

**MINORITY LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN A MULTILINGUAL SETTING: THE
CASE OF GUJARATI IN NAIROBI, KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any award of degree in any university.

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This Research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University Supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, my husband Daniel Nguu, my daughters, Mercy Gikeno Nguu and Bliss Wendo Nguu.

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ABSTRACT

This study endeavored to investigate the factors that have contributed to language maintenance among Gujarati speakers in Nairobi. The study was guided by three objectives which sought to identify the vitality factors that have contributed to maintenance of Gujarati in Nairobi; establish the speakers attitude towards Gujarati language, and lastly to investigate the language performance in the four language skills among the Gujarati in Nairobi. The study was guided by Giles et al (1977) ethnolinguistic vitality theory which provided a conceptual tool to analyze the factors affecting the vitality language. They proposed three variables which were status, demographic and institutional support. The target population was Gujarati community living in Nairobi. The data was collected through questionnaires and interviews. The findings were that the factors that have led to language maintenance among Gujarati speakers in Nairobi are home usage, geographical distribution (they mostly live in closed communities), marriage patterns, trade, positive attitude towards the language, and emotional attachment to the language as a sense of identity.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This opening chapter of the study is an exposition in which the background of the language under study is provided. The chapter also provides the statement of the problem under investigation, research questions, the objectives that guided the study and the hypotheses that were tested. The justification and the scope of the study, limitations, literature review, theoretical framework and the methodology used in the study are also given.

1.2 Gujarati Language

The language under study is Gujarati spoken in Kenya. The following summary about Gujarati Language was taken from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/gujarati.Gujarati> belongs to the family of the Indo-Aryan group of Indo-Iranian languages and is a member of Indo-European family languages. It is the language of the Gujarati state of the North Western part of the Indian subcontinent in Asian. It is spoken with about forty six million speakers residing in India. The history of Gujarati language can be traced back to the 12th century. It can be divided into three periods as follows.

Firstly, the old (Aapabhramsa) period (10th-14thC) is the period during which the original form of Gujarati was spoken by the native Gurjars in northern Gujarati and Western Rajasthan. At this time in history, Parsis learnt Sanskrit and had majority of their religious documents translated into Sanskrit from the middle Persian versions. Later, Gujarati was influenced by Muslim which led to studying of Arabic and Persian. Parsis adapted the Persian language without resistance but Sanskrit turned it down. During this period, the Avestand and Pahlalari documents were translated into Gujarati language with the use of the existing translations. Parsis contributed greatly in the noteworthy growth of Gujarati literary texts.

Secondly, the middle period(15th-17thC) whereby, Persian was made the language of the court and later Urdu. These two languages wielded great pressure on the Gujarati language which was spoken by local people in villages of Surat because it borrowed with abandon from

Persians, Pahlavi and Zand. Later religious texts were translated into Gujarati which had elements of Sanskrit, Persian and local dialects.

The third period is the Modern period (after 19th C) during which the British were expanding their territory and settling themselves in India. They brought with them westernization (British romanticism and stylistic devices found their way in literary work) of all languages including Gujarati, and the modern Gujarati was developed during this period.

1.2.1 The Gujarati Community in Kenya

According to <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/indians> (in-Kenya), Kenya, hosts a sizeable number of Asians some whom are Gujarati speakers. They are descendants of the Asian Gujarati speaker's immigrants who came to Kenya as early as when the Kenya-Uganda railway line was being constructed, that is between 1896 and 1901. Most of them came to Kenya as railway workers while others came as business people. After the completion of the railway line, many of them decided to stay in Kenya. Ever since, there have been Asians living in Kenya because even as some opted to go back home or to the United Kingdom during the Africanisation program after independence, some chose to remain in Kenya and forfeit their foreign citizenship and acquired a Kenyan citizen status. They are mostly concentrated in major urban areas such as Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and a few other towns.

The number of Asians in Kenya, according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2010) report, is 46, 784. This is statistics from national population census conducted in 2009. From this figure, it is evident that the Asians form less than one percent of the Kenyan total population which stood at 38, 610, 097. This, therefore, implies that the Gujarati speech community which is part of the greater Asian community is a minority speech community. The majority of speakers of Gujarati in Kenya are multilingual. They speak English, Kiswahili and Gujarati. This study focuses on the Gujarati speakers who are now mainly business people and mostly concentrated in urban areas, and deals specifically with those living in Nairobi.

