests are aware of the incompleteness in the availability of Lusamia religious materials. As a result, they draw on other especially Luganda religious materials to cover this gap. Lusamia is not written and there was no bible in Lusamia until recently when only the New Testament has been translated into Lusamia. But this translated section of the BIBLE is not agreed upon by all since Lusamia does not have a standard orthography and speakers of some dialects feel they were not well represented. At this particular ceremony, the priests made use of the Luganda Bible, prayer books and hymn books. Thus, being aware of the incompleteness in knowledge of some languages or absence of materials in some languages helps speakers to draw on the known or available languages so as to communicate effectively.

This heteroglossic meaning-making is found in other formal ceremonies as well. Below is an excerpt from one of the introduction ceremonies that I attended on the Ugandan side of the border. This excerpt is specifically from that time in the ceremony when the sisters of the groom have identified their sister-in-law and are supposed to deliver a message to her from their brother, the groom.²⁶ The bride sits in the compound with her friends. The sisters of the groom come with a basket(s) of flowers and other items (such as fruit), identify her and speak to her on behalf of their brother while explaining whatever they are carrying in the basket(s) (see figure 3 below for the basket and its contents).

²⁶ During the introduction ceremony, the groom comes to the home of his future wife's parents accompanied by his friends and relatives. Several rituals and activities are carried out. One of these is the identification of the bride by the groom's sisters.



Figure 3: Basket used during introduction ceremony

After identifying the bride, the sisters to the groom then start to speak to her while describing the items above in the basket.

YOU ARE SO GORGEOUS; YOU ARE SO LOVELY; YOU ARE THE BEST GIFT THAT KEN HAS MET [English sentences]. [Turns to the basket that contains different items, including flowers and fruits (see Figure 3 below). The sisters have to introduce whatever is in the basket.] ***Niwe amabanga kaye; huletere ha BASKET*** [English word] ***hano – mulimo APPLE*** [English word]; ***abolere ati hubolere – YOU ARE THE APPLE OF HIS EYE*** [English clause]. ***Abolere ati ohanyanye ha APPLE*** [English word], ***hahulinde sikini.***

[Another sister adds:] ***Huletere esibo sino – mulimo ebyohungwa bingi – biri DIFFERENT*** [English word]. ***Abolere ati oli SWEET*** [English word]; ***oli FANTASTIC*** [English word]; ***oli INTELLIGENT*** [English word]. ***OGONDA NGA AMENVU*** [Luganda sentence]; ***Oli mu MUSAYI*** [Luganda word] ***kwaye. Otula engo wengwe enyanga yino PAKA*** [Swahili word] ***ohufa.***

You are so gorgeous; you are so lovely; you are the best gift that Ken [the groom] has met [English sentences]. [Starts to explain the content of the basket.] *You are his blood. I have brought for you this basket* [English word]. *There are apples* [English word]; *he says, you are the apple of his eye* [English clause]. *He said that you should eat this apple* [English word] *and it keeps your skin glowing.*

[Next sister:] *I have brought for you this basket, there are many different* [English word] *drinks. He said that you are sweet* [English word], *you are fantastic* [English word], *and you are intelligent* [English word]. *You are as soft as ripe bananas* [Luganda], *you are in his blood* [Luganda]. *You are leaving your home today until* [Swahili] *you die.*

(OTIUG1)

From the above observation, we note that the speakers are using four different languages, that is, Lusamia, English, Luganda and Swahili. From the interviews that I carried out and from my own observations as I lived in the community and interacted with different Lusamia speakers, I comprehended that the languages used at such a cultural ceremony are determined by different factors. The first thereof is the linguistic background of the people involved. The linguistic communities that the groom and bride come from play a role in determining which language(s) are used. Secondly, the social class that the groom, bride and their families belong to also will influence the choice of language(s) used at the ceremony. Thirdly, the linguistic situation in the area where the ceremony is being performed influences which language(s) to be used. In this particular ceremony, all the three factors come into play. In addition to the above factors, the incompleteness in the knowledge of the different languages is another reason for use of different languages in some cultural ceremonies. In this particular example, the groom and bride are both from the Samia community and that is why we see the use of Lusamia by the sisters of the groom. Regarding the social class, both the groom and the bride are educated; they are employed in the capital city (Kampala) and are thus regarded as having a high social status. By virtue of this, English is used.²⁷ The ceremony is performed in a village in Busia district, in which different languages are spoken, as seen above from the respondents' interviews. Thus not everyone in this community has complete knowledge of Lusamia, English, Luganda or Swahili. This incompleteness in knowledge of the various languages also applies to the sisters of the groom at this particular ceremony. The sisters thus use the different languages to counter this incompleteness on their side but also to cater for the people in attendance. They thus use Luganda, Swahili, Lusamia and English in their description of the different items they have in the baskets. The communicative goal of the sisters of the groom in this particular example is to include the majority of the people attending this ceremony, some who may have incomplete knowledge of some of the languages used.

From the above observations that I make, I confirm what Gumperz (1971) implies when he talks about the ability of the multilingual to move from one language to another in order to communicate effectively, an assertion that is supported by more recent work by scholars like Cook (2003) and Milroy and Muysken (1995). What is manifested in the excerpt of the

²⁷ Since the groom and the bride are educated, they have invited their friends who belong to their social class, many of whom do not speak Lusamia and possibly do not even understand Luganda. Therefore the official language, English, is also used because it is associated with high social class.

introduction ceremony above is in agreement with what authors like Cook (2003), Gumperz (1971) and Milroy and Muysken (1995) have said about using two or more languages in one conversation. However, what is not explicit in their affirmation is why speakers would use this strategy. Doing research in an African context, Banda (2005) attempts to provide reasons for this kind of switching between languages, with an example of a Zambian woman who switches from urban Nyanja to rural Nyanja. This woman was at first speaking urban Nyanja, but when she was associated with the urban women and their behaviour of which she did not approve, she decided to switch to rural Nyanja to emphasise her identity as a traditional African woman who is devoid of such urban behaviour. In the introduction ceremony referred to above, the sisters of the groom are negotiating different linguistic identities through their exchange. These sisters are from the community in which the ceremony was held, so they speak Lusamia to identify themselves with where they come from, but also to communicate with the other people present who do not speak or have complete knowledge of English. In addition to Lusamia, the sisters also speak English by virtue of them being educated, a linguistic identity that they need to manifest here and identify with the other people who have come from the city to attend the ceremony. Although these sisters are educated and come from this community, speaking Lusamia and English is not enough given the presence of people from other linguistic backgrounds attending the ceremony. Thus, there is a need to speak Luganda and Swahili at some point during the exchange.

We find evidence here of Busch's (2012) assertion that perceptions and ideologies form part of one's linguistic repertoire. That is, what constitutes a speaker's repertoire is not only the languages that they speak, but also the languages "they think they should use" in a particular situation. Therefore, in their perception, according to Busch (2012: 12), speakers are aware of the existence of the language of the 'other'.²⁸ In her recent work on repertoires, Busch (2015: 6) advises that when looking at how speakers use the different linguistic resources in their repertoire, we should not just consider the biographic perspective but also the spatial one. What Busch (2015) implies is that instead of just looking at what linguistic resources speakers possess, we should focus on the interactions in which these speakers engage all the time in the linguistically diverse settings in which they are situated. Drawing on Busch's (2012; 2015) arguments above, I can say that in my example of the naming ceremony, English is used even when there may have been no communicative need for doing so. Rather, there is an

²⁸ Speakers are aware of this fact from their own observation but also from the observation of other people that are involved in the communication situation.

ideological need to signal status and include the ‘others’²⁹ that may be present at this ceremony. Therefore, different factors ranging from the context of the conversation to the language ideologies held by the participants interplay and influence which languages are to be used in a particular exchange.

After observing the Ugandan introduction ceremony presented above, it was imperative that I also consider what happens on the Kenyan side of the border when the same ceremony is carried out. I was implored by Quane's (2009) caution to researchers on making generalisations when carrying out studies in multilingual settings. Quane (2009: 264-265) points out that when studying multilingualism, “we do not have to make generalisations since different social environments present different linguistic diversity”. Based on the above argument, I thus could not make generalisations about what happens during cultural ceremonies that are performed in both Uganda and Kenya among the Samia, however similar they may seem to be. Traditional marriages (i.e., introduction ceremonies) are carried out on both sides of the border, but there are some differences in the performance,³⁰ including in the language(s) that are used. Below is an extract from what I observed at an introduction ceremony held on the Kenyan side of the border:

WEWE NI JUA YAKKE; ANAKUPENDA SANA [Swahili sentence]. ***TUMIA HI*** [Swahili words] ***SODA*** [English word] ***KAMA*** [Swahili word] ***SIGN*** [English word] ***YA UPENDO WAKE*** [Swahili word]. ***Abolere ati, niwe yahira ohudaha; asaba mungu*** [Swahili word] ***ahulinde bilayi. AMESEMA LAZIMA ANAKUPELEKA LEWO*** [Swahili sentence].

You are his sunshine; he loves you very much [Swahili]. *Drink this* [Swahili] *soda* [English] *as a sign* [English] *of his love. He said that it is you that he loves most; he asks God* [Swahili] *to keep you well. He has said he has to take you today* [Swahili].

(OTIKE1)

In comparison with what happens on the Ugandan side at the introduction ceremony, here the sisters to the groom speak mostly Swahili, occasionally switching to Lusamia but using

²⁹ ‘Others’ in this particular example refers to the elite that may have accompanied the groom from the capital, Kampala, who are not necessarily Samia and may not understand Luganda. So when deciding on which languages to use, the sisters have these people in mind – in this case, they would be the “others” to which Busch (2012; 2015) refers.

³⁰ On both sides of the border, the ceremony involves the groom visiting the bride’s parents. He is accompanied by his parents and friends on a date that is agreed upon by both families after all the necessary negotiations have taken place. It is on this day that the bride price is paid. The difference in the performance is that, on the Ugandan side of the border, the groom is usually accompanied by more people compared than on the Kenyan side of the border. The ceremony on the Ugandan side of the border involves many activities and formalities, and can take up to eight hours. By contrast, this ceremony on the Kenyan side of the border takes a much shorter time.

English very minimally because they are aware of the incomplete knowledge of English of many people in attendance. Regarding the use of more than one language, the situation on the Kenyan side of the border is not much different from that discussed for the Ugandan side of the border. On the Kenyan side, the sisters of the groom speak Swahili first because they are certain that most of the people gathered here have knowledge of Swahili (Swahili being the national language and thus lingua franca in Kenya). Lusamia is used because this is a Samia community and both the groom and bride come from this community; therefore the assumption is that most of the people in attendance are Samia. As was noted for the Ugandan side of the border, Lusamia is also used on the Kenyan side of the border to signal membership to that community and to express their positive attitude toward their language despite being educated and living in the city. There is also use of English in a few cases, to signal identity with the official language in Kenya and to identify with the fact that the groom and bride are educated and therefore some of the people that are in attendance are also educated and thus have good knowledge of English. The other reason for using English is to cater for those who are in attendance who may have incomplete knowledge of both Lusamia and Swahili,³¹ a fact of which the sisters to the groom are aware given that this is a multilingual community.

Despite the fact that different languages are used during cultural ceremonies like the examples given above on either side of the border, from my observation, I conclude that in the Ugandan context, English is used more than in Kenya. I can partly explain this with the fact that English is the official language of Uganda and there is no national language that would have been widely used like in the case of Swahili in Kenya. Even though Luganda seems to be widely spoken – as pointed out by authors like Mpuga (2003), Nakayiza (2013) and Namyalo and Nakayiza (2015) – there are Ugandans who do not speak the language. This leaves English as the language of both status and social mobility in Uganda.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the notion of multilingualism as linguistic repertoire. I was guided by Busch's (2012) assertion that multilingualism is not just a matter of how many languages people speak; rather, multilingualism is part of their repertoire. From the findings of the study, it is indisputable that the Samia community is multilingual: Every speaker has

³¹ The people close to the border in each of the two countries (Uganda and Kenya) have friends across the border. In this case, there may be people who have come from Uganda and do not speak Swahili or Lusamia, thus the usage of English is to cater for them.

knowledge (whether complete or incomplete) of at least two languages. In addition to Lusamia, different languages, especially those of the neighbouring communities, are spoken. As Quane (2009) suggests, different communities manifest multilingualism differently. This assertion holds true for the two Samia communities. On the Kenyan side of the border, languages such as Luhayo, Lubukusu, Swahili and sometimes English are spoken in addition to Lusamia. On the Ugandan side of the border, languages such as Luganda, Lusoga, Swahili and English are spoken in addition to Lusamia. Although English is the official language of both Uganda and Kenya, the participants noted that being a rural setting, few people speak English since most of them have not gone to school; those who had gone to school have mostly moved to the bigger cities such as Kampala and Nairobi. Thus, this multiplicity of linguistic resources that the Samia speakers possess is what enables them participate in various activities within and outside their communities, including across the border.

Further findings from this study revealed that different factors shape the linguistic repertoires of speakers. These factors include speakers' language-related ideologies, their everyday interactions, historical interactions (such as colonialism) and intermarriages. The ideologies of the speakers affect their interpretation of space and thus determine which languages they use, as suggested by Hymes (1977) and Busch (2012). Everyday interactions with people from different linguistic backgrounds, use of the colonial languages plus the intermarriages that take place between speakers of Lusamia from Kenya and those from Uganda all have implications for the linguistic repertoire of the Samia people. As Sankoff (2002) points out, the result of the above-mentioned interactions may be structural changes in the Samia language; speakers may use words from other languages when speaking Lusamia (most commonly Luganda words on the Ugandan side of the border and Swahili words on the Kenyan side of the border).

Franceschini (2009) is of the view that in multilingual settings (like the Samia community) what is important is not mastery of the grammatical rules of language, but rather the ability of speakers to communicate using the appropriate language in a given situation. Thus, in this dissertation, following Franceschini's (2009) assertion, I was more concerned with the functional and practical perspective of language; how the Samia use different languages in the different situations in which they find themselves. In this regard, I considered concepts such as 'truncated multilingualism', 'translanguaging', 'trans-idiomaticity', 'code switching', 'stylization', 'heteroglossia' and 'metrolingualism' to assist me in explaining how speakers of

Lusamia deal with the incompleteness in knowledge of the various languages in their repertoires (for details of the above concept, see chapter 3, section 3.5).

In this chapter, I presented data which supports Wei's (2011) idea of translanguaging. As Wei argues, “multilingual speakers are not simply responding, rationally or not, to broader social forces and structures, but are creating spaces for themselves using the resources they have” and furthermore that “multilingual spaces” are created through social interaction. The notion of space is an important point with which to end this chapter. So far, I have shown that multilingual spaces are created through interaction and through mobility; and it is partly through movement that the linguistic repertoire is constituted. For the Samia community under investigation, this mobility also includes movement across a national border. In the next chapter, I focus more on the public space, mobility and its influence on linguistic identity construction.

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE, SPACIALISATION AND IDENTITY

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss a point which I only touched on briefly in the previous chapter, namely that of the interaction of language, space and identity, in much more depth. I focus specifically on how participants report changing their linguistic behaviour as they change settings and spaces, as well as my own observations on this matter. Secondly, I also focus on the language displayed in public space, in other words, the linguistic landscape.

According to Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 7), spacialisation refers to “the different processes by which space comes to be represented, organized and experienced”. Furthermore, the above authors argue that identities are created in space by “geographical imagining, the locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places, or by being excluded from them, by sharing space and interacting with others”.

In this chapter, it is precisely this interaction between identities and space that is of interest. As can be ascertained from the previous chapter, this interaction often involves multilingualism. Blommaert et al. (2005: 197) argue that “multilingualism is not what individuals have and don’t have, but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables”. Furthermore, they build up an argument that “space be seen as constitutive and agentive in organizing patterns of multilingualism”. In this dissertation, I will follow this approach, but also add that space can be constitutive in organising identity and that, inversely, multilingualism and identity can constitute space. Blommaert et al. (2005: 198) state that “flows do not develop in empty spaces, they are movements across spaces filled with all kinds of attributes and features, both materially and symbolically”. Since I am dealing with a group of participants that share cultural practices and linguistic varieties, but are living in two countries, I acknowledge that they actively take part in spacialisation, as Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) would propose, but also that the spaces are not empty to begin with. The fact that there is a border fills the spaces these participants move in with particular ideologies and beliefs about language as well as with other material and symbolic features.