Generally, most immigrant groups tend to lose their original languages and adapt the use of the dominant or more powerful language for ease of communication and to enhance acceptability (Ngure 2015). For example, most of the immigrants to the United States of America tend to

lose their original languages by the second and third generations (Edwards, 2010).The Gujarati's and other Asians that have migrated to America have lost their first language (native language) hence becoming monolinguals, by shifting to English which is the dominant language in the USA. However, Gujarati speakers in Nairobi have continued to use their language despite the rivalry from languages such as English and Kiswahili.

The Gujarati community in Kenya uses Gujarati within themselves while they use Kiswahili and English for wider communication. Being a minority language, Gujarati must be having a great vitality so as to be able to survive and also make the intergenerational transfer possible amidst these other dominant languages. It also must have taken a conscious/deliberate effort to transmit the language from one generation to the next. This study seeks to establish how the Gujarati speech community has been able to successfully keep the language alive amidst competition from the dominant languages such as Kiswahili and English in Nairobi.

Recently, Kenyans of Asian origin have been recognized as the 44th Kenyan tribe. This official recognition is good for them because for a long time they have had a mixed feeling about their identity. They never felt like they belonged to Asian continent since many were born and brought up in Kenya and others had lived in Kenya for a long time and also they were not sure of their position in Kenya. This review is likely to add some prestige and improvement in the vitality of languages in the speech communities involved. Gujarati is one of them.

Figure 1.1: Photos of Kenyans of Asian Origin Receiving a Charter.

Below is a photo of the then acting interior cabinet secretary Fred Matiang'i presenting a charter of Kenyans of Indian decent recognizing them as the 44th tribe in Kenya. They are now officially part of the rich Kenyan cultural heritage.



Saturday Nation 22nd July 2017.

The president gazetted the recognition of Kenyan of Indian decent as one of the Kenyan tribes through a special gazette issue of 21st July 2017, after they had presented a petition to him requesting to be formally recognized as a Kenyan tribe. The president invited them to actively take part in political, economical, cultural and social development of the nation. This translates to that the Gujarati –a sub tribe of the Kenyan of Indian decent - are now officially allowed to propagate their culture without fear of condemnation and also at liberty to continue using their language just like all other speech communities in Kenya.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Studies have highlighted that when a minority language interacts with dominant languages, the minority language has a very high possibility of getting assimilated by the dominant language leading to language shift (Tsunoda 2005, Batibo 2005, Ngure 2015). In Nairobi, where Gujarati is spoken, there is competition from dominant languages such as English that enjoys official status, Kiswahili that has both official and a national language status not forgetting Sheng which is popular amongst the youth. The speakers of Gujarati language therefore have an uphill task to ensure that their language remains relevant and useful to the community and to also encourage transmission to the younger generation.

The continued use of Gujarati in Nairobi is probably due to the deliberate efforts taken by its speakers and other factors, and it is against this backdrop that one would find maintenance of Gujarati an interesting phenomenon given that the speakers of this language constitute a minority and that the language is not native in this part of the world. There is need for a systematic investigation into the nature of language maintenance with respect to the Gujarati spoken in Nairobi. This study sought to investigate and analyze factors that are responsible for the maintenance of Gujarati language in Nairobi.

This study recognizes that there has been extensive research on language maintenance and shift on some languages in Kenya, mostly indigenous but none on Gujarati speakers in Kenya. This research work sought to find out factors that have favoured maintenance of Gujarati language, an enclave language, amidst pressure from the surrounding said dominant languages.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What vitality factors have contributed to maintenance of Gujarati in Nairobi?
- ii. What is the speakers' attitude towards Gujarati language?
- iii. How is the language performance among speakers of Gujarati in the four language skills?

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the study were:

- i. To investigate the vitality factors that have contributed to the maintenance of Gujarati in Nairobi.
- ii. To determine the attitudes of speakers of Gujarati towards the language.
- iii. To investigate language performance along the four language skills.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This research sought to enrich the theory of language maintenance by studying an immigrant minority linguistic group in Kenya. The Gujarati speech community is an immigrant group and one of the minority linguistic groups living in Nairobi- Kenya. Most studies done on language maintenance and shift in Kenya have concentrated on the minority native languages. This study will contribute to the language situation in Kenya and can be helpful in formulating all inclusive language policies that will encourage national integration, leading to peaceful co-existence among all communities, dominant and minority. It is likely to promote individual acceptance of persons from minority speech communities, leading to high self and national esteem and a cohesive nation with a sense of belonging and common aspirations envisioned in the constitution of Kenya (2010). Although this study will specifically deal with Gujarati language, the findings can be relevant to other languages in similar circumstances. Fishman(1972), said that language maintenance efforts are necessary as they can serve national, group or personal interest without necessarily each conflicting with the other.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

Asians living in Kenya speak a number of languages in addition to English and Kiswahili but this study will concentrate on those who speak Gujarati. It is also important to note that there are many immigrant communities in Kenya but we only looked into the case of the Gujarati speech community.

This was purely a sociolinguistic study so we shall not look into the structure of the language. The study was carried out in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya, where we were likely to find a

good number of Gujarati speakers since as stated earlier on; they are mainly concentrated in urban areas. The research sought information from the speech community in three clusters comprising of the young age group (10-20 years), the middle age group (21- 50 years), and old age group (50 years and above) respondents. The young generation considered was those above ten years. All the three groups have the ability to make conscious choices and decisions on the language they want to use at any given time and speech situation.

1.8 Definitions of Operational Terms

Language maintenance: A sustained use of a language even when there is competition from other languages that have many speakers and/or that occupy a large geographical area. The languages offering competition could even have a greater social status (Mesthrie 1999:42).

Language shift: A move or change by a speech community from use of one language in favour of another which may be considered more useful or acceptable (Maya 2009).

Language death: Complete disappearance of language as a result of either language shift or the elimination of an entire speech population in the case of genocide or disease outbreak. (Ngure 2015:21).

Minority language: A language spoken by a smaller speech community.

Enclave language: Language spoken by a community that is separated from its homeland. (Suwilai 1998:149).

Monolingualism: Proficiency of only one language

Bilingualism: The practice of alternatively using two languages (Appel and Muysken 2005: 3).

Multilingualism: The practice of alternatively using more than two languages.

1.9 Literature Review

Few studies have been carried out on Gujarati, but there are extensive studies on many other language maintenance and shift situations in Kenya. A lot of focus has been on the shift which can be described as a phenomenon in which speakers completely stop using their indigenous language in favor of another one which may be considered more helpful in their everyday interactions with other larger communities; while language maintenance is the continued use of the indigenous language even in the face of competition

Fishman (1966), while looking at the maintenance of ethnic mother tongues of the American immigrants in the USA, observes that when a language is used in societal institutions like churches, education and mass media, it has a high probability of being maintained as these factors encourage speakers to learn it and use it often. He later gives an example of a Germanic immigrant language that was maintained because it was used as the Lutheran church language. The use of a certain language in schools in the USA reinforced its comprehension, reading and speaking. These two, (use of a language in religious matters and as a media of instruction in schools) point to the fact that promotion of use of a language in the society's institutions has great positive influence in the maintenance of such a language. This study investigates among other things, whether Gujarati language has been promoted in any societal institution and how this has impacted on its maintenance.

Dorian (1981), studied language death within the Scottish Gaelic dialect and observed that the diversity of language makes people adapt an unavoidable concept of bilingualism among the speakers which can lead to circumstances of partially or completely abandoning their language or an instance where both languages are used in what is considered appropriate environment by the speakers. She discovered that speakers of a minority language or dialect in a mixed group environment may not have the choice to exclusively use their language in all situations as there will always be the language of the majority which is widely acceptable and is likely to overshadow them. This is relevant to this study as Gujarati is a minority language and has restricted use.

Appel and Muysken(1987), in their discussion on language contact and bilingualism, realize that pressure on a certain language is unavoidable in bilingual societies where language competition is created. This means that in an inter-group situation, languages will not be of equal status as each language will compete for some space in communicative interactions. This happens because a speech community will tend to favour one language for certain functions and use the other less often which leads to a situation of some languages becoming dominant. This closely relates to our topic of study as Gujarati exists in an environment with two dominant languages and other minority languages.