Blommaert et al. (2005: 203) state that space is part of what is usually considered context. Space “organizes and defines sociolinguistic regimes in which spaces are characterized by

sets of norms and expectations about communicative behaviour” also called “orders of indexicality”. Different spaces have their own norms and expectations and these influence what people can and cannot do in them. Thus the different spaces determine different values and functions of repertoires, the identities people construct for themselves and those that others ascribe to them (Blommaert et al., 2005: 203). The border is an example of such spaces that are being described above. Thus, the next section focuses on the border as constituting identity and will address the norms and expectations of communicative behaviour across borders, the function and value of repertoires, and identity construction.

6.2 The border as constituting identity

The data that I collected indicates that 92% of the Samia living near the border cross to the Kenyan side at least twice every week.³² Of the 25 participants I interviewed on the Ugandan side of the border, 23 reported visiting Kenya in order to buy goods there than are sold for less than in Uganda. However, they stated that when they go to buy these goods, they also take with them their vegetables and other items to sell in the Kenyan market. In addition to going to the market, they also said they cross the border to visit relations who live in Kenya. Two of the participants said they went to the Kenyan side of the border for leisure, and another two worked there. There was only one participant who said that she did not cross the border; this was a lady of about 80 years. Upon further questioning, she stated that she used to cross the border when she was younger but that she was physically not strong enough to do so anymore. The data above confirms the argument that the border is porous and the Samia are always in interaction; not even the border can stop them from interacting. The observations I make above are confirmation of what Lefebvre (1991) says of space being shaped by different social activities that are carried out by the people who live and traverse these spaces.

The findings on the Kenyan side of the border were not much different from those on the Ugandan side; the Kenyans cross the border for the same reasons as the Ugandans, that is, to visit their relatives, attend village meetings, attend cultural ceremonies, for education purposes and sometimes for leisure. The only difference is that only about 50% of the Kenyans went to the Ugandan markets to buy goods. The reason given was, as mentioned by the Ugandans, that Kenyan goods are generally cheaper than those sold in Uganda.

³² There are at least two weekly market days on both the Ugandan and Kenyan side of the border. The participants on the Ugandan side of the border pointed out that goods are cheaper in Kenya and that is why they cross the border. Visiting relatives, leisure, attending funerals and cultural ceremonies are the other reasons the Samia provided for crossing the border.

Nonetheless, according to 13 participants that I interviewed on the Kenyan side of the border, the Kenyans do buy some goods in Uganda, especially those that are not readily available in Kenya, like certain vegetables, ladies bags and clothes.

As noted above, people living on either side of the border, like the Samia speakers, are always in interaction both within their communities and across the border. The data presented so far portrays a picture of almost free movement across the border and of free interaction. One would thus assume that the interaction always yields positive results. This is however not always the case, as evidenced by some responses from the interviewed participants. To these particular participants, the border is “real” in many cases. When asked if they had ever been denied an opportunity or treated in an undesirable manner because of being a Ugandan on the Kenyan side of the border, two of the participants in one of the focus group discussions³³ recounted what they referred to as unfair treatment on the basis of being Ugandan (see the excerpts below).

Ni ndali omulwaye wa sukaali, becha banjira e Tanaka, hwa DECLARING [English] huti ndi UGANDAN BY NATIONALITY [English], hwatunga 50% mu TAXES [English] kihwali hutusa – hwatunganga DOUBLE [English].

When I was sick of diabetes, they took me to Tanaka [in Kenya] and then we declared [English] that I was Ugandan by nationality [English], we paid 50% in taxes [English] – we were paying double [English].

(FGDTUG/KE)

Waliwo lw’okula ebindu e Kenya nibingi, bahusumbuwa, mbasa ndi hulwohuba ndi

Muna Uganda

There are times when you buy goods from Kenya and when they [the goods] are many, you are hassled [by the Kenyan authorities], I think because I am Ugandan.

(FGDTUG/KE)

The above reactions show that, although the Ugandans and the Kenyans both frequently cross the border, the border remains a reality. The Ugandan Samia was charged more money in the Kenyan hospital despite being a Samia just like the Samia in Kenya. His linguistic identity did not give him access to the same services than his Kenyan counterparts; instead, he was treated like ‘the other’. In the above example we see the limits of what *language* can do. Although this Ugandan Samia has the linguistic resources which allow him access to certain services

³³ This focus group discussion consisted of participants from both the Ugandan and Kenyan side of the border (see Appendix K for more details of the discussion).

and privileges in other places, he cannot access “equal” treatment at the Kenyan hospital frequented by the Kenyan Samia. This is illustrative of Lefebvre (1991: 86) assertion that speakers are confronted with multiple social spaces which may include or exclude them. In this particular example, the Samia speaker from the Ugandan side of the border is excluded in this particular social space (the hospital) which is across the border, thus making the border a reality.

The response of the other participant who is questioned for buying many goods from the Kenyan side of the border further reaffirms Lefebvre's (1991) assertion. The participant says he is questioned by the Kenyan authorities at the border why he has bought so many goods from Kenya and where he is taking them. To him, this is unfair because the Kenyan Samia also buy many goods from Uganda, and he believes they are one people. Across the border, however, this Ugandan Samia finds himself in another social space, as described by Lefebvre (1991), which excludes him because he is a Ugandan. To counter this kind of “unfair treatment”, some Ugandans have come up with various strategies, one of which is to find alternative routes to transport the goods that they purchased in Kenya. In fact, when I lived in the Samia community, I observed certain routes in two villages and I was told that these are used by the Ugandans who bring back a lot of goods from Kenya and do not want to be disturbed. I did not probe further, since this was not the focus of my study. What this illustrates though is how social interactions (and thus also discourse used in social interaction) also organise space: Because of social interactions which have made them feel uncomfortable, these participants have organised an alternative space to transport goods.

Based on the above examples of exclusion in the different social spaces that the Samia on the Ugandan side find themselves in, one might conclude that it is only the Kenyans who treat the Ugandans unfairly. To verify this, I asked the Kenyan participants in this combined focus group discussion how they felt about their relationships with the Samia on the Ugandan side of the border. Some Kenyans felt that it is mostly the Ugandans who brought goods to be sold in Kenya, and when they try to take their goods to Uganda, they are arrested. The Kenyans also felt that the Kenyan goods are cheaper, which leads to many Ugandans buying goods in Kenyan markets whereas the Ugandan goods are expensive; the Kenyans referred to this as “unfair trade relations”. This theme was also repeated during lively discussions during the focus group discussions that consisted of Lusamia speakers from same side of the border (that is only Ugandan and only Kenyan groups). For instance, in one of the groups on the Kenyan side of the border, out of the 12 people in the group, 6 participants said they had not

experienced any problems; however, the other 6 three echoed what was discussed above, i.e., unfair treatment (FGDTUG/KE).

On the Ugandan side of the border (only Ugandan focus group discussion), six Ugandans said they were treated fairly most of the time and they felt comfortable in Kenya; however, sometimes they are denied access to certain services in Kenya because they do not have the Kenya national identification (like in the case above of the Ugandan Samia charged more in a Kenyan hospital). The above reflections indicate that although these seem to be the same people sharing a number of semiotic resources, such as language and other cultural practices, the border *is* a reality and, as Blommaert et al. (2005) explain, is not empty. Crossing the border means that you enter a space with ideologies and materialities associated with it – in particular, ideologies about nationalities fill up the space around the border. These ideologies are given further power by the fact that they are accompanied by rules stipulated by the government and thus require not only certain behaviour but also certain documentation (or a textual product *proving* nationality) in certain spaces.

From the above deliberations arising out of the responses during the interviews and from my own observations, I can conclude that although 20% of the respondents referred to unfair treatment across the border, 80% maintained that the Samia are one people who speak one language and live in harmony. I further confirmed what the Lusamia speakers said when I attended two annual cultural gatherings that are organised by the Samia in Uganda and those in Kenya. The first one I attended was held in Kenya and the second in Uganda. Lusamia is spoken at this cultural event and leaders from both sides of the border meet, and there is evidence that the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya see themselves as belonging to the same culture (see section 4.7.1 for more details).

Despite the observations above about the unfair treatment of Samia from either side of the border, it is evident that these two groups of people are in constant interaction. Note that it is not only the Lusamia speakers that interact with each other within and across the border; speakers of other languages (within Uganda and Kenya and across the border) are also in interaction with the Lusamia speakers. This contact is one of the main causes of multilingualism in the Samia community and influences the way in which linguistic identities are constructed.

6.3 Linguistic practices of Lusamia speakers across the border

In order to investigate the linguistic practices of the two communities as they go back and forth over the border, I asked which language(s) they spoke when they crossed the border. Fifteen of the 25 interviewed Ugandans said they speak Swahili and Lusamia in the Kenyan market and also Lusamia when they visited their Kenyan relations. The findings were not any different when I asked the Kenyan participants the same question. They said they spoke Swahili and Lusamia in the Ugandan market (also see example further below) because they did not know Luganda, which is widely used in the Ugandan market. The fact that both the Samia from Uganda and Kenya speak Lusamia with each other and with others in the different domains is an indication that the languages are perceived as the same, or at least as very similar.

Daily interactions at and across the border involves shifts in spaces that are occupied by the speakers of cross-border languages, in this case, the Samia. According to Blommaert et al. (2005), different linguistic environments require different linguistic resources, and as people move from one country or social activity to another, the linguistic repertoire they possess is affected (Blommaert et al., 2005: 204-205). Speakers may have linguistic resources that are different from the linguistic requirements of a particular environment. The Samia speakers move across the border for different reasons and are constantly engaged in different language domains (see section 1.11 for definition of domain as used in this dissertation). These domains impose different linguistic demands on the speakers of Lusamia. This can be seen from the fact that, when asked about which languages they spoke when they crossed the border, the Samia on the Kenyan side of the border said they speak Lusamia with relatives and sometimes in the market and shops, Swahili in the market and in the shops, and English with those who do not speak Lusamia or Swahili. By contrast, the Ugandans said they spoke Lusamia with relatives and Swahili in the market (see Table 3 below for further exemplification).

The above data is illustrative of the concept of truncated multilingualism as advanced by Blommaert et al. (2005), in which different languages are required to be used in different linguistic situations (and high levels of proficiency are not necessarily required in all situations). According to Blommaert et al. (2005: 199), truncated multilingualism refers to “linguistic competencies which are organised topically and are based on different domains or activities”. Consistent with what Blommaert et al. (2005) state and as evidenced by the data presented, one sees a case of exportation and mobility of languages across the border as the Samia endeavour to meet the requirement of speaking the appropriate languages in the

different linguistic environments – because every language has a specific function and value assigned to it. Failure to use it for the specific function or in the appropriate environment may lead to exclusion of other people from the interaction or failure in communication.

According to Brambilla (2007: 23), the border should not be viewed merely as a line on the ground, but rather as a manifestation of social relations involving various practices that go beyond the boundary. This means that, although borders are political divisions separating one nation from another, they are also avenues of developing new social networks amongst the cross-border communities. On the basis of the above arguments, one can conclude that cross-border communities take advantage of imposed boundaries to meet their economic, social, cultural and political needs. Because of the way in which the border is constituted, it can for example be exploited for trade or to buy cheaper goods. As the communities meet these needs of theirs, issues of identity negotiation become key. For instance, in her study on the Kwanyama people on the Anglo-Namibia border, Brambilla (2007: 22) examined the role that the border plays in the construction of the identities of cross-border communities. The overarching argument advanced by Brambilla (2007) and by my own observations in the Samia community is that, although cross-border languages are found at the margins of the different countries to which they “belong”, they are still influenced by identity issues in the respective countries.

In order to further delve into the linguistic practices of the Samia as they cross the border, I asked specific questions about the linguistic practices in different domains. For instance, when I asked a respondent from the Ugandan side of the border which language(s) she uses in the market on the Kenyan side, she said the following:

Nanu ninjirire ebindu mu SOKONI [Swahili word], mba mbita n'abandu bambola, MAMA KUJA [Swahili words], nimanya endi bananga, ninja nibateeba, BEEYI GAANI YA WIMBI? [Swahili sentence]? Nimbola endi, ofukiirira ohumberesa hu BEEYI [Swahili word] yino? Nanu mba manyira, ati mama, hane, oli omundu w'ebuganda?

When I take my things to the market [Swahili], as I am passing, people say, “Mum, come” [Swahili]. Then I know that they are calling me. Then they ask, “How much is the sorghum?” [Swahili] Then I answer, “Do you agree to give me at this price?” After a while, the person says, “You mean you are from Uganda?”

(IITUG22)

From the above example, we see that the Ugandan lady has changed location; she has moved from Uganda to take her goods to the Kenyan market. Change in location, in this case across the border, may affect how speakers use their different linguistic resources. The different places that the speakers find themselves in have their own linguistic requirements. This sentiment is shared by authors like Blommaert et al. (2005) and Busch (2015) who indicate that as speakers move from one place to another, they engage in various activities in the new places, and these activities may call for the use of different languages, as is the case of ‘truncated multilingualism’ that was referred to earlier in this section. It is important to note at this point that the speakers who have moved to the ‘new’ places may or may not be able to meet the requirements of that particular place. In situations where the requirements are not met, the result may be ineffective communication or exclusion in the interaction. For instance, in the above extract, both the seller and the buyer are Samia from the Ugandan side of the border, but they meet in the market on the Kenyan side of the border (referring to a change in location for both of them). At first they do not know that they are both Samia, so the buyer initiates a conversation in Swahili because (as mentioned above), it is the business language in the Kenyan market (and generally on the Kenyan side of the border). The respondent (the seller) says, “*Then I know that they are calling me*”; this shows that she understands Swahili in addition to Lusamia (referring to a variety of linguistic resources) but chooses which linguistic resource to use in the market (in this case, Swahili because the current space dictates so). As the negotiation goes on, the seller switches to Lusamia, which makes the buyer realise that they speak the same language, and then the negotiation continues in Lusamia (since speaking the same language will give them a better negotiation platform).

To reinforce the argument of the Samia being engaged in different linguistic practices in different situations, I present below an excerpt of an interview in which a Ugandan respondent explains why she crosses the border and which language(s) she speaks when in Kenya.

Nja ohusiha abecha n’abeho bange, olundi nja mu SOKONI [Swahili word] ohukulaho ebindu nga luhuli ewambi n’e Kenya. Olundi njiraho ebindu ohukusa e Kenya. Ninjire mu SOKONI [Swahili word], n’omanoma Oluswayiri, nende abeho bange, n’omanoma Olusamia.

I go to attend funerals of my friends and relatives. I sometimes go the market [Swahili] to buy certain items since we are near Kenya. I sometimes take items to sell in Kenya. When I go to the market, I speak Swahili; with my relatives, I speak Lusamia.

(IITUG23)

When I asked why she speaks Swahili in the market, and not Lusamia, she replied,

Mulimu e KABILA [Swahili word] *nyingi mu SOKONI* [Swahili word]

There are many tribes in the market

(IITUG23)

According to Barnes and Funnell (2005: 42), usage of cross-border languages like Swahili and Lusamia is affected by different social, economic and political factors of the different countries in which they are spoken. One of the political factors influencing language use in the example above is the national language policy of the two countries involved. The respondent above points out that she speaks Swahili in the market because there are many tribes there, meaning that Swahili being a national language of Kenya makes it the language of communication amongst people coming from different linguistic backgrounds. In addition to coming from different linguistic backgrounds, speakers have different language ideologies. As a result, different speakers have their own ways of thinking about a certain language(s), and this affects what language(s) they use in the different situations. The above argument is evidence of what Busch (2012: 12) asserts about people's perceptions and ideologies forming part of their linguistic repertoire. From the above example, we note that apart from speakers' ideologies, their nationalities and countries' language policies influence which language(s) they use. For instance, the use of Swahili as lingua franca especially in the markets helps speakers of the different languages to promote good relations amongst themselves which promotes networks within and outside the communities, including across the border. Here, in the market, there are traders from different linguistic backgrounds but they are able to communicate because of their knowledge of Swahili (the business language of Kenya) and they take this further by switching from Swahili to Lusamia which defines their linguistic identity.