Fishman (1989), observed that in minority immigrant communities, the shift to the majority language mainly occurs within the third generation whereby the first generation of the immigrants are most prominently monolingual in their heritage language, their children are bilingual in the heritage and dominant language and the grand children are mainly monolingual in the dominant language. Speakers of Gujarati have lived in Kenya for a considerable period. They have lived in Kenya and produced off springs beyond third generation. This study is out to find out if time and the dominant communities have had effect on the use of their language and if there is still the intergenerational transfer even beyond the third generation.

Maffi (1997), in the study of indigenous and traditional people of the world and eco regional conservation, found out that the pressure that the dominant language exerts on the dominated language can cause the dominated one to undergo a reduction in the number of domains that it was initially used as the speakers, including even the adults who were once fluent speakers, choose to shift and use the dominant language in selected domains. This may result from the desire to enhance acceptability or to enable them access better services in the society as opposed to when they continue using their minority language.

Landweer(2000), observed that allegiance to one's language is a greatly significant factor in language maintenance. He opines that, languages do not only die when their speakers die but more often it is a consequence of shift of commitment by their speakers who prefer to use other languages. This therefore leads to the less preferred language falling into disuse hence die. If a speech community can perform all its important functions using one language then the better, for there will be no need to learn another and this will therefore eliminate chances of that language dying.

Rumbaut, Massey and Bean (2006), while studying linguistic life expectancy of an immigrant group's language in southern California discovered that life expectancy of five languages in southern California was not more than two generations. That is, such languages would fall to disuse with the immigrants' children and not be spoken well or at all by their grandchildren. They also noted that Asian languages (Gujarati being one of them) die out even faster because they are often not spoken by the children of the immigrants, that is, the second generation. This observation seems to run to the Kenyan situation where we find that despite having stayed in

Kenya for long, Gujarati speakers still use their language in some domains. The study by Rumbaut, Massey and Bean (2006), is relevant to our study as it arouses more interest on the need to establish what makes the Gujarati speech community in Kenya maintain their language in contrast to those who are in southern California.

Abdulaziz(2008), while looking at the Indians and Indic languages in East Africa and specifically on the status of south Asian languages observed that the linguistic situation of Asians in Kenya is a complex one. Many of them left Kenya in the aftermath of independence during the Africanisation program period, leaving a small number of those who decided to fit in the program. Almost seventy five percent settled in and around Nairobi and Mombasa. He also says that in Kenya they normally speak at least three languages, for example, Gujarati, Swahili and English. English and Kiswahili are the official and national languages respectively used for communication with the general public while Gujarati is used for in-group communication.

Mohideen (2008), while studying maintenance of Malaysian languages shows some cases on the maintenance of minority languages. He posits that these languages are subjected to a daunting task of remaining truly living languages because of the competition from majority languages. He continues to indicate that they cannot survive without a conscious resolve from the speech community to keep them alive and suggests that a development of strong internet medium would go a long way in the favour of minority languages. This means that for a minority language like Gujarati to be maintained in the midst of other dominant languages, there must be a deliberate effort by the speakers or the community at large.

According to Edwards (2010), while studying minority languages and group identity identifies United States of America as an example of a community where most minority languages are abandoned in favor of one dominant language - English. The USA is referred to as the melting point for languages as most of the immigrants abandon their native languages for English. This is possibly because English is the dominant language and more prestigious as it offers its speakers more opportunities than their minority immigrant languages. Even the Gujarati immigrants in the USA have a tendency of shifting to English by second and third generation. In Kenya the scenario is different and we shall be studying Gujarati as an immigrant language that has been maintained.

Shah(2013), in her research on the proficiency of heritage Gujarati speakers in three continents, found out that though there had been so much effort to maintain the language among the diasporas, the success rate was not at a hundred percent as some speakers only attained a beginners proficiency while others attained a native speakers proficiency. She considered herself to have attained only a high intermediate proficiency even after being exposed to the language for a considerably long time in her formative years. She discovered that she was not alone as many people in her generation had the same challenge. They were more proficient in the dominant languages (of the places they stayed) in her case English while their heritage language proficiency kept on diminishing. This study deals with the ability of Gujarati speech community members to acquire and use the language in Kenya and also establish the speakers' language performance along the four language skills.