To ascertain what I had been told by the participants in the interviews (both individual and group), I followed up the interviews with observations. First, I attended a funeral on the Ugandan side of the border and I noted the following:

I heard different languages being spoken. At this particular funeral, the languages included Lusamia, Luganda, Swahili and English. The person who had passed away was employed in the town of Busia (Uganda) but the ceremony was performed in *Bwalira* village (also in Uganda). His friends and relatives from Busia town had come to pay their last respects. Not all his friends speak Lusamia; some were speaking Swahili, and others English. Then there were those who came from the capital of Uganda, Kampala. Many of these interacted with the Samia in Luganda. The funeral

service was also conducted in different languages, bearing in mind the diversity of the people in attendance. The songs were sung in three languages, that is, Lusamia, Swahili and Luganda. The Luganda songs were taken from the Luganda hymn book while the Swahili and Lusamia songs were led by any member of the choir. The preaching was mostly in Lusamia but with occasional switching to Luganda, and some English words were used. It was then time for the politicians to address the mourners. During funeral ceremonies, politicians in attendance address the people in different languages depending on whose funeral it is and who the politicians see are present at the particular funeral. The politicians are educated and are more comfortable speaking English, but given the space in which they are, there is need to appeal to their electorate by identifying linguistically with them, and thus they address the mourners in Lusamia with occasional switching to English.

(OTFUG1)

From the above observation, there is more evidence of the different linguistic practices in which the Samia engage as they move from one social and physical space to another. As Samia speakers on both sides of the border move into different social and physical spaces, they deploy different linguistic resources. For instance, Swahili may be spoken in the market but not when visiting relations. However, this also varies from family to family. For instance, one respondent from the Kenyan side of the border said that he spoke either Swahili or Lusamia when he crossed the border into Uganda. When I asked him how he decided on which language to speak, he replied [English translation provided here],

When I go to a restaurant, I wait to be served. If the waiter/waitress speaks to me in Swahili, I answer in Swahili and we continue the whole interaction in Swahili. But if they come to me and greet me in Lusamia, I am so happy and I speak Lusamia; they serve me very well and I also ask them to keep the change after I have paid the bill. When I go to the shops, I speak Swahili because it is the business language, since many people in Busia speak different languages. At home with my mother and brothers, we speak Lusamia but when our wives are there, we speak English because they are not Samia and we want to include them in the conversation.

(IITKE17)

In the above data we see what Blommaert et al. (2005: 205) refer to as “exportability and mobility of linguistic resources”, which means that when a speaker leaves his home country, he needs to bring with him a linguistic resource(s) appropriate in a particular domain. This is because a change in spatial environment (or social environment) affects the way people use language. From my observations, I noted that the new environments place different linguistic demands on the speakers and thus affect the linguistic choices they make in the different situations in which they find themselves. For instance, in the Samia community, we see that participants move across the border with linguistic resources like Swahili, mostly to be used in the markets, shops and sometimes with family members, which they do not usually have to

use at home. However, Blommaert et al. (2005: 205) note that the local language is often not exportable because it has a low position in the hierarchy of the other languages in the community. This assertion is not entirely true for the Samia community, however. Here, any language, regardless of position in the hierarchy, can be exported when speakers move from one place to another or from one language domain to another. For instance, from the data that I presented above, we observe that the speaker has Swahili (which as national language can be considered higher in the hierarchy than Lusamia) but also brings with him the local language Lusamia to use whenever the need arises, like in the case of the interaction in the restaurant referred to in the excerpt (IITKE17). Consistent with what Blommaert et al. (2005) put forward, Lusamia should be used in local and individual-centred activities, like at home with the family members. But again from the data, we see a deviation from this proposition. For instance, I asked the participants in one of the focus group discussions that I conducted on the Kenyan side of the border which languages they spoke at home with their family members. Below was the response of one of the participants [two other participants also agreed to the same response]

Engo ese nabasiani beffe hulomaloma Olusamia nihuli nende mama, NAYE [Luganda word for 'but'] abahasi beffe nibaliwo nihulomaloma Olusungu hulwohuba sibalomaloma Lusamia.

“At home, I and my brothers speak Lusamia with our mother but [Luganda] when our wives are around, we speak English because they do not speak Lusamia”.

(FGDTKE2)

Here we see two different languages used in the same physical space – but one can say that the social space is not the same: In one case, the brothers are speaking with their mother in Lusamia, in the other, the brothers are speaking with their wives in English. These observations about the use of different languages in different spaces are illustrative of Lefebvre's (1991) assertion that space is not something static, but is rather constantly produced in different social [and linguistic] practices. In this particular example, the brothers are mindful of what social space they are in and make appropriate linguistic choices. For instance, the brothers make the choice to use English and not Lusamia when their wives are involved so as not to exclude them. Thus, we see that this interactional move of code-switching is used to allow the wives to participate in the communicative event.

To further support the arguments that I am making, below is a summary of how the Samia use languages variedly in different spaces/domains. The content of this table is based on the data obtained from the interviews, focus groups discussions and my observations, and is therefore not necessarily in all cases complete.

Domain of language use	Ugandan participants		Kenyan participants	
	When in Uganda	Across the border in Kenya	When in Kenya	Across the border in Uganda
Market	Lusamia Luganda Sometimes Swahili	Swahili Lusamia	Swahili Sometimes Lusamia	Swahili
With family	Lusamia	Lusamia	Swahili Lusamia	Lusamia
With neighbours	Lusamia Luganda	Lusamia Luhayo Sometimes Swahili	Swahili Kinyore Luhayo Lusamia	Lusamia
With non-Lusamia speakers	English if they do not speak Luganda	Swahili	Swahili	Swahili, and a little English if they do not speak Swahili
At cultural ceremonies	Lusamia Luganda English A few times some Swahili	Lusamia Sometimes Swahili	Swahili Lusamia English Etc.	Lusamia Sometimes Swahili

Table 3: The different languages spoken in different language domains by the Ugandan and Kenyan Samia

From the data that I have presented above [in table 3] from both sides of the border, one observes that Swahili is a common language used across the different domains especially by the Kenyans on the Kenyan side of the border. This is because, as mentioned earlier, Swahili (being both the official and national language of Kenya) is known and spoken by the majority

of Kenyans (Attorney General, 2010; Kibui, 2014). Therefore it is not surprising that it cuts across all the domains. This defies Ogechi's (2003) proposal that Swahili is not popular among the rural people who would prefer English since the latter is associated with high status. From the interviews conducted and from my observations of cultural ceremonies and of general language use in general in the rural communities in Kenya, Swahili was indeed popular. The language is mostly used with non-native speakers of Lusamia. Nonetheless, in some case that I observed and from the interviews that I carried out, some native speakers of Lusamia also use Swahili amongst themselves.³⁴

By contrast, there is no such language that cuts across all the domains on the Ugandan side of the border like Swahili does on the Kenyan side. Luganda, by virtue of being the language of wider communication in Uganda (as observed by authors such as Kwesiga, 1994; Nakayiza, 2013; and Namyalo and Nakayiza, 2015), would be expected to fit that description; however, not everyone in Uganda speaks Luganda. In fact, in the interviews, five of the 25 respondents said they did not have knowledge of Luganda. This is partly explained by the fact that they have not had contact with people who speak Luganda. Another reason is because although Luganda is the most widely spoken in Uganda, it is not stipulated in the Ugandan language policy as a national language. This prompted me to ask what language such people spoke with their neighbours who were not Samia. I was told by two of the respondents that they tried a little English³⁵ with those who cannot speak Lusamia or Luganda.

Based on the data that I presented above, I conclude that the Samia not only interact with members of their families but also with other people who speak not only Lusamia but also other languages. In all these interactions, the Samia choose the appropriate linguistic resources to be used in the different situations in which they find themselves. These linguistic choices made by the Samia are in agreement with Busch's (2012) assertion that different linguistic resources are used in different communicative situations. Therefore, speakers need to be aware of which situation they are in so that they make use of the appropriate linguistic resource(s), as evidenced in the data presented in the table above, which further explicates the notion of multilingualism as linguistic repertoire. The data shows evidence of the Samia speaking more than one language and varying the usage depending on the different domains

³⁴ Some native speakers of Lusamia in the rural areas code switch between Lusamia and Swahili. They however do not use Swahili only – unlike they would during interaction with non-native speakers of Lusamia.

³⁵ This is possible in a context in which the neighbour has knowledge of English, which was the case in this particular situation. Lusamia and Luganda could not be used as medium of communication.

relevant at a given time. This evidence confirms Grosjean's (1982: 1) assertion that “multilingualism is present in every country of the world and it is evident in all classes and age groups”. The above statement means that it is unlikely to find a society that is monolingual, as evidenced by the existence of multilingualism in the Samia community (see table 3 above for further illustration).

To further understand the linguistic practices of the Samia, I attended an annual Samia cultural ceremony that is hosted interchangeably by the Samia on either side of the border (as I stated earlier in section 4.7.1). I could attend two of the events during my data collection period, one hosted by the Samia on the Kenyan side of the border on the 1st of January 2015 and the other hosted by the Samia on the Ugandan side of the border on the 1st of January 2016. Consider the following observations made upon attending these two events:

When it was hosted in Kenya, we left Uganda in a team of over 100 people led by our area Member of Parliament (MP), Julius Maganda, and were received on the Kenyan side by the area MP, Dr. Paul Otuoma Nyongesa. Several activities were carried out, including sports and free interactions. What caught my attention most was the meeting of the cultural elders from the two communities which I attended. The elders’ main concern was how to preserve and promote the Samia language on both sides of the border. They discussed language issues like the translation that had been done of the Bible (the New Testament). The elders also talked about ensuring that whatever is written in Lusamia is reflective of both Lusamia of Uganda and Lusamia of Kenya. They specifically talked about the Lusamia dictionary (*Ehamuli*) that was written by one of the members of this community (Engineer Barasa Irenaeus) who was also in attendance. The meeting of the elders resolved that they will have meetings more often and will liaise with the Language Board to ensure that Lusamia language has an orthography.³⁶ What was fascinating was how the two groups of spoke ‘their own Lusamia’ and yet understood each other so well. The fact that the host Samia on the Kenyan side of the border spoke Lusamia with Swahili words and the visiting Samia from Uganda spoke Lusamia with Luganda words, this did not hinder communication. Members from the two communities interacted freely and spoke and understood each other very well.

Like I mentioned earlier, the *esidialo* cultural event is hosted interchangeably. Thus in January 2016, the event was hosted by the Samia on the Ugandan side, led by their area MP, Hon Julius Maganda. A group of over 100 Samia from the Kenyan side of the border arrived in Busia Uganda at about 12pm and were hosted for a luncheon at the MP’s home.³⁷ After the luncheon, the visitors moved to Lumino Primary School’s grounds where the event was to take place. Like it was on the Kenyan side of the border, several games had been organised, ranging from a traditional board game,

³⁶ There is a Language Board in place for Lusamia although the members are still deliberating what the standard Lusamia orthography should be.

³⁷ When we visited Kenya in January 2015, on arrival we were hosted by the area MP for a luncheon before proceeding to the venue where the event was held. It was thus imperative that the Samia from Kenya are also hosted by the area MP on the Ugandan side of the border.

football for ladies, football for men (including the area MPs), rope pulling, etc. The event started with speeches from both the host MP and the visiting MP. Like I noted in the description of the interaction on the Kenyan side of the border above, the Samia from the Kenyan side of the border spoke Swahili and Lusamia but with Swahili words while the Ugandan Samia spoke Lusamia with Luganda words. The commentators of the games (football and netball) switched from Lusamia to Swahili to Luganda and sometimes English. In fact, there were two commentators, one from the Kenyan side of the border and the other from the Ugandan side of the border.³⁸

(OTACCUG/KE)

The data presented above further affirms that the Samia people in both Uganda and Kenya view themselves as culturally similar. They come together annually and participate in the same activities and understand one another when they speak. While observing these cultural events, I did not find any situation in which there was lack of understanding from either group of the Samia. Therefore, despite the fact that the physical border exists, the Samia have not let this divide them; they continuously interact with each other and speak Lusamia – which is a language shared by the two groups.

Having looked at the availability of different linguistic varieties and their use in different situations from the speakers' perspectives, it is important that we also look at how language is used in the environment around the speakers. This refers to the notion of 'language in the public space' which was discussed in section 4.7.2. 'Language in the public space' is defined by Shohamy (2006: 110) as "all language items that are displayed in a variety of contexts in the environment". One of the mechanisms of language in public space (as mentioned in section 4.7.2) is linguistic landscape, which is defined by Shohamy (2006: 112) as "specific language objects that mark the public space". These may include, amongst others, names of streets, road signs, advertising billboards, names of shops, public signs, and names of buildings, places and institutions.

Looking at the linguistic landscape (i.e., language in the public space) on both the Ugandan and Kenyan side of the border, there is evidence of different linguistic resources in use. I asked respondents from both sides of the border which languages were used most in public space. Of the 25 Ugandan participants, 20 said that signposts³⁹ are mostly in English and Lusamia, one said they are in Luganda, and two said they are in Swahili. The other two said

³⁸ Two commentators were used to represent the two groups of people attending the event. The Kenyan commentator switched between Lusamia and Swahili while the Ugandan switched between Lusamia and Luganda.

³⁹ Here, the meaning of "signpost" is that of "an instance of signage" (not restricted to a post giving its readers directions), including a notice or sign providing information.

they had never taken an interest in the language appearing on these signposts. To complement the data from the interviews, I followed up the interview responses with my own observation of the linguistic landscape on the Ugandan side of the border. I confirmed what the respondents had said, namely that most signposts are in English and Lusamia. For instance, I sampled 20 signposts around one of the markets; eight of these were in English only, five in Lusamia only, another five in both English and Lusamia, and only two were in Luganda only. This confirms what the respondents said, namely that most signposts are in English and Lusamia. Below are some examples of language used in the public space on the Ugandan side of the border.

The signpost in Figure 4 is from a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) and is displayed in the town of Busia, Uganda. It is part of an awareness campaign on how men can be helpful in ending gender-based violence in homes. The signpost is in Lusamia; the English translation is *Men too can end gender-based violence*. The signpost appears in Lusamia because this is the area language and it is thus assumed that most of the people in the area understand Lusamia and can access the information.



Figure 4: Signpost of NGO in Lusamia

Later, as I continued with my observation of the linguistic landscape, I discovered that in some places, the English version of the information above was also given alongside another message, as shown in Figure 5 below:

The signposts in figure 5 are displayed in English only. The information given is about educating girls and about men becoming instrumental in ending gender-based violence. These signposts appear with others promoting the registration of children to enable delivery of services.



Figure 5: Signposts of NGO in English

The above signposts are in English because, as noted earlier, English is the official language of Uganda and thus the language of instruction in schools. It is thus assumed that the stakeholders in these campaigns have knowledge of English and, if the need arises, can translate the messages to the people into Lusamia.

In yet other signposts that I observed on the Ugandan side of the border, English was used and this time, the Lusamia version appeared alongside the English one. Below are some examples:

1. *Dental clinic – Omusawo w’ameno*
2. *Sugar – Sukaali*
3. *Cold water – Amachi kanyitire*

The above signposts are in English but the Lusamia translations are given to ensure that the different people who live in Busia town on the Ugandan side and speak different languages are able to understand what the signpost is about. Those who are not Samia are thus assumed to possibly be able to understand the English version whereas the Samia can comprehend the Lusamia version of the signpost. One would have assumed that perhaps the translation of the Samia text would have been in Luganda since it is assumed to be the language of wider communication. However, English is used because it is the official language of Uganda, and perhaps the owner of the dental clinic (signpost 1 above) and the owner of the shop (signposts 2 and 3) want to target the elite in the area and people who do not understand Luganda, including those from the Kenyan side of the border. This shows the perception that English is “universally” understood across the border since it is also the official language of Uganda, as noted by authors such as Kwesiga (1994), Nakayiza (2013) and Namyalo and Nakayiza (2015). By contrast, Lusamia is used because it is the area language (although the community

is generally multilingual). This is an indication of signalling of the Samia identity despite the area being multilingual. What I infer from the data presented above is that negotiation of identities by the Samia goes beyond their interaction with one another, to encompass language as is used in public space. Recall that two participants in the interviews on the Ugandan side of the border had intimated that sometimes Luganda is also used in public space. I confirmed this during my observation of the linguistic landscape: Luganda is not as widely used in public space on the Ugandan side of the border as are Lusamia and English. This is partly explained by the fact that not every Lusamia speaker has knowledge of Luganda, and there are many non-Samia people in Busia town on the Ugandan side of the border, including Kenyans, who do not understand Luganda. Nonetheless, Luganda is used in some cases alongside English or Lusamia, as seen in Figure 6 below.



Figure 6: Signpost in English and Luganda

The signpost (Figure 6) is in English but a Luganda word, *Omunanansi* (meaning ‘a special kind of pineapple juice’) is given in brackets. The owner of this shop is mindful of the fact that there may be people who do not understand English and yet have knowledge of Luganda and Lusamia.⁴⁰ This further confirms what Busch (2012) points out about speakers’ ideologies influencing their use of language. After observing the linguistic landscape on the Ugandan side of the border, I had to establish the status quo in Busia, Kenya. To achieve this

⁴⁰ The word *OMUNANANSI* means ‘the juice from the pineapple’ but the fruit itself (a pineapple) is referred to as *ENANANSI* which Lusamia has borrowed from Luganda. The only difference is in pronunciation which details I cannot delve into in this study. This means that this word can be understood by people who have knowledge of either Luganda or Lusamia.

objective, I posed the same question to the interviewed participants on the Kenyan side of the border. Of the 25 interviewed speakers of Lusamia, 15 said the signposts are usually in

Swahili, and the remaining 10 said they are in both English and Swahili. Unlike on the Ugandan side of the border, Lusamia was not mentioned as one of the languages used in the public space. Since I was using a triangulation data collection method, I followed up these responses with my own observation. What I observed corresponded with what the participants had said in the interviews. I sampled 20 signposts around one of the busy market area on the Kenyan side of the border,⁴¹ and 10 of these were in Swahili only, seven were in both Swahili and English, and three were in Lusamia only. No respondent had mentioned Lusamia as language used in public space, perhaps because it is taken for granted that Lusamia, being the community language, would appear in at least some signposts. A possible reason for the low frequency of occurrence of Lusamia is the diverse linguistic backgrounds of the people coming to the market and the shops, so not using Lusamia (only) is a strategy to avoid excluding anyone. Below are some of the examples that I observed.

4. *Cold water – MAJI BARIDI*

5. *Kerosene – MAFUTA YA TA*

6. *Farmers Agroveter – DUKA LA WAKULIMA*

As was the case on the Ugandan side of the border, the items in this particular shop that I observed on the Kenyan side of the border are displayed in two languages, that is, Swahili and English. The first sign (number 4) reads *MAJI BARIDI* in Swahili which is then translated into ‘cold water’ in English. The second sign (number 5) reads *MAFUTA YA TA* in Swahili which is ‘kerosene’ in English. The other signpost (number 6) is for a shop for agricultural products and is also displayed in both Swahili and English. The reason why Swahili is used together with English on the Kenyan side of the border is that Swahili is both a national and the second official language. Kibui (2014) explains the above status quo of Swahili by stating that Swahili is favoured in post-independence Kenya because it is looked at as a language that promotes national unity and enhances regional cooperation. English is used because it is deemed to be understood by the majority of the Kenyans.

⁴¹ I used the same sample and also chose a location similar to that on the Ugandan side of the border – similar in the sense that it is also around the market.

Further observation of the linguistic landscape on the Kenyan side of the border revealed more examples of Swahili and English used in public space. Below (figure 7) is information displayed on a door of a shop about an item sold in the shop plus its price.

The item advertised in figure 7 is *Unga ya Mihogo* which is in Swahili and means, ‘cassava flour’. The amount (1kg) and the price (50/=) are displayed in English, further manifesting the use of both Swahili and English for the reasons that I mentioned above.

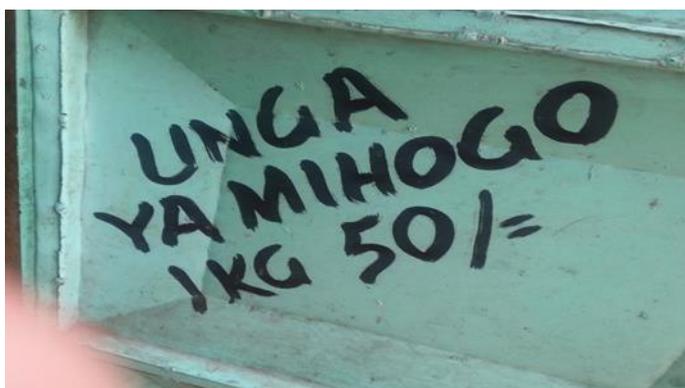


Figure 7: Signpost in Swahili and English

Below is further exemplification of two languages being used in public space in a multilingual setting like the towns of Busia under study.

The information seen in figure 8 on the left is displayed on a door of another shop that I observed on the Kenyan side of the border. It reads soda (English) *baridi* (Swahili for ‘cold’).



Figure 8: Signpost 2 in Swahili and English

The signpost above (figure 8) is further illustration of the use of both Swahili and English in public space on the Kenyan side of the border.

The data presented so far from both the interviews, observations and linguistic landscape affirm what Kibui (2014) states about the status quo of Swahili in Kenya. Swahili is mostly used in the day-to-day interactions of the Samia and in the public space on the Kenyan side of

the border. By contrast, on the Ugandan side of the border, Swahili is minimally used. The question may arise as to why this is the case if Uganda and Kenya are neighbouring countries and the Samia on either of the border are in constant interaction. According to Mpuga (2003), on being introduced, Swahili was rejected by most Ugandans on the grounds of not being an indigenous Ugandan language. This resistance explains why few people in Uganda speak Swahili and why the sign posts on the Ugandan side of the border (as we saw earlier) are displayed in English and Lusamia but not in Swahili. The language(s) used in the public space, as illustrated in the examples above, can be used to mark the public space in a given location, as stated by authors such as Shohamy and Gorter (2008) and Landry and Bourhis (1997). For instance, Shohamy (2006) observes that languages used in public space can indicate the importance, power, significance and relevance or irrelevance of certain languages. In the case of the data presented above, Swahili is mostly used in the public space (alongside Lusamia and English) because it is both the national and official language of Kenya. The widespread usage of Swahili in the public space in Kenya thus reaffirms its importance and relevance in Kenya (see Shohamy, 2006).

On further observation of linguistic landscape on the Kenyan side of the border, I noted that in some cases, some of the signposts appear only in Swahili or only in English.

Figure 9 is an example of a signpost which is displayed only in English:



Figure 9: Signpost in English only

In other cases, like in Figure 10, the signpost appears only in Swahili. It reads *maji baridi* which means ‘cold water’.



Figure 10: Signpost in Swahili only

The above examples of language used in the public space on the Kenyan side of the border further reaffirm the position of Swahili as the national language of Kenya and so it is assumed that most of the people understand Swahili. English, also being an official language of Kenya, has an important place in society, especially in this highly multilingual town of Busia where everyone is not expected to have knowledge of Swahili or Lusamia.

Other signposts that I observed on the Kenyan side of the border appear in both Swahili and English, as exemplified below:

- *Unisex KINYOZI* [English and Swahili]
- *JAMBO maize meal* [Swahili and English]
- *MWENDE POLE pork butchery* [Swahili and English]
- *LALA SALAAMA guest house* [Swahili and English]
- *MAMA BARAK shop* [Swahili and English]
- *SHIKAMO pub* [Swahili and English]

What I observed about the above signposts is that the kind of mixing of two languages was only evident in bottom-up signs and not top-down signs too. In regards to what Shohamy (2006) states about the different signs, these bottom-up signs are found around the market areas and are made of simple materials that may not be durable, e.g., these may be signs on cardboard, pieces of wood or low quality materials. By contrast, top-down signs will not often have this kind of mixing of languages (see for example figures 4 and 5). These are usually placed in the town centres and are made of high quality materials. Such signs are usually put up by the government or Non-Government Organisations.

As mentioned earlier, Swahili and English are both official languages in Kenya, and Swahili is also the national language. Because of this language policy, it is assumed that the Samia of Kenya will have knowledge of either Swahili or English or both (in addition to Lusamia),

making them multilingual, which explains why the signposts presented above appear in both Swahili and English. When I observed the variation in the usage of the different languages in public space in the Samia community,⁴² there was evidence of the different sites that Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) discuss. Recall that these are the sites of luxury, of necessity, and of implosion. Sites of luxury include signage “around products and services at the higher-end scale”, and the materials used to make them are usually durable.⁴³ By contrast, sites of necessity often display signs lower in “economic hierarchy”, and the materials used are usually of low quality (Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009: 367). Sites of implosion are those which cannot be assigned to either the category of necessity or that of luxury. From the description of the sites given above, one would have assumed that Swahili and English are used in the sites of luxury while perhaps Lusamia is used in the sites of necessity. To some extent, the assumption is borne out, but included in the data just presented was a sign for a barbershop or hairdresser (*Unisex KINYOZI*) which I would refer to as a site of implosion, at least from the description given by Stroud and Mpendukana (2009) (for more details, refer to section 4.7.2). This signpost is displayed in Swahili and English, languages that are of higher importance in Kenya, being the official languages.

From such observations above, I conclude that regardless of whether the site is one of necessity, luxury or implosion, different languages are used because the Samia community is multilingual. There is also a need to reach the speakers of various languages who live in or who visit the Samia community. Despite this distinction between ‘sites of necessity’, ‘sites of implosion’ and ‘sites of luxury’, it is clear is that the signs put up by the community members themselves (bottom-up signs) are more mixed, in the sense that different languages are usually used in the same signpost. By contrast, the signs that are put up by the government and Non-Government Organizations (top-down signs) adhere to the ideology of keeping the languages separate.

The observations that I made about language usage in the public space in the towns of Busia Uganda and Busia Kenya are reflective of the continued contact that the Samia speakers have with members of other communities. Thus, different languages are used in public space to ensure that the different people who live and visit the Samia community are able to comprehend the messages displayed. In view of the above argument, in the next section I

⁴² Different languages are used in the public space in the Samia community: Lusamia and Swahili, only Lusamia, Lusamia and Luganda, Swahili and English, etc.

⁴³ Examples of these sites are billboards advertising big companies like telecom companies, naming supermarkets, etc.

discuss how the Samia are in contact with different groups of people and how this affects their language use and, eventually, construction of linguistic identities.

6.4. Contact of Samia with speakers of other languages

In order to in order to establish which people are in contact with the Lusamia speakers, I asked the participants in the interviews with who they interact with on a daily, weekly, monthly and/or annual basis. I did this in order to establish the social networks that the Samia people have because, according to Milroy (1980), the different networks that speakers engage in contribute to the construction of [linguistic] identities. From the interview data, I noted that the people that are in contact with the Samia on the Ugandan side of the border differ from those on the Kenyan side. (To illustrate: One Kenyan participant said he met the Jalu, Gikuyu, Kamba, Babukusu and Masai, whereas one Ugandan participant said she met the Bagisu, Basoga, Itesots and Jopadholas.) My observation is in line with Quane's (2009) assertion that different multilingual settings manifest different linguistic repertoires and thus impose different demands on the people who speak the different languages. These different linguistic manifestations in the two Samia communities have implications for the Samia language. It is for this reason that the participants that I interviewed revealed that 90% of the differences between the Lusamia spoken in Uganda and that spoken in Kenya are brought about by this varied contact. For instance, from my observations and the interview data, it became clear that the Lusamia of Uganda shows influence from Luganda while the Lusamia of Kenya is influenced by Swahili. For illustration, consider the following examples from the interviews. Some of these were presented in Chapter 5; they are reanalysed here.

When I asked a Ugandan interview participant what activities she carried out either daily or during the course of a typical week, her response was as follows:

Nimaho, ndakeniyaho abeho nabecha, olundi ndacha muhatale

I dig, I visit relatives, friends, and sometimes I go to the market.

(IITUG25)

I then asked her if she crosses the border and, if she does, what she goes to do in Kenya, upon which she said she does cross the border, and below is what she goes to do:

Ninja mba njire okulayo koti amafuta ketara, engubo ch'abaana bayere, OBA.
[Luganda word for 'or'] *ohukula ebindu bindi.*

When I go across the border, I go to buy some paraffin, clothes for babies or [Luganda] to buy other things.

(IITUG25)

In the first example above, there is evidence that Samia speakers are in contact with speakers of other languages. The participant reports that she goes to the market [where as I noted earlier, there are a number of people from different linguistic backgrounds who go there]. In the second example above, influence of Luganda on Lusamia is manifested. A Luganda word, *OBA* ‘or’, is used by the Lusamia speaker. The above incidence of a Samia using a Luganda word while speaking Lusamia is evidence that the contact of Lusamia speakers with speakers of other languages has an influence on Lusamia as a language.

Considering the speakers of Lusamia on the Kenyan side of the border, I noted use of some Swahili when they speak Lusamia. For instance, I asked a participant in the interviews to tell me about some of the cultural ceremonies that are performed among the Samia in Kenya. Below is his response:

Waliwo KAMA [Swahili word for ‘like’] *ohuhwa*, *ARUSI* [Swahili word for ‘wedding’] *nende engannyo*.

There is like [Swahili] *paying dowry, weddings* [Swahili] *and last funeral rites*⁴⁴.

(IITKE15)

I then asked the same Kenyan respondent if the cultural ceremonies in his area were the same as those performed on the Ugandan side of the border. Below is his response:

TAFAWUTI [Swahili word for ‘difference’] *yiwumawo*

There is no difference [Swahili]

(IITKE15)

Similar to the Ugandan side of the border, Lusamia in Kenya is influenced by other languages; however, on the Kenyan side of the border, the influence comes from Swahili. In the data presented above, the interview participant uses the Swahili words *KAMA* for ‘like’, *ARUSI* for ‘weddings’ and *TAFAWUTI* for ‘difference’. This thus further affirms the notion of indexicality as stated by Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 378) that “one entity or event points to the

⁴⁴ In the Samia culture, when someone passes away, s/he will be buried after two or three days. After 40 days, the Samia hold what is referred to as “last funeral rites” where the main heir is declared. It is a time to celebrate the departed, so there is a lot of eating and dancing.

other”. In the above excerpt (IITKE15), the use of the Swahili words is indexical of a Kenyan Samia. In the same regard, as seen in excerpt IITUG25, the use of Luganda words like ‘*OBA*’ while speaking Lusamia is indexical of a Ugandan Samia.

After ascertaining that the Lusamia speakers are frequently in contact with speakers of other languages, I was interested in finding out what languages the Samia speak when they get in contact with those speakers. 95% of the respondents from Kenya said they spoke Swahili, the remainder said when they have crossed the border to Uganda, they try to speak Luganda, but they do not know it very well, so they resort to English in case the people understand English. In fact, one respondent said that he feels excluded when he is on the Ugandan side of the border and meets people who do not speak Lusamia, Swahili or English. This illustrates Lefebvre's (1991) argument about different social spaces including or excluding speakers of different languages. Also, this is a situation in which language can be used to exclude some people and include others. Blommaert et al. (2005) are in support of the above argument advanced by Lefebvre (1991) when they point out that different languages play different roles in the different spaces in which they are used. The argument advanced here is that speakers need to be aware of which languages are to be used in (a) particular situation(s). For instance, in the example of the Samia from the Kenyan side of the border, he needed to be aware that he was crossing to Uganda where the language of wider communication is Luganda and a lack of knowledge of this language could mean exclusion. This particular speaker may have various linguistic resources, but this particular environment (the Ugandan side of the border) demands a linguistic resource (Luganda) that the speaker does not have.

Before making conclusions based on what I had heard from the Samia on the Kenyan side of the border, I asked those on the Ugandan side of the border which language they spoke with the people who did not speak either Lusamia or Swahili. They said they resort to English but since it is only the elite who speak English and there are few in this rural community (as noted earlier), this sometimes excludes some speakers from certain interactions, thus hindering communication.

To further affirm the arguments that I and authors like Blommaert et al. (2005) and Lefebvre (1991) are putting forward, I observe that the Samia participants from the Kenyan side of the border uses Swahili because it is the national language and therefore lingua franca in Kenya (Attorney General, 2010; Kibui, 2014; Ogechi, 2003). This status quo is different when it comes to the Ugandan side of the border because the language policy here is different.

English is the official language whereas Luganda is the lingua franca for most of the Ugandans (regardless of which of the different Ugandan languages they speak) (Kwesiga, 1994; Kyeyune, 2003; Nakayiza, 2013; Namyalo and Nakayiza, 2015). Based on the language policy of Uganda referred to above, the Ugandan respondent has to make a choice to speak Luganda with those who understand the language and English with those she knows do not speak Luganda.