1.10 Theoretical Framework:Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

This research was based on the Ethno linguistic vitality theory which is a socio psychological approach to the correlation between language and identity. Giles,Borhis and Taylor (1977), introduced the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality theory. They defined ethnolinguistic vitality as that which causes a group to probably behave as one distinct and active collective entity in a situation that involves contact between two or more groups. In other words, whatever that makes a group stand out as a different entity from those surrounding it. They came up with a conceptual tool to analyze the socio structural variables that affect the strength of an ethnolinguistic group by giving three dimensions of structural variables to be observed for vitality. The variables they proposed were status, demographic and institutional support. These factors may work together to enable an ethnolinguistic minority to continue existing as a distinct group.

For a group to be said to have vitality, it must be seen to take part in group activities and its preparedness is demonstrated by a shared knowledge of the world and their relations to both (Ehala, 2010). An ethnolinguistic group has great vitality is more likely to continue existing and develop well as a collective entity in a context where there are two or more collections of speech community. The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is based on the symbolic ability to make people see and believe, of observing or revolutionizing the inspirational description of

the world by way of specific result of mobilization with the ability of producing concrete effects without obvious use of energy (Ehala, 2010).

A language group that possesses the three aforementioned factors (demographic, status and institutional support) has a strong vitality (Appel and muysken, 1987) and will maintain its language while one that has minimal or absence of the three factors will be said to have a low vitality hence likely to shift to another language that has high vitality. The action of preparing and organizing a speech community is based on shared understanding in intergroup setting where the speech community is involved and that the language strength interpretation between the dominant and dominated groups are described by language strength profiles that exist between them(Ehala, 2009). Each of the three factors of ethnolinguistic vitality has several sub variables.

1.10.1 Demographic factors

Demographic factors have to do with the population of a speech community number and their distribution or spread in a region (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Giles et al1977 noted that demographic factors include thespeakers' population of a language and how they are spread in a region. Demographic characteristics of the immigrant group refer to the absolute numbers of members of a linguistic community and their distribution. Thespeakers'distribution refers to their numerical concentration in an area. Distribution is important as it helps determine the concentration of speakers which is an important factor in language maintenance. For one to comfortably use a language for communication there must be another participant that understands and uses the same code. The more there are speakers and the higher their concentration, the greater the vitality hence more chances of language maintenance.

The speakers can be concentrated in an area of their own or spread out within other linguistic groups (Milroy,1980). If the speakers of a minority linguistic group are concentrated within a region of their own, they will have little influence from other linguistic groups, providing a strong social network and will have a high vitality hence a greater chance of keeping their language. However, if a minority linguistic group is spread among a dominant one, there will be much influence from the outside posing a great challenge in the maintenance of the minority language. This means that even if a speech community has a bigger population the number but

largely spread, there will be a challenge in the maintenance of that language. If they are few but closely knit without other groups' influence chances of maintenance are high.

This factor is important in this study and will help the researcher to comparatively look into the population of the Gujarati speakers living in Nairobi who are in contact with other linguistic majority and how their population and distribution in the region influences their patterns of language use.

Language maintenance can be promoted if a linguistic group is isolated such as on a small cluster of islands or deep in the rain forest. (<http://www.wisegeek.com/language-shift>). These groups may have a better chance of maintaining their language since they have little interactions with other groups. It is possible to have a small group of speakers e.g. one thousand speakers of a language isolated in a rural setting who maintain their language yet if the same were spread out in a large city the speakers will not sustain their language (Wanjala, 2014). This factor is important in this study as we examine the Gujarati speech community which is usually concentrated in specific areas in Nairobi. This dominant distribution is a factor that contributes to either maintenance or shift.

People cannot be forced to cling to small languages that are not useful when they want to shift to more useful languages that can serve them better like English, (Maffi, 2003). In such a case a minority linguistic group can shift to another language that they feel is more profitable and will better take care of their communicative needs. It can help them get better services in the society (Appel and Muysken 1987:32). This study seeks to establish if the above examined demographic variables are at play in the Gujarati speech community in Nairobi.