As stated earlier, this study used triangulation in data collection so as to complement data from one data collection method with data from another. I thus followed up the interviews with my own observations in two main markets, one in Uganda and one in Kenya (both in the towns of Busia). I wanted to find out what languages are generally spoken here (as a follow up on what the interview participants had told me). Below is what I observed:

In the Kenyan market, I heard several languages being spoken. These included but were not limited to Lusamia, Swahili, Lusoga, Lugisu, Jalu, Kikuyu, Luganda and Lumataki. I could identify most of them; those that I couldn't, I asked my Kenyan informant (who accompanied me to the markets) to identify. When I visited the Ugandan market, I heard, amongst others, Luganda, English, Lusamia, Swahili, Lusoga, Lugisu, Jopadhola, and Karimojong.

(OTMKE1)

The above observation confirms that speakers of Samia are constantly in contact with speakers of other languages both within and outside their communities, including across the border. I was not surprised to hear Ugandan languages being spoken in the Kenyan market because I had learnt from the interviews that I had earlier carried out that the Samia go to the Kenyan market to trade. So when the Ugandans meet in this market, they speak their Ugandan languages but have to switch to either Swahili or Lusamia depending on the client or seller.⁴⁵ If a Kenyan is in the Ugandan market, Swahili and Lusamia will be the obvious languages, but if the client cannot speak Swahili or Lusamia, English may be used. A few Kenyans, especially those who trade in the markets, have however tried to learn Luganda.⁴⁶

From the above observations, we see what Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) pointed out about continuous negotiation of linguistic identities. Speakers of different languages often make

⁴⁵ If the Ugandan is selling goods in the Kenyan market, she may not identify the native language of the buyer immediately, so she always uses Swahili first, then along the way, if they discover they are both from Uganda, they can speak Lusamia or any other Ugandan language that they have in common, as seen in section 5.1.

⁴⁶ From the interviews and the observations that I made, there are fewer Kenyans in the Ugandan markets than Ugandans in the Kenyan market. This is because, as about 90% of the Ugandans interviewed said, goods in Kenya, including in the markets, are cheaper than those in Uganda.

choices of which language(s) to use in the varying situations they find themselves in. The above assertion is true for the Samia who interact with speakers of other languages. As a result of these interactions, the Lusamia speakers use different languages as the environment demands and, in so doing, constantly negotiate their linguistic identities. For instance, when the Lusamia speakers on the Kenyan side of the border meet speakers of other languages, like Kamba or Babukusu, who do not speak Lusamia, they adopt a common language: Swahili (on the Kenyan side of the border) and Luganda or English (on the Ugandan side of the border).

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed interaction of language, space and identity. I focused on the changes in the linguistic behaviour of speakers as they move from one space to another; the different spaces place different linguistic demands on the speakers. According to Lefebvre (1991), spaces may either include or exclude people, depending on its linguistic demands. For instance, a participant on the Ugandan side of the border reported that he had been charged more money in a Kenyan hospital on the basis of being a Ugandan. This scenario shows how some spaces can exclude members who do not meet the requirements of that particular space.

Findings in this study revealed that as speakers move from one space to another, they fill these spaces with different language ideologies, beliefs and cultural practices. Therefore, what the speakers think of a particular place will determine what linguistic resources they employ there. The Lusamia speakers move from one space to another, not only within their communities but also across the border, and this places different demands on their identity construction. There are various reasons for the Samia crossing the border (whether to the Ugandan or to the Kenyan side). These reasons include trade, education, work, leisure, visiting relatives and friends, and attending cultural ceremonies. When they cross the border, they engage in different linguistic practices depending on the different domains such as home, market, shops, etc. which they enter. Since different linguistic environments require different linguistic resources (as stated by Blommaert et al., 2005), the notion of ‘truncated multilingualism’ applies here, where different linguistic resources are used depending on the different language activities in which the speakers engage. The above assertion is not only true for interactions involving the Samia, but also applies to the language used in public space. Different languages are used in public space depending on who the target audience is. But given the fact that the Samia community is multilingual, most of the linguistic landscape observed confirmed what I had been told by the respondents about different languages being

spoken in the Samia community, especially because of contact of the Samia with speakers of other languages.

What I conclude from the deliberations in this chapter is that the border is sometimes absent (as seen by the free movement) and at other times is a reality (as seen from the unfair treatment reported by some respondents from the Ugandan side of the border). However, beyond the boundary, there are various linguistic practices; the border is an avenue for developing social networks (as Brambilla, 2007 observes). As a result of this status of the border, issues of identity construction are key for the people constantly traversing the border. Therefore, the border constitutes the identity of the Samia as they interact with various people across the border and engage in different linguistic practices. As a result, the Samia are constantly negotiating different linguistic identities as they engage in various activities along and across the border.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POINTERS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1 Introduction and summary of findings

This study set out to investigate how speakers of cross-border languages like the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya negotiate their linguistic identities. Many a time, speakers of cross-border languages possess a number of linguistic options in their repertoire. From these, they need to choose the most appropriate linguistic resource(s) for a given communicative situation. In the wake of negotiating through different linguistic resources, the result is shifts in identities. This means that speakers of cross-border languages often have multiple identities. The study was guided by the postmodern and constructivist approaches that view language and identity as dynamic and continuously constructed (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Hall, 1996; Norton, 2010). The postmodernists and constructivists argue that speakers of different languages in multilingual settings are always in social interaction and, as a result, they engage in different social networks which pose different identity demands on them.

Most of the studies that I reviewed focused on the roles that cross-border languages play in different social, political and economic contexts. However, not much scholarly work has been done on the construction of linguistic identities, specifically by the Samia in both Uganda and Kenya. There was thus a need for a study to be carried out to fill this gap. The study was guided by three main questions. The questions and a summary of the answers to each question (i.e., a summary of the study's findings) are given below.

1. What perceptions and attitudes do the Samia in both Uganda and Kenya have towards their own languages and those of the neighboring communities?

The findings of the study reveal that the Samia in both Uganda and Kenya consider themselves to be one and the same people and view their languages as one and the same language. During the attendance of the annual Samia cultural event (*esidialo*)⁴⁷, these people sat together and talked like one people. Although the Kenyans spoke Lusamia with Swahili

⁴⁷ See section 4.7.1 for details.

words (Lusamia of Kenya) and the Ugandans spoke Lusamia with Luganda words (Lusamia of Uganda), they still understood each other.

There is however a sense in which the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya view the Lusamia spoken in their country to be somewhat (although not much) different to the Lusamia spoken on the other side of the border. This also holds for Samia identity.

The Lusamia speakers on either side of the border have positive attitudes towards the other languages that are spoken around them. For instance, many of them endeavour to learn the other languages around them, especially Swahili in Kenya and Luganda in Uganda. The Lusamia speakers believe that for one to be able to communicate in the Samia community (being aware that the community is multilingual), one had to learn another language in addition to Lusamia. Thus multilingualism is viewed as an advantage, and as a simple fact of life, not anything exceptional. In fact, the study revealed that the people who did not speak another language in addition to Lusamia had problems when they went to the market(s) or met people who did not speak Lusamia. Such people also felt excluded at some cultural ceremonies where the people concerned were educated (and thus spoke languages other than Lusamia) or there was an intermarriage marriage ceremony between a Samia and someone from another region. This meant that another language or other languages (languages other than Lusamia) were spoken at that ceremony.

A general conclusion is that the Samia on either side of the border realise that there is no “all purpose” language in their communities (not Lusamia nor the national or official languages) have the status of “all-purpose language” in the Samia community; rather all languages in their community are useful in different language domains.

The findings of the study further revealed that the Samia believe that their languages are mutually intelligible, nonetheless, they have some differences. The differences are brought about by the influence of the other languages spoken in the Samia community and the national language policies of the two countries. Therefore, on the Ugandan side of the border, the respondents reported that languages such as Luganda, Lusoga, Swahili and English are spoken. On the Kenyan side of the border, languages such as Luhayo, Lubukusu, Swahili and English are spoken. Because the Samia are in constant contact and interaction with different people both within and outside their communities (including across the border), they learn the languages spoken by the people they interact with so as to ease communication. In cases where they cannot learn a language of a particular group, they employ a lingua franca of that

particular community, for instance Swahili on the Kenyan side of the border. As Lefebvre (1991) points out, different spaces make different demands on the speakers that find themselves in that particular space. Thus, the Samia speakers are positive about learning a particular language if the space they are in calls for use of that language. This is confirmation of Busch's (2012) assertion that the different ideologies that people have influences how they use language in a particular situation.

2. Which linguistic practices do the Samia speakers in the two communities engage in in their different social networks and how do these contribute to the construction of linguistic identities?

Samia speakers, by virtue of being in a multilingual setting, have different linguistic resources in their repertoire. The study revealed that these linguistic resources are used variedly depending on the context of the communication. Therefore, language is dynamic and speakers often have to make different linguistic choices in the different domains in which they are engaged in their daily activities, as pointed out by authors such as Bucholtz and Hall (2004), Norton (2010) and Hall (1996). As a result of language being dynamic, it follows that linguistic identity among the Samia people is also ever changing. The Samia are constantly negotiating different linguistic identities as they make use of different languages in the various language domains. Sometimes, the Lusamia speakers use an entirely different language in a given situation or switch from one language to another as the communication takes place (using strategies like code switching, translanguaging, trans-idomaticity, etc.). Sometimes, it is a different register of the same languages being used in the different communicative situations (as in stylization). In all this, the study revealed that the speakers are always comfortable when they can speak a language that is appropriate in a particular domain, and yet feel excluded when they cannot speak that particular language. In addition, the study also revealed that there are no 'all purpose' languages. Rather, all languages are important but may be used in different language domains which means that knowledge of the languages in the community in which one lives is important for the Samia for carrying out the day-to-day interactions.

The findings of this study further reveal the existence of 'truncated multilingualism' in the Samia community. The Samia have some knowledge of the different languages in their repertoire and only put to use what is required in a particular situation. In this case, the Samia do not always have full competence in the different languages; rather, the linguistic

competencies are geared towards specific situations. The findings of the study revealed that the Samia, aware of this incomplete knowledge of the different languages in their repertoire, often come up with different strategies to counter this limitation. One of such strategies is learning some words from the other language(s); another is to switch from one language to another or to use forms in that language that they feel will be understood by the other people in the communication situation. This situation of incomplete knowledge in the different languages and the different strategies employed pose different identity demands on Lusamia speakers. The Lusamia speakers continuously negotiate different linguistic identities in the different situations they are in; and this was the main focus of this study.

Identity construction, according to authors such as Spolsky and Asher (1999), Besley (2003), Goldstein (2001), Smalley (1988) and Wei (2007), is influenced by language. This means that the language(s) that people speak influence (s) their identity, which in the case of this study is linguistic identity. Findings of this study revealed that the Samia people constitute themselves through language – that is, the language(s) that they speak influence (s) the group(s) to which they belong. However, from the findings of this study, it is evident that sometimes people first come together, and then when the need to communicate arises, they select one of the languages in their repertoire that is appropriate in that particular communicative situation. So to belong to (a) particular group(s) one may not have to first speak a particular language, but rather get to that group and establish the language they speak, and then make the choice of that language. Although my study started out with the assumptions of a speech community (the two groups I studied have a L1 in common), I can see that from the daily interactions of the Samia, the notion of community of practice is theoretically more useful; it is not practical in this case. People organise their linguistic practices around the everyday practices they engage rather than language constituting the make-up of a group.

3. How does the language used in cultural ceremonies contribute to the construction of linguistic identities?

The findings of this study revealed that during cultural ceremonies, there are different determinants of which language(s) are used. First, the people who have organised the ceremony and their social status will have an effect on which language(s) is/are to be spoken. For instance, if the people are educated and thus have a high social standing in society, English will be spoken in Uganda, while in Kenya, English and Swahili will be used. This is done to include the invited guests who may not be from the Samia community and to ensure

that they understand what is being said. Even for people who originally came from the Samia community but now live elsewhere (especially in the capitol), the expectation is that they are educated because they are friends and family of a group that has high social status. So in both cases, English will be used to signal identity with this social status. By contrast, if the people organising the function were based in the rural area, not educated and thus considered of a low social status, in Uganda, Lusamia will be used, with a bit of switching from Lusamia to Luganda. In Kenya, Lusamia will be used, with occasional switching to Swahili. These language ideologies held by speakers, as Busch (2012) asserts, influence which languages are used in the different situations. Therefore the use of different languages during the cultural ceremonies means that the Samia continuously negotiate different linguistic identities.

7.2 Contribution of the study

I cannot dispute the fact that a number of studies have been carried out on cross-border languages (as evident in studies done by authors such as Barnes and Funnell, 2005; Bwanali, 2001; Feyissa and Hoehne, 2010; Ndhlovu, 2013; etc.). However, this study considered cross-border languages from a perspective different from that taken by the scholars mentioned above, that is, a sociolinguistic perspective. The focus of the other scholars was on cross-border languages and their contribution to social, economic and political developments, but the linguistic choices that the speakers of these languages have to make in their everyday interactions have not been widely studied. Therefore, by approaching the same subject from a sociolinguistic perspective, this study has added to the body of knowledge on cross-border languages.

Most of the studies on multilingual communities have focused mainly on urban settings where multilingualism is believed to be more manifest than in rural settings (Prah, 2009a, 2010). By contrast, this study was carried out in a rural setting, and the findings reveal that there are high incidences of multilingualism and translanguaging in this rural setting. Even during the performance of cultural ceremonies (which are intimately intertwined with identity), there is easy use of multiple linguistic resources. This occurrence has implications for research in identity construction and in multilingualism research which has been dominated by studies focusing on cities and urban practices and not the older cultural practices as found in rural settings. Thus this study serves as a call to multilingualism researchers to also take into account the rural areas as these areas also manifest rich multilingualism, as seen in this study.

In addition to the study focusing on a rural area, and an area that has not been given much research attention, this is the first sociolinguistic study on Lusamia, which is an under-researched language.

Another contribution of the study is that the findings revealed that the Samia value their language as well as the other languages spoken around them. They are in constant contact with speakers of other languages in their daily interactions, and they learn (although often in part) the languages of the communities around them to ease communication and also enhance harmonious living. This is contrary to what policy makers in most parts of Africa believe, namely that homogeneity is the ideal and the only way to ensure nation-building. The findings of this study reveal that people choosing to live in and with heterogeneity, like the Samia, can actively take part in all aspects of life (social, cultural, economic, political, etc.) and that multilingualism is not a hindrance – instead monolingualism would be, at least in the case of the Samia studies here.

There is a growing interest in interdisciplinary research, and the findings of this study can initiate exchange between researchers from a wide range of specializations and disciplines, exhibiting a shared interest in learning more about cross-border languages and the construction of linguistic identity. This is because the traditional boundaries that are concerned with identity construction and cross-border languages need to be crossed if these complex issues are to be explored fully.

The findings of this study will provide a foundation for further investigation of cross-border languages, especially from a sociolinguistics perspective which has not been fully ventured into, especially the East African cross-border languages like Lusamia.

In addition to the above contributions, this study is academically current as it focuses on the sociolinguistics of cross-border languages, an area that has become the interest of many studies (see, e.g., Brambilla, 2007; Dereje and Hoehne, 2012; Ndhlovu, 2013; Prah, 2009). The findings of the study will thus add to the body of work that has already been carried out on cross-border languages but from a different perspective, namely the construction of linguistic identities. As the study only considered two cross-border language varieties in East Africa (because of limited time and finances), other researchers can use the findings of this study as a basis for further research on the other East African cross-border languages, especially in relation to the construction of the linguistic identities of their speakers. In addition, since multilingualism has become the norm in society today because of the changes

taking place due to increased migrations and globalization, the findings from this study can enable researchers and other stakeholders to describe and analyse better the issues of language choice in multilingual settings.

7.3 Practical recommendations for policy makers

Since the communities that were studied are multilingual and there is an increase in the spread of multilingualism globally, there is need for the promotion of knowledge of at least two languages. This will enable the speakers of the languages under study and other speakers in multilingual settings to be able to trade, get employment and, better still, live harmoniously with other people groups around them through eased communication. This can be done by teaching the different languages that are spoken in these communities in schools as a long term plan. A short term plan can be the promotion of translation of the books that are used in teaching in these communities into the various languages that are existent. The translation should also include the religious books such as the Bible, prayer books, hymn books, etc. since – like I reported in the findings in Chapter 5 – these religious books in the Samia community are usually in Swahili or Kinyore (in Kenya) and in Luganda (in Uganda), languages that are not understood by everyone in the Samia community.

In the short term, alongside translation of various texts, inter-comprehension should be sought. People in multilingual communities like the two Samia communities should be encouraged to speak their languages even as they embark on learning the other languages spoken around them. What inter-comprehension means is that people speak their different languages but are able to understand, and be understood by, the other people around them. In so doing, all languages concerned are valued and people will be able to learn the languages around them passively without feeling that they are forced to do so.

Policy makers in the two countries should consider measures to promote and ease the mobility of both people and the different languages spoken in these two countries. Taking a postmodern perspective, this study advocates for considering the different languages in the cross-border region (and other regions) as all important rather than imposing one language on all members of the community. People should be motivated to learn more languages by being told about the benefits of being multilingual, rather than being penalised for using one language and not another. For instance, in schools, children should not be punished for speaking the local language(s) (referred to as “the vernacular”). Rather, they should be encouraged to learn English and Swahili/Luganda (or both) alongside the local language

Lusamia. People (especially starting with the children) should be encouraged to learn the languages spoken by the people around them in addition to their own native language. This will enable the people in this multilingual community to communicate easily with whoever is living in or visiting their community.

7.4 Pointers for further research

The findings of the study indicate that the two Samia languages⁴⁸ have similarities but also differences. According to the speakers, these languages differ in pronunciation, word choices, and general morphological constructions, and there are also grammatical differences. I could not delve much into this because of the scope and time constraints of this study. I would thus recommend linguists who are interested in language description to explore these differences and ascertain if these differences perhaps have an effect on language learning and, later, use in society.

Data for this study was collected mainly from the rural areas of the two towns of Busia Uganda and Busia Kenya. The interviews and observation of cultural ceremonies, which form the bulk of the data, took place in rural areas. It is common knowledge that the urban areas in these two countries are multilingual, and I had also read about a number of studies on these urban areas. These studies were not on construction of linguistic identities, but focused on languages use in these areas. I thus thought that I could explore the rural areas and investigate the kind of multilingualism there and how this affects the speakers' construction of linguistic identities. I only went to the town centres to observe language use in the markets and in public space. This is because the major markets, those that I thought would provide rich data, are found in the urban centres. However, like I mentioned above, most of the studies that have been carried out in the urban centres are on language use in general; many have not focused on construction and/or reconstruction of linguistic identities that multilinguals have to continuously do. I would thus suggest that future research continue to investigate multilingualism in the rural areas but also in urban settlements – but this time focusing on identity construction in urban areas. I would also urge researchers on the Samia language to investigate how Lusamia “travels” to the big towns and cities, and what happens to the linguistic repertoires of Samia speakers when they are in the big cities like Kampala and Nairobi. Furthermore, how Samia speakers in the cities construct their identity, is another topic for further investigation.

⁴⁸ I indicated in Chapter 1 that in this study, I would refer to and view them as two languages.

Like I mentioned above, I only observed language use in two major markets in the two towns of Busia and on specific market days. I could not do more than this for the reasons that I mentioned in Chapter 4. I anticipate things could be different in the other markets, both in the urban centres and those in the rural areas. Even within the markets that I visited, perhaps on the other days (not the market days), the language situation may be different. It would be interesting to find out the kind of language diversity and language use that manifest in these markets, as they tend to attract a linguistically and culturally diverse range of people.

7.5 Conclusion

In summary, the border between Kenya and Uganda is more than merely a political line drawn on the ground. Rather, this border is used to develop networks among the cross-border communities. The findings of the study reveal that the speakers of Lusamia on the two sides of the border are constantly in interaction and that this interaction is not at all hindered by the political boundary. The speakers are not limited by the border; instead, the border creates spaces in which different demands, which include social, economic and political demands, are made on the Samia and in which they need to negotiate their linguistic identities. According to Brambilla (2007: 23), speakers of cross-border languages, despite being found at the margin of different countries, are usually affected by what happens in their respective countries. These may be social, economic or political aspects of the different countries. Thus, although the border does not impede interaction in the Samia communities, the border is also not just an imaginary line on the ground – rather, it indicates where one country, with its particular language policy, history, social practices, etc., ends and another begins. Speakers of cross-border languages carry out various social, economic and political activities. All these activities require language, and the Samia choose different linguistic resources depending on the situation they find themselves in. As a result, different linguistic identities are negotiated from time to time, following Norton's (2010) assertion that identity is dynamic and thus ever-changing.

The findings of this study further confirm that language is more than just a linguistic system; it is socially constructed as speakers participate in various social activities. As stated by Norton (2010: 351), language is used variedly depending on the context in which it is being used. The varied use of language can mean use of different languages (or different varieties or registers of the same language) in different situations. The Samia use the different linguistic resources in their repertoire to link themselves to the other people around them and to bridge

the language gaps that could have existed had multilingualism not existed in these communities. In the same regard, I also appreciate that language is not just an instrument of expressing meaning as *per se*, but rather an instruments to express social and cultural interests of speakers.

Globalization is turning the world into the supreme stage for all types of social, economic and political changes. The implications of these changes for linguistic practices, for the speakers of the different languages and/or varieties and for linguistic diversity are profound. These new sociolinguistic realities must be taken into account when considering language use among different groups of people. Amongst others, scholars need to take into consideration the language diversity that has been brought about by increased migrations in the postmodern era. They need to understand that multilingualism has changed over time, and they need to explore these changes in relation to the global context. Thus any research into multilingualism should take into account all aspects of new social developments that have occurred in a given society because they affect language use, which in turn affects the linguistic identities of the speakers (Mansour, 1993). As scholars do this, they need consider both individual and societal multilingualism in order to better understand people, both as individuals and as groups, and how they make different linguistic choices in the different communicative situations. Therefore, I urge researchers and other stakeholders to take into consideration the differences in language diversity that the different social environments present, especially in multilingual settings.

In multilingual contexts, speakers are not expected to attain native-like fluency in the different languages in their repertoire. This is because they only make a particular linguistic choice to suit the existing context and will switch to another if the context changes. Speaker perfection in various languages should not be emphasised, but there is need to take into consideration the communication implications of the incomplete knowledge of a speaker. Therefore, multilingualism as linguistic repertoire enables trans-tribal, transgender, trans-regional, and transnational mobility (Banda and Bellononjengele, 2010).

Switching from one language to another as occurs in many multilingual settings, like the two Samia communities in this study, is not only determined by the situation of verbal exchange, but also by the perceptions that the speaker(s) have towards both the languages they are using and the people that are present at that particular point in time. In addition, the speakers also keep in mind the perceptions that the other people present during the verbal exchange have

towards them. All these interplay and influence which languages are to be used in a particular exchanges. Thus speakers' ideologies, the national language policies of the different countries to which cross-border languages belong and the constant interactions speakers have influence which languages they use in different situations. Consequently, different identities are negotiated, and the result is these speakers having multiple linguistic identities that are dependent on the particular space they are in.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

This interview guide is intended to keep me focused on the key topics of interest for this study, it will not be followed word-for word but rather it will guide my discussion with the participants. I will try to cover all of the key topic areas in the guide during the discussion. I will try to follow the natural flow of the conversation and tactfully divert participants back to the key issues if the conversation strays from the topics of interest. These interviews will be open-ended, with the informant's responses determining the direction of the interview. These interviews are expected to last between one and a half hours to two hours. I will write up fair notes as soon as after the interview as possible.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with the participants will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with their permission or as required by law. No names of any participants will be mentioned; participants will be given a participant number and/or pseudonym that will be utilised in the dissertation for ease of reference, and only the researcher will be able to identify the participant.

PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

The participants can choose whether to be in this study or not, if they volunteer to be in this study, they may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. They may also refuse to answer any questions they don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw participants from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

1. What do you have to say about the origin of the Samia people found in both Uganda and Kenya?
2. Tell me about the language situation in your community, stating which language (s) you mostly use at home, in the market, and in any other situation.
3. Why do you use this language (s) and which people do you use the language with? In the market in Uganda, use Luganda mostly but also Samia, not Swahili.
4. Tell me about your experiences when you cross the border?

5. Who do you go to see, what do you go to do, what language(s) do you speak and what are some of the language problems you encounter?
6. Are there any differences in the public signage across the border when you compare with where you stay?
7. Can you identify some of these differences?
8. Some Ugandans have been called Kenyans and vice versa, what do you have to say about this? Do you feel more of Ugandan or Kenyan?
9. What do you think about the Samia of Uganda/Kenya in terms of being similar or different? Can you say they are the same or different? Give me some reasons why you think so?
10. What do you have to say about intermarriages among the Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya? What language(s) are spoken by the people who intermarry from the two communities?
11. What are some of the cultural ceremonies that are practiced in your community? Say something about the kind of language used in performing those different cultural ceremonies. How does the kind of language used in the cultural ceremonies identify you as Samia?
12. Would you like to add anything to the discussion? Feel free to say something more on what we have discussed and ask any questions if you have.

Thank you for your time. I really appreciate your willingness to talk with me today.

END OF INTERVIEW

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

This interview guide is intended to keep me focused on the key topics of interest for this study, it will not be followed word-for word but rather it will guide my discussion with the participants. I will try to cover all of the key topic areas in the guide during the discussion. I will try to follow the natural flow of the conversation and tactfully divert participants back to the key issues if the conversation strays from the topics of interest. These interviews will be open-ended, with the informant's responses determining the direction of the interview, I will be as flexible as possible. These interviews are expected to last between one to one and a half hours. I will write up fair notes as soon as after the interview as possible.

General information

1. Can you tell me about yourself (*probe: what is your Nationality? In which country were you born? How long have you lived in your country? If you are not living in your country of birth, for how long have you lived in the other country (Uganda/Kenya) and why did you have to live in that country?*)
2. Tell me about the languages you speak (*Probe: what is your native language? What other languages do you speak apart from your native language?*)
3. Can you describe the language situation in your area (*Probe: what language(s) are spoken mostly in your area? Why do people in this area use this language(s)? Tell me if there are cases where people use more than one language at the same time. In what situations does this happen?*)
4. Tell me something about the language used in public space. (*Probe: What language(s) do you see on public signs like on billboards, names of shops, roads, etc.? Are there situations where more than one language is used in public space? If yes, in what situations do you see more than one language used?*)

Attitudes and perceptions

5. How do you feel about your nationality? (*Probe: Do you feel more Ugandan or Kenyan? Tell me of any situation where you have been denied an opportunity because you are either Ugandan/Kenyan.*)
6. Can you describe your daily routine (*Probe: tell me some of the activities that you engage in daily. What languages do you feel more comfortable to use while participating in the different activities?*)

7. In your opinion, what do you have to say about Samia spoken in Uganda and Samia spoken in Kenya? (I will probe with the following questions:
- i.* Do you think they have the same origin? If yes, why do you say so?
 - ii.* Tell me more about the origin of Samia spoken in your country/area.
 - iii.* The two language varieties are similar, if yes, tell me why you think so. If you think the two varieties are different, explain why you think so.
 - iv.* Tell me some of the similarities and differences you see in the two language varieties.
8. What do you have to say about your relationship with the people who speak the other language variety? (I will probe with the following questions:
- i.* Do you feel that you fit in well with them? If yes, please explain how and why. If you say no, tell me why you think so.
 - ii.* Do you know a lot about the way of life of the Samia of Uganda/Kenya? Explain more about what you know.
 - iii.* Give me five things that you appreciate about the speakers of Samia in Uganda/Kenya.
 - iv.* Give me three things that bother you about the speakers of Samia in Uganda/Kenya.
9. What are some of the cultural ceremonies that are carried out in your community (I will probe with the following questions:
- i.* Name at least five cultural ceremonies that are carried out in your community.
 - ii.* What language (s) are used while performing these cultural ceremonies.
 - iii.* Why do you think this particular language or languages are used to perform these ceremonies?
 - iv.* Do you notice any differences in the cultural ceremonies performed in Uganda and Kenya? Please explain these differences and say why you think these differences exist.

Thanks for your participation

APPENDIX C: OBSERVATION GUIDE

Observation guide

What is to be observed include:

1. Ceremonies like: weddings and introduction ceremonies, baptism and naming ceremonies and funerals/funeral rites. Also the annual cultural ceremony.
Issues to be observed at these ceremonies:
 - Language (s) that are used
 - How language use differs – in Uganda and on the Kenyan side.
2. Linguistic landscape, that is, road signs, names of public buildings, private buildings and shops, notices, etc.
Issues to be observed:
 - How language is used in public space in both Uganda and Kenya.
 - How language use differs in the two communities and why.
3. Daily interactions
 - The language(s) that are used by the Samia speakers.
 - Similarities and differences in the languages used in the two communities.
 - Different social networks and the language used in these networks.
 - Interaction across the border, the language (s) that are used.
 - Other linguistic practices like code switching, style used, grammar, vocabulary, etc. in the different communities.

APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM



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STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

CONSTRUCTION OF LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES AMONG CROSS-BORDER COMMUNITIES: THE CASE OF SAMIA OF UGANDA AND SAMIA OF KENYA

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Ms Sylvia Nahayo from the General Linguistics Department at Stellenbosch University. The results from this study will contribute to the PhD dissertation that I am writing. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you speak Samia and you know about the linguistic and cultural practices of the Samia.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is set to find out how speakers of cross-border communities like the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya construct their linguistic identities. If you volunteer to participate in this study, you are asked to answer the questions that I am going to ask you.

2. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

The outcomes of the study will make the Samia communities more visible, people will be able to read about them. The members of the two communities will also learn more about their neighbours which will enhance continued harmonious living.

3. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. No names of any participants will be mentioned; participants will be given a participant number and/or pseudonym that will be utilised in the dissertation for ease of reference, and only the researcher will be able to identify the participant.

4. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

5. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Sylvia Nahayo (Researcher): +256 772 642 545, Email: sylvianahayo@yahoo.co.uk,

Dr Marcelyn Oostendorp (Supervisor): +27 (0) 82 0850521, Email: moostendorp@sun.ac.za or Dr Frenette Southwood (Co-supervisor): +27 (0) 21 8082010, Email: fs@sun.ac.za

6. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development, Stellenbosch University, South Africa.

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT

The information above was described to me by Sylvia Nahayo in Lusamia and I am in command of this language. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCHER

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to the participant. He/she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in Lusamia.

Signature of Researcher

Date

APPENDIX E: LETTER OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE FROM STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY



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Approval Notice New Application

27-Aug-2014
Nahayo, Sylvia S

Proposal #: DESC/Nahayo/Aug2014/1

Title: Construction of linguistic identities among cross-border communities: The case of Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya.

Dear Ms Sylvia Nahayo,

Your **New Application** received on **08-Aug-2014**, was reviewed
Please note the following information about your approved research proposal:

Proposal Approval Period: **22-Aug-2014 -21-Aug-2015**

General comments:

1. PROOF OF ETHICAL CLEARANCE

The student is reminded to forward to both the DESC and the REC proof of ethical clearance granted by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology and from the Ministry of Education in Kenya.

2. MINORS AND WITHDRAWAL

The following comment is only for reflection:

It would be very difficult, in long-term ethnographic research among two communities, not to observe minors and it would also be almost impossible to allow people to withdraw from or refuse participation in the research. There is not, however, a way to address these issues.

Please take note of the general Investigator Responsibilities attached to this letter. You may commence with your research after complying fully with these guidelines.

Please remember to use your **proposal number** (DESC/Nahayo/Aug2014/1) on any documents or correspondence with the REC concerning your research proposal.

Please note that the REC has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Also note that a progress report should be submitted to the Committee before the approval period has expired if a continuation is required. The Committee will then consider the continuation of the project for a further year (if necessary).

This committee abides by the ethical norms and principles for research, established by the Declaration of Helsinki and the Guidelines for Ethical Research: Principles Structures and Processes 2004 (Department of Health). Annually a number of projects may be selected randomly for an external audit.

National Health Research Ethics Committee (NHREC) registration number REC-050411-032.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research.

If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the REC office at 0218089183.

Sincerely,

Clarissa Graham
REC Coordinator
Research Ethics Committee: Human Research (Humanities)

APPENDIX F: LETTER OF RESEARCH APPROVAL FROM THE UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



Uganda National Council for Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

Our Ref: SS 3618

14/10/2014

Nahayo Slyvia
Makerere University
Kampala

Re: Research Approval: **Construction of Linguistic Identities among Cross-border Communities: The Case of Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya**

I am pleased to inform you that on **1/10/2014**, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above referenced research project. The Approval of the research project is for the period of **1/10/2014 to 1/10/2015**.