1.10.2 Status factors

This refers to how the language is regarded in the speech community or the region where the speech community is found. For example, there are those languages with an official and national language status and the higher the status the more the vitality and the greater the chances of language maintenance.

The status factors are further divided into prestige, social, economic socio-historical of language and culture within and without the language locality, (Aswegan, 2008). In this

category, a speech community stigmatization, discrimination and historical injustices are inclusive. When a language places high regard to these items, the stronger its vitality. The categories mentioned determine how and when a speech community uses their language.

Economic factors refer to the speech community economic power, that is, their ability to generate their independent income and live by it comfortably. It includes modernization, industrialization, urbanization etc. This seriously determines a community's social standing because a strong economy will boost the esteem of a speech community and vice versa. This brings us to the combination of the two to form socio-economic factors. Socio-historical refers to the speech community past social experiences: ethnolinguistics group history. It refers to periods they had to defend their ethnic identity or independence. They mobilize symbols that inspire individuals to toil for their shared interest as a speech community as older generation did. If a speech community was mistreated or stigmatized in any way because of its language, then it is likely to have a low attitude of the language.

A minority speech community that is considered to have a 'primitive'/less developed culture by the surrounding others will with time find itself thinking the same way and this may lead to reduced desire to use their language or even complete abandonment of the minority language. If a minority group has low socio-economic status and a stigmatized history, they feel low about themselves and their language and will shift to communicating by use of the dominant language which is related with high value of the above factors. They shift because of the belief that the dominant language will provide them with opportunities and enable them to access important services in the society such as education and employment.

Language policies impact language practice (Muaka, 2012). The policies define various functions of languages in the society. The function of a language in the society may make a certain language more important than others or render others of less importance. The Kenyan language policy recognizes English and Kiswahili as the official media of communication. Kiswahili is also regarded as a national language. These two are highly regarded than all the other numerous indigenous languages and almost every Kenyan has to learn them. In the education system, English has been recognized as the medium of instruction at all levels in urban areas while indigenous languages are used in areas where there is linguistic uniformity,

for instruction in early stages up to standard three, while English is taught as a subject (Muaka, 2010).

In a multi-ethnic setting, Kiswahili is used up to standard three and thereafter taught as a subject. In a situation where two or more speech communities co-exist, the minority group will look at the language used in education in their region as the privileged language as compared to their own. Children of the minority who receive instruction in the dialect of the dominant speech community will develop language loyalty to the language of the dominant speech community (Fishman, 1977). They learn comprehension and other attributes of the dominant language.

This study is interested in establishing how the Gujarati speech community –a minority immigrant group in Kenya has dealt with these socioeconomic, sociohistorical,prestige of Gujarati language and culture in the face of the challenges they are faced with which include and are not limited to the Kenyan education system language policy.

1.10.3 Institutional support

Institutional support refers to the formal or non-official representation in community institutions. The informal support is the degree to which a linguistic community has paraded itself to pressure and to represent and protect its own ethnolinguistic interest in different states and other activities including but not limited to mass media, business, finance, government services and education. Formal representation is the extent to which speakers have joined control positions at levels of decision making within the government apparatus in spheres such as mass media, religious circles, cultural domains, business, and industry.

A speech community that has strong institutional control within a state or a private institution is better positioned to protect and improve its language strength as a well-defined collective entity than an ethnolinguistic group that lacks institutional control (Wardhaugh, 1987). Institutional control is also seen as the magnitude to which a group's language has control in the society's institutions (social power enjoyed) compared to other ethnolinguistic groups. It is in the interest of the strength of a language for the ethnolinguistic groups to maintain and defend their language ascendancy in the face of competing ethnolinguistic groups. Therefore, minority speech communities have to attain and maintain a favourable place on the

institutional control front if they are determined to continue existing as distinct collective entities within the contact languages environment structure.

Competent and willing leadership that can lead the informal institutions constituting the ethnolinguistic group (Wardhaugh, 1987) are important in institution control, because gains in institutional control depends on vocal personalities who excel in preparing and organizing an ethnolinguistic group in favour of their own tongue, heritage and ethnic continuous existence in an intergroup setting (Fishman, 1972).

This theory has been developed further by other scholars.

Landweer2008, who discussed eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality which are:

- a) Relationship between the urban-rural continuum
- b) Spheres where language is used
- c) Types and the rate at which code switching takes place.
- d) The forces that stimulate growth or change in a group's population.
- e) The way the speakers in a speech community are spread.
- f) Social outlook regarding and within the speech community
- g) How prestigious a Language is.
- h) Accessibility of a sustainable, reliable and admissible source of livelihood.

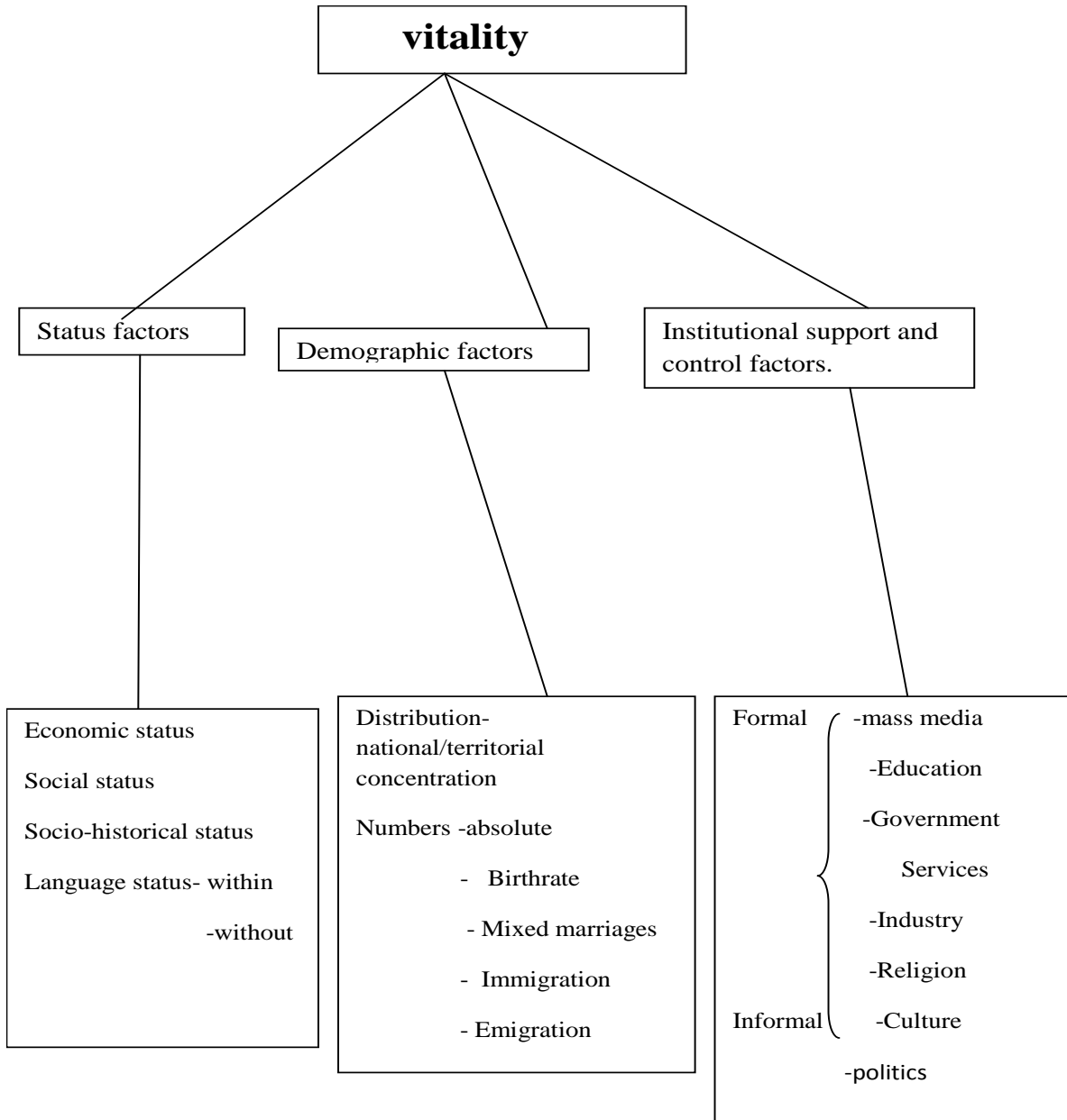
These are an expansion of the original ones by Giles et al 1977 and are all covered in the three dimensions discussed earlier. For the purpose of this study, we are going to stick to the broad three structural dimensions by Giles to investigate the case of language maintenance among the Gujarati speakers.