Your research registration number with the UNCST is **SS 3618**. Please, cite this number in all your future correspondences with UNCST in respect of the above research project.

As Principal Investigator of the research project, you are responsible for fulfilling the following requirements of approval:

1. All co-investigators must be kept informed of the status of the research.
2. Changes, amendments, and addenda to the research protocol or the consent form (where applicable) must be submitted to the designated local Institutional Review Committee (IRC) or Lead Agency for re-review and approval **prior** to the activation of the changes. UNCST must be notified of the approved changes within five working days.
3. For clinical trials, all serious adverse events must be reported promptly to the designated local IRC for review with copies to the National Drug Authority.
4. Unanticipated problems involving risks to research subjects/participants or other must be reported promptly to the UNCST. New information that becomes available which could change the risk/benefit ratio must be submitted promptly for UNCST review.
5. Only approved study procedures are to be implemented. The UNCST may conduct impromptu audits of all study records.
6. A progress report must be submitted electronically to UNCST within four weeks after every 12 months. Failure to do so may result in termination of the research project.

Below is a list of documents approved with this application:

	Document Title	Language	Version	Version Date
1	Research proposal	English	N/A	June 2013

Yours sincerely,


Winfred Badanga
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

LOCATION/CORRESPONDENCE

Plot 6 Kimera Road, Ntinda
P. O. Box 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA

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APPENDIX G: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT – UGANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER IITUG1

Esiteebo: Oli Omunauganda oba Omunakenya?

Amakaluso: Ese ndi Munauganda.

Esiteebo: Webulirwa ena?

Amakaluso: Ano sa e Uganda.

Esiteebo: Olulimi lwawo lwibuliranwa nilwo lulimi si?

Amakaluso: Olusamia Lugwe.

Esiteebo: Olusamia lugwe oba Olugwe?

Amakaluso: Olugwe wabayo Olusamia lugwe, Abasamia, nibo abalanga bati *Omundu*, effe hulanga huti *Omutu*.

Esiteebo: Nimi sina chindi cho'olomalomaho n'otusireho olulimi lwawo?

Amakaluso: Manyire Olugwere, Manyire Oluganda, Manyire Oluzungu, Manyire (hesitates), Oluswayiri simanyire bulayi – mbuliraho hatono.

Esiteebo: Nimi sina chindi ch'owuliraho abandu n'balomaloma mu area yino (situndu sino)?

Amakaluso: Mbulira yireyo Oluteso, balomaloma ni sitegera (influence of Luganda). Waliyo Olukumam, oyo naye adeha eweffe, alomaloma, ni sitegera – otusaho nga (influence of Luganda) achusise mulusungu.

Esiteebo: Walihowo luwuliraho abandu n'bahosesa olulimi lutali lulala esiha silala?

Amakaluso: Koti abandu nibamanyire Olusamia handi n'bamanyire Olusungu lwosi, banyala balomaloma nibasasamu kyombi.

Esiteebo: Oholanga sina muludalo lwawo?

Amakaluso: Nimaho, ndakeniyaho abeho nabecha, olundi ndacha musokoni.

Esiteebo: Wambuhangaho e'Kenya?

Amakaluso: Yi.

Esiteebo: N’ocha oba ochire oholayo si?

Amakaluso: Ninja mba njire okulayo nga amafuta, handi nyala oyirahoyo amadimwa oba (influence of Luganda) obule.

Esiteebo: Nanu n’obiyirire mu sokoni (influence of Swahili) ohosesa lulimi si?

Amakaluso: Nanu ninjirire musoskoni, mba mbita n’abatu bambola, mama kuja (Swahili), nimanya ti bananga, ninja nibateeba, beeyi gaani y’wimbi? (Swahili) Nimbola endi, ofukiirira ohumberesa hubeeeyi (influence of Swahili) yino? Nanu mba manyira, ati mama, hane, oli omundu w’ebuganda?

Esiteebo: Niwewunja hu mayumba mu town e Busia oba ameeta kengira, aka masomera, oba asa obupande bwosi, lulimi sina oba nimi sina chibahosesanga ohuwandiikaho?

Amakaluso: E Busia Uganda, buhira ohuba mu Lusungu n’e Kenya buhira ohuba mu Luswairi.

Esiteebo: Walihowo y’obanangaho nibahosesa enimi chibiri ob echihira chibiri?

Amakaluso: Haba.

Esiteebo: N’obukanire abandu balomaloma enini chindi koti, Oluganda, Olusoga, Oluteso, Olucholi, olomaloma nabo lulimi sina?

Amakaluso: Alomaloma Olusoga, Oluganda, echo mbulira, niluba Oluteso, nalwo simbulira – fana nga achusire, ngesaho omubola endi mama onyala wachusaho mulusungu.

Esiteebo: Abe Buganda nende ebe Kenya badehhisaniaho?

Amakaluso: Yi.

Esiteebo: Nanu abahira ohwambuha nibadeha oba nibadehya?

Amakaluso: Badehisaniaza eyi neye, byakana

Esiteebo: Bola ho emiholo chitanu chimuhola e Buganda

Amakaluso: Amasika, embaga, enganyo, ohukuliha, ohwanjula.

Esiteebo: Lulimi sina oba nimi sina echihosesebwa hu miholo kino?

Amakaluso: Bahosesa Olusamia, olundi Oluganda, awandi kata Olusungu

Esiteebo: Walihowo olulimi lwenjawulo lubahosesa humiholo kino?

Amakaluso: Waliwo embosi kibahosesa hu masika chibatanyala bahosesa hu mbaga

Esiteebo: Waliwo enjawulo mu miholo chiholebwa e Kenya nende echiholebwa e Uganda?

Response: Echihira chifanana, mididi chibahola chihutahola.

TRANSLATION OF THE LUSAMIA TRANSCRIPT INTO ENGLISH

Question: What is your nationality?

Response: *I am a Ugandan.*

Question: In which country were you born?

Response: *I was born here in Uganda.*

Question: What is your native language?

Response: *Samia Lugwe.*

Probe: Samia or Lugwe?

Response: *Lugwe, then there is Samia, the Samia are the ones who say, Omundu (person) and for us we say, Omutu.*

Question: What other languages do you speak other than your native language?

Response: *I know Lugwere, I know Luganda, I know English, I know (hesitates), I do not know Swahili very well - I understand a little.*

Question: What other languages do you hear people in this area speak?

Response: *Ateso, they speak but I do not understand, then there is Kumam, there is a lay married in our area, I do not understand when she speaks unless she speaks English.*

Question: Is there a situation when you hear people using more than one language at the same time?

Response: *For instance if someone knows both Samia and Swahili, they can speak while switching from one language to another or mix the two.*

Question: Describe your daily routine

Response: *I dig, I visit my relatives and friends, and also going to the market.*

Question: Do you sometimes cross the border?

Response: *Yes.*

Question: What do you go to do?

Response: *I go to buy paraffin, I can also take maize or millet to sell.*

Question: When you take these items to the market across the border, what language do you often use?

Response: *When I take these things to the market, as I move around, people call me, (mama kuja - Swahili) – mum, come, then I know that they are calling me, they then ask me, (beeyi gaani y’wimbi - Swahili) how much is the millet? Then I ask them if they can give me at this price? (Price in Swahili). Then as I am still there, the buyer says, I didn’t know you are someone from (Buganda) Uganda.*

Question: When you meet people who speak other languages like Luganda, Lusoga, Ateso, Acholi, what language do you speak with them?

Response: *If it is Lusoga or Luganda, I understand, if it is Ateso, that one I do not understand – I try to tell the speaker to try and change to English.*

Question: Do the Ugandans and Kenyans intermarry?

Response: *Yes.*

Question: Who crosses the border most to get married or to marry?

Response: *I think it is the same, Ugandans cross and also Kenyans.*

Question: Name at least five cultural ceremonies that are carried out in Uganda

Response: *Funerals, church weddings, funeral rites, naming and traditional marriage ceremony.*

Question: What language(s) are used during these functions?

Response: *They can use Samia, at times, Luganda, sometimes even English.*

Question: Is there any special kind of language used during these ceremonies?

Response: *Sometimes the words used during funerals are not the same used during weddings.*

Question: Is there any difference in the cultural ceremonies carried out in Kenya from those carried out in Uganda?

Response: *Most are the same, there are very few that they do which we do not do.*

APPENDIX H: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT – FROM THE KENYAN SIDE OF THE BORDER - IITKE6

Esitebo: Oli Omuna Uganda omba Omu Kenya?

Amakaluso: Ndi Omu Kenya

Esitebo: Olulimi lwawo lwibuliranwa nilwo lulimi sina?

Amakaluso: Ndi Musamia lakini nanu ndahulira Mubahayo, nanu ndi Muhayo

Esitebo: Lulimi sina lundi oba nimi sina chindi ch'olomalomaho n'otusireho Olusamia?

Amakaluso: Oluswayiri n'Oluhayo

Esitebo: Nimi sina chindi ch'owuliraho abandu nibalomaloma mu situndu sino?

Amakaluso: Oluhayo n' Oluswayiri

Esitebo: Niwewunja Olusamia lwe Buganda n'Olusamia lwe Kenya, obasa oti lulimi luli lulala omba chiri enimi chibiri?

Amakaluso: Lulimi lulala

Esitebo: N'abandu nabo?

Amakaluso: Abasamia be Buganda n'Abasamia be Kenya bandu balala – bawulirisania

Esitebo: Nanu nga luhuli abandu balala, omundu n'ahubola ati, cha e Buganda ofuha Omuna Uganda, ocha?

Amakaluso: Nga ninja, ndi mundu Musamia, era njerayo asa, ninjola ningwasa Mulusamia lwera

Esitebo: Nga lwoli ewambi nende e Buganda, wewulira muno oyo omunesi?

Amakaluso: Ndewulira muno oti Omuna Uganda hulwohuba ndi hu mu paka (Swahili word for border – code-mixing).

Esitebo: Niwambuha engereha oba ochire oholasi?

Amakaluso: Njaho ohubona omuhana weffe, okenderaho omwicha wange, olundi mba njire okonyaho esiohulya n'ohuchaho amasika abeho bange niba fire

Esitebo: Olomaloma lulimi sina n'ochire engereha?

Amakaluso: Olusamia

Esitebo: N'ochire engereha, owulirasa bilayi, abe Buganda bahubisya batye?

Amakaluso: Bawuma esida (Swahili word for problem – code-mixing), n'ochayo owulirasa bilayi

Esitebo: Naye abe Buganda n'bechere e Kenya?

Amakaluso: Fesi hubasangalira

Esitebo: Mbolereho ebindu biwahera hu Basamia be Buganda

Amakaluso: Bali n'esambo ndayi, omuhana n'ahuhesa, asigama mberi, bahesa nibahutamu esitibwa

Esitebo: Walihowo esitacha bulayi n'Abasamia be Buganda?

Amakaluso: Haba be (*double negation for emphasis*).

Esitebo: Mbolereho humiholo chiholebwa e Kenya

Amakaluso: Walichingiwo kama engannyo, nanu balanga bati, makumbusho (Swahili word for remembrance), ndabonanga abandu nibacha ohudehia nga bahwesa omuhana, endalo chino, mukendasa bilayi nimuwawo

Esitebo: Enjawulo yirihowo mu miholo chiholebwa e Buganda nende echiholebwa e Kenya?

Amakaluso: Tafawuti (*Swahili word for difference – I used 'enjawulo' – it is a Luganda word*) yiwumawo

Esitebo: Mbolereho hubiohudehisania akati wa Basamia ba Uganda nende abe Kenya

Amakaluso: Omusiani n'abweene omuhana yadaha, yecha y'abona edaala, yabona abebusi b'omuhana nibamuba omuhana – abe Buganda badeha e Kenya n'abe Kenya badeha e Buganda, wawumawo omwibusu anyala yakanya omwana waye ohudeha omba ohudehya engereha.

Esitebo: Nanu abahira ohudeha engereha?

Amakaluso: Bakana asa, bosu bambuha

TRANSLATION OF THE LUSAMIA TRANSCRIPT INTO ENGLISH

Question: What is your nationality?

Answer: I am a Kenyan.

Question: What is your native language?

Answer: I am a Samia but I have grown up here in Buhayo, so I am a Muhayo.

Question: What other language(s) do you speak apart from Samia?

Answer: Swahili and Luhayo

Question: What other languages do you hear people speak in this area?

Answer: Luhayo and Swahili.

Question: When you look at the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya, do you think it is one language or they are two different languages?

Answer: It is one language.

Question: What about the people?

Answer: These are the same people because even when they speak, they understand one another.

Question: Would you change your nationality if you were told to do so since we are the same people?

Answer: I would go because I am a Samia and I can easily fit there, when I get there, I just start speaking Samia.

Question: Since you are near the border, how do you feel about your nationality?

Answer: Ndewulira muno oti Omuna Uganda because I am at the border.

Question: What do you go to do across the border?

Answer: I go to see my sister, to visit my friend, sometimes I go to look for something to eat and also to go for funerals of my relatives.

Question: What language do you speak when you cross the border?

Answer: Lusamia.

Question: When you cross the border, do you feel OK, how do the Ugandans treat you?

Answer: They do not have a problem, when you go to there, you feel good.

Question: What about when the Ugandans come to Kenya?

Answer: *We also welcome them.*

Question: **Tell me something you like about the Samia of Uganda**

Answer: *They are very well cultured, when a girl is greeting you, she kneels down, they greet with a lot of respect.*

Question: **Is there anything that is not OK with the Samia of Uganda?**

Answer: *No, no.*

Question: **Tell me about some of the traditional ceremonies performed in Kenya**

Answer: *There used to be funeral rites, now it is called, 'remembrance' ('makumbusho'), I also used to see girls being pulled by the men who were going to marry them, but now when you admire a girl, you take her peacefully.*

Question: **Is there any difference between the ceremonies performed in Uganda and those performed in Kenya?**

Answer: *There is some difference.*

Question: **Tell me something about intermarriages between the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya**

Answer: *When a young man sees the lady he wants to marry, he comes and visits the parents of the lady and the parents give him the lady. The Ugandans get married in Kenya and the Kenyans get married in Uganda, no parent can say, "my child will not get married across the border".*

Question: **Which people cross the border most to marry or get married?**

Answer: *It is the same, all cross.*

APPENDIX I: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TRANSCRIPT – WITH MEMBERS FROM THE UGANDAN SIDE OF THE BORDER ONLY

1. What do you have to say about the origin of the Samia people found in both Uganda and Kenya?

We are the same people, just speak differently, the Samia in Kenya pronounce things differently.

Probe: What brings about the difference?

For instance, siwunderere...kyorerere...kyondentere [go and bring for me]. Reason. The different languages we are in contact with e.g. the Samia in Uganda interact with Luganda, Lusoga, etc. while the Samia in Kenya interact with Babukusu, Jalu, etc.

Probe: Is it one language or two?

Same language but just spoken differently just like within the Samia of Uganda, they also exhibit differences (just like English).

Probe: What about the people?

Are one people just separated by the border? We are one, our forefather was one, we even have same clans, it is just the border.

Probe: Let's assume the border is moved to your area, would u accept to be Kenyan? *It is OK, we would stay and get used. If you cross the border, u will still be referred to as Samia of Uganda; u are always reminded.*

Equal opportunities? Yes, however, without their national ID, you cannot still feel very free because you can be gathered and taken to the camp because you are not Kenyan. **Probe: Can you be denied an opportunity in Kenya?** *Yes, for instance in education, Kenyans freely study in Uganda but not viceversa.*

Probe: Say something about Aggrey Awori

He is Kenyan, Funyula. But since he is here [in Uganda], we accepted him and gave him our votes. Also before people were free to work anywhere, whether Ugandan or Kenyan, another brother, Prof. Wanyama (someone offered to take us to their home which is in Kenya). Hirya, many Ugandans are settled in Kenya and many Kenyans settled in Uganda.

Probe: What language is spoken at the border closest to you?

Lusamia of Kenya.

Probe: Do these people have the same origin?

These people all came from Kenya, this is just a branch.

Probe: Are we the same or different? We are the same. Can you comfortably be in Kenya or be Kenyan?

The Kenyans refer to us as Baganda, so we are different. When you commit a crime, you are charged like a Muganda from Kampala, not like one near the border.

Are they two languages or one language? (Adhola and Okwinyi, one stayed in Uganda and the other went to Kenya. (for the Adhola and Jaluo), (someone talked about the Bagisu and Babukusu to become one but still it has failed). Thus Ugandan is Ugandan and Kenyan is Kenyan....however, Ugandans have welcomed Kenyans more than Ugandans. Language wise we understand each other.

- 2. Tell me about the language situation in your community, stating which language (s) you mostly use at home, in the market, and in any other situation.**

In the market, Luganda, Lusoga, Swahili, etc. In our area, all learn Samia.

- 3. Tell me about your experiences when you cross the border?**

Trade, hospital, market, just seeing the place, seeing relatives. In hospital, Swahili, if u speak Lusamia, u may get medicine at a very high price. You can also try English...but also different from Ugandan English e.g. class three vs primary three, form 4 vs senior 4.

- 4. Are there any differences in the public signage across the border when you compare with where you stay?**

*Swahili mostly, a little English, e.g. **mafuta ya ta**, kerosene. In Uganda, English and Luganda. In Kenya, Swahili mostly; Kenyans mix a lot of Swahili e.g. a mother soothing a crying child and says, **nyamaza** [Swahili] while the Ugandan will say, **sirika** [Luganda].*

- 5. Can you identify some of these differences?**

In Uganda, English. Why/ We are more educated, but also people mostly use Luganda, so the binding language is English.

*Mixture of two or more languages....**Kabi**, danger, **Hatari**.*

- 6. Some Ugandans have been called Kenyans and vice versa, what do have to say about this? Do the Kenyans in Uganda feel more of Ugandan or Kenyan?**

The Kenyans feel more Uganda because they are going to get a national ID, most of their property is in Uganda and even if they die, they will be buried here.

Those married across the border feel like visitors in their own countries, they are freer where they are married.

E.g. the Samia who come from Kenya but married in Uganda, they feel free. Any segregation? In Uganda, Kenyans are freer, they stay and even buy land but not the same in Kenya. We employ Kenyans and yet for them they cannot employ us. Even in education, some Ugandan are denied opportunities because they Ugandan.

- 7. What do you think about the Samia of Uganda/Kenya in terms of being similar or different? Can you say they are the same or different? Give me some reasons why you think so?**

We are the same people.

We are the same but some slight differences.

We are just separated by the border, otherwise we are the same.

We are different because when you cross into Kenya, you can be disturbed if you do not have the National ID.

- 8. What do you have to say about intermarriages among the Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya? What language(s) are spoken by the people who intermarry from the two communities?**

The women who are married in Uganda speak their language first but later learn Samia. Fewer girls are married in Kenya compared to the Kenyans married in Uganda. Ugandans used to work in Kenya and they would come back with wives.

- 9. What are some of the cultural ceremonies that are practiced in your community? Say something about the kind of language used in performing those different cultural ceremonies. How does the kind of language used in the cultural ceremonies identify you as Samia?**

*Circumcision has moved from Kenya to Uganda, different marriage ceremonies, e.g. in Uganda, **Kwanjula**, in Kenya, it is **Mapatano**. In Uganda, the entourage is big, also of things are brought but in Uganda, the entourage is very big and a lot of people are in attendance. In Uganda the son in law can even dance in the in laws compound which is not possible in Kenya.*

*Wedding in Uganda (**bugole**.....Luganda), in Kenya (**Arusi**.....Swahili), similar. Difference. In Kenya the wedding is more respectable, fewer people. More people are invited in Kenya, in Uganda, it is only relatives that are invited, in Kenya all churches are invited and the churches also contribute towards the wedding.*

I have been an LCI chairperson since 1986, but so far only two people in my area have wedded, so many people fear the expense.

In Kenya, there are more wedded people than in Uganda. Also different in the rural place and urban, many questions are asked in the church, e.g. time keeping, people are asked if they have any debts etc.

*Other ceremonies in Kenya- **ohwesaba**-eating in the mother-in-law's home, after that, even if the parents of the girl die, you do not take anything- it is not common in Uganda. Some presents are brought depending on what you can afford (completion of dowry).*

***Oheyikiha**- the man comes with his friends and they are given something to eat. The men stand out in a line, a sister to the bride comes to wash your hands, they put money in the water and they keep putting their hands in dust so that they keep washing for some time.*

***Ohudisa**- we bought a cow and goats, we reached home and paid some money before we could be taken to our mother-in-law's home, one goat was killed and roasted and we ate in there. In Uganda, they do not hwesaba, they do the others.*

*Kenya-**ohwesaba**, **ohuhwa**, **makutano**, funerals, naming (**ohufasa**, **ohutusa**), **ohwalihirisa** (the first born-**ohufasa**, they come with cloths and dress the child, these days they also dress the mother and father (current), wedding, etc.*

*Uganda- **Ohudisa**, **kwanjula**, wedding, **ohweyikiha**, **ohuhwa**, etc.*

10. Would you like to add anything to the discussion? Feel free to say something more on what we have discussed and ask any questions if you have.

The Kenyan girls have taught the Ugandan ladies to do simple trade like selling vegetables, sugarcane, etc. We have also taught the Kenyans things like introduction though different.

There is something that I admire about the Kenyans, they are developmental, there is a big change [difference] when you look at Kenya and here in Uganda. The Kenyans have tank water. Even if one is poor, when you look at their houses, most of them are permanent houses.

APPENDIX J: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TRANSCRIPT – WITH MEMBERS FROM THE KENYAN SIDE OF THE BORDER ONLY

1. What do you have to say about the origin of the Samia people found in both Uganda and Kenya?

They are one people, the Samia of Uganda and the Samia of Kenya are one people; they understand each other.

There is some difference because we mix Lusamia with Swahili while those of Uganda mix with Luganda. That means they are two languages as much as they may have the same origin. We are the same people; in fact if a Ugandan commits a crime here in Kenya, he is taken back to Uganda and if it is a Kenyan in Uganda, he will be brought back to Kenya.

The languages are two, here in Kenya, you cannot speak Lusamia like the one of Uganda, they are different [uses Swahili word ‘tafawuti’ to mean ‘difference’].

2. Tell me about the language situation in your community, stating which language (s) you mostly use at home, in the market, and in any other situation. Why do you use this language (s) and which people do you use the language with?

I speak Swahili, some little English and Luhayo. I hear other languages like Luhayo, Lumataki and Lubukusu being spoken plus Lusamia of Uganda. There are many languages that I hear being spoken in my area kama [Swahili word for ‘such as’] Lujaluo, Lunyala, Swahili and others. At home we use Lusamia but in the markets we mostly use Swahili.

3. Tell me about your experiences when you cross the border? Who do you go to see, what do you go to do, what language(s) do you speak and what are some of the language problems you encounter? Are there any differences in the language used in public space across the border when you compare with where you stay?

I sometimes go visit relatives, for leisure. I go to attend burials of my relatives and sometimes to visit my friends. In Uganda, they have good ladies’ bags, so I sometimes go to buy. When I go to the market, I speak Swahili, even in the Ugandan market and shops, they speak a little Swahili. If the people in Uganda cannot speak Lusamia and Swahili, I try English. With my family members, I speak Lusamia and sometimes Swahili.

I do not get any language problems when I cross the border into Uganda because most people I visit know Lusamia and the people in the markets speak Swahili.

In Busia Kenya, the signposts are mostly in Swahili while on the Ugandan side, they are mostly in English and Lusamia.

4. Some Ugandans have been called Kenyans and vice versa, what do you have to say about this? Do you feel more of Ugandan or Kenyan? Why?

*When I am in Uganda, I feel at home. Our women married in Uganda feel out of place when they visit us here in Kenya because now they feel more Ugandan than Kenyan. The people in Uganda do not have a problem [uses Swahili word, **Eshiida** to mean ‘problem’], when you are there, you just feel OK.*

5. What do you have to say about intermarriages among the Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya? What language(s) are spoken by the people who intermarry from the two communities?

The Ugandans often come here and marry our women and even their women are married here. Our Kenyan men also go to Uganda and marry, so it is the same, we marry from there and they marry from here.

The women married in Uganda feel OK but they are still referred to as Kenyans. Those married across the border first speak Lusamia of Kenya and later learn the Lusamia of Uganda. With those who do not speak Lusamia, they speak Swahili. It is the same here in Kenya, the Ugandans married here continue to speak Lusamia of Uganda until they adjust to our Samia, the good thing we all understand each other since we are one people.

The people married across the border do not have many language problems because as much as the languages are different, we can still understand one another.

6. What are some of the cultural ceremonies that are practiced in your community? Say something about the kind of language used in performing those different cultural ceremonies. How does the kind of language used in the cultural ceremonies identify you as Samia?

*We have weddings [uses, ‘**Arusi**’, Swahili word for wedding], last funeral rites [uses ‘**Makumbusho**’- Swahili word for ‘remembrance’]. Most of the ceremonies practiced in Kenya are the same like those practiced in Uganda, sometimes it is the name and the languages used that differ. For instance, in Kenya, it is mostly Lusamia and Swahili used at the cultural ceremonies while in Uganda, it is Lusamia, Luganda and sometimes English. When we use Lusamia at the cultural ceremony, we feel we are Samia people, we feel proud of our language. When we use Swahili, we identify with the other people who live in our community but do not speak Lusamia.*

- 7. Would you like to add anything to the discussion? Feel free to say something more on what we have discussed and ask any questions if you have.**

The Samia in Uganda are good people, they are very welcoming. Their women have good manners, for example they kneel when greeting elders which is unlike our Kenyan women. They are also humble, if you meet a young man from Uganda, he first stands and humbles himself before greeting you. Otherwise, we are one people with some differences but we live together happily and we have no problem our people marrying each other.

Thank you for your time. I really appreciate your willingness to talk with me today.

END OF INTERVIEW

APPENDIX K: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TRANSCRIPT – A MIXTURE OF PARTICIPANTS FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER

1. What do you have to say about the origin of the Samia people found in both Uganda and Kenya?

We are one people. For me, I do not think we are one people, listen to the way you people from Uganda are speaking Lusamia, you are putting Luganda words while for us we put Swahili, this makes the languages different. OK, these two people had the same origin, we have the same ancestors but because of the contact we have with different people and living in different countries, we are now different, our languages are different. Whatever the case, we live peacefully with one another, we don't have any problems.

2. Tell me about the language situation in your community, stating which language (s) you mostly use at home, in the market, and in any other situation. Why do you use this language (s) and which people do you use the language with?

There are many languages spoken in our community. For example here in Uganda, we hear Lusoga, Lunyole, Swahili, Luganda, Ateso, Japhadhola and many others. Us in Kenya, we have Lubukusu, Swahili, Luhayo, Kinyore and many other languages. Even English is spoken by the educated.

When I am with my family at home, I speak Lusamia but with some of my neighbours who do not speak Lusamia, I speak Luganda or a little Swahili if they do not know Luganda.

For me, in Kenya, I speak Lusamia with my family members but mostly Swahili with neighbours, as you know most people in Kenya speak Swahili.

Even in the markets, it is mostly Swahili used especially on the Kenyan side. For the Ugandan side, we also speak some Swahili in the market, Lusamia and sometimes Luganda. A few people will speak English if the buyers do not know any of the languages spoken there.

For us who have married women who are not Samia, sometimes we have a challenge. For instance, I speak Lusamia with my parents, brothers and sisters when our wives are not around, but when they come, we cannot continue to speak Lusamia because they will be left out. In this case, we either speak Swahili or English.

3. Tell me about your experiences when you cross the border? Who do you go to see, what do you go to do, what language(s) do you speak and what are some of

the language problems you encounter? Are there any differences in the public signage across the border when you compare with where you stay?

When I cross the border into Uganda, I feel very comfortable, we are one people so there is no problem. I go to visit my relatives, attend village meetings, attend burials or sometimes I just go for leisure.

I cross the border into Kenya mostly for trade, I take my vegetables and also buy some baby clothes; items in Kenya are cheaper than in Uganda.

It is mostly the Ugandans who cross to our markets to buy our goods, I think it is unfair trade.

Sometimes the experience is not good on the Kenyan side of the border as much as we are one people. For example, when I was sick of diabetes, they took me to Tanaka [in Kenya] and then we declared [uses English word] that I was Ugandan by nationality [uses English word], we paid 50% in taxes [uses English word] – we were paying double [uses English word].

There are times when you buy goods from Kenya and when they [the goods] are many, you are hassled [by the Kenyan authorities], I think because I am Ugandan.

When we are in Kenya, we speak mostly Swahili especially in the markets but we speak Lusamia with our relatives. I always get problems when I cross into Uganda because I speak very little Luganda and sometimes I meet people who do not speak Lusamia or Swahili. I feel left out of the conversation, sometimes I fail to buy what I want.

The signposts in Kenya are mostly in Swahili. Here in Uganda, most of the signposts are in English and Lusamia; I think people in Uganda are more educated than those in Kenya.

No, I think it is not about education, we are also educated in Kenya but because Swahili is also our official language, Swahili is mostly used. We also want to include those who are not educated and do not speak English.

4. Some Ugandans have been called Kenyans and vice versa, what do you have to say about this? Do you feel more of Ugandan or Kenyan? Why?

For example, Aggrey Awori, the former Member of Parliament in Uganda is said to be Kenyan, but we are one people, we do not have a problem with that. A Kenyan can take up a position in Uganda and vice versa. His brother was vice president in our country Kenya although some people said he was Ugandan. But like my brother has said, we are one people, there is no problem.

For me I have been married in Uganda for the last 20 years, I now feel more Ugandan than Kenyan. In fact, when I go home to Kenya, I feel like I am lost, I no longer fit there, I only know life in Uganda, I now even speak Lusamia of Uganda with Luganda words and not Swahili words anymore.

For me, I have property in Kenya, I have married a Kenyan wife, my children speak Swahili, I am now more comfortable in Kenya, and I will even be buried there.

So, being called Kenyan or Ugandan is OK, after all we are all Samia.

When we meet in the capital Kampala or Nairobi, and we hear a name that is familiar, we just ask, “Are you a Samia”. We do not bother with, “are you Samia of Kenya or Samia of Uganda”.

5. What do you have to say about intermarriages among the Samia of Uganda and Samia of Kenya? What language(s) are spoken by the people who intermarry from the two communities?

The Ugandan men marry more our Kenyan girls. No, no, it is the Kenyan men marrying mostly from Uganda.

For me I believe it is the same, both groups get married on either side of the border. I would not have a problem if my daughter said she has a man from the Kenyan side of the border, I would let her go because we are one people.

I am a Kenyan married in Uganda, as much as I am comfortable, I am always reminded by the Ugandans that I am Kenyan. Some Ugandans say, I still speak Lusamia of Kenya, but the good thing is that they understand me.

When I was just married in Kenya, I used to speak Lusamia of Uganda, but now I have learnt the Lusamia of Kenya, I rarely use Luganda words. I have also learnt Swahili.

6. What are some of the cultural ceremonies that are practiced in your community? Say something about the kind of language used in performing those different cultural ceremonies. How does the kind of language used in the cultural ceremonies identify you as Samia?

*In Uganda, we have weddings, introduction ceremonies, funerals, naming and last funeral rites. We have the same the same ceremonies in Kenya but sometimes we use different names like ‘**Makumbusho**’ for last funeral rites and ‘**Arusi**’ for weddings. These are Swahili words. As much as the ceremonies are the same, sometimes the way they are carried out is different. For instance in Uganda, when a young man is visiting the parents of the girl (introduction ceremony), he comes with many people,*

sometimes even 100 or 150. That is not true in Kenya, fewer people will come for such a ceremony.

Even the things that are brought by the boy, in Uganda more things are brought compared to Kenya.

Here in Uganda, during some ceremonies, up to three of four languages are used, these may include: Lusamia, Luganda, English and sometimes Swahili or even Lusoga depending on where the groom and bride come from.

In Kenya, Swahili and Lusamia are mostly used. English may be used but not so much. I think Lusamia is used to identify us as the Samia people and to show that our community language is Lusamia.

7. Would you like to add anything to the discussion? Feel free to say something more on what we have discussed and ask any questions if you have.

Thank you for your time, we have all learnt from one another. Thank you for bringing us together, at least we have interacted freely, we from Kenya and our brothers and sisters from Uganda. We are one people and we shall continue living peacefully together.

Thank you for your time. I really appreciate your willingness to talk with me today.

END OF INTERVIEW