Although the model proposed by Giles et al (1977) provides a reliable way of evaluating language vitality, it has left out an important factor in language maintenance which is identity. A language gives a linguistic community way of self-identification, which is the capacity of a group to differentiate itself from others. Although there may be other features like racial features, foods, clothing, housing and other practices, none of them is as unique as language is. Language is more particular and gravitates to correspond with a particular ethnic group. Language not only distinguishes ones group but also a place one occupies within a group.

Some linguists and members of some speech communities have argued that one cannot claim to be a member of a speech community if he or she does not speak the ancestral language while others have argued that it is not compulsory for one to speak the ancestral language for one to be considered a member of a speech community. A closer look at the Gujarati community in Nairobi reveals that all members value their language and believe that for one to consider himself or herself a real Gujarati, they must learn and speak the language. They should be in a position to express themselves fluently in the language and clearly understand the cultural aspects of the speech community.

The diagram in the next page shows in summary the three factors that influence language maintenance and shift.

Figure 1.2:Factor Structure of Vitality Constructs



Source:Researcher summary of the vitality concepts.

The diagram above summarizes the ethnolinguistic factors that combine to allow minority language vitality according to Giles et al (1977). Status factors include economic, social, social historic, symbolic status of a language. A speech community that has poor economic prospects would readily shift to a language whose speakers are more economically endowed. In the same manner a language that is seen to have more political power and higher political status will attract those seen to have less political and lower social status to shift towards it. On

demographic factors issues such as immigration, emigration, intermarriages, birthrates, saturation in a given geographical area are considered. Emigration, immigration and birthrates determine the absolute number of speakers. The more people and the higher the saturation, the higher the vitality hence more chances of language maintenance. When mixed marriages take place the language that is seen to have high status is likely to be assumed in the home environment.

Institutional support is the use of language in a number of public wider domains. It could relate to use in education as a medium of instruction, mass media (electronic and print), national, regional, and local government, cultural and religious organizations, politics and commerce and industry. Languages that are used in education and mass media are generally held in high regard than those that are not. They are most likely to attract minority language shift towards them.

It is worth to note that a minority speech community may retain the vitality of its language even in the face of threat, if it strongly considers the language as an important indicator of symbol of their ethnic identity.

This model will be used to evaluate the significant factors that have contributed to the maintenance of Gujarati language in midst of pressure from the earlier mentioned dominant languages in Nairobi.

1.11 Research Methodology

1.11.1 The Nature of Data Collected

This research was based on answers provided by the respondents in the questionnaires they were given to fill. Some of the data used were gathered by observing the use of Gujarati at home and in business premises. This was meant to collect data on the respondents' views, opinions and practices on Gujarati Language in Nairobi.

1.11.2 The Respondents

This research study was carried out in Nairobi, the area of Kenya that hosts the largest Gujarati speaking population in Kenya. A sample of 90speakers of Gujarati who were born in Kenya and live in Kenya was used and was stratified in three classes: 10 - 20 years-this group

represents young speakers, between 21 and 50 years-the age bracket of mature adult speakers, and 51 and above years- the aged (the older generation).

The stratification above is informed by Fishman's (1977) view that; age is an important determinant of language use and influences a person's use of language. He also proposes a three generational rule of language shift where he observed that in immigrant communities, the first generation of the immigrant, represented by the aged are predominantly monolingual in their heritage language while their children are bilingual in the heritage language and majority language. The grand children on the other hand are predominantly monolingual in the majority language. In each every age bracket, 30 respondents were selected. Gender was not an deliberate criterion in the selection although the composition of each age bracket was a mixture of both men and women. The level of education of respondents ranges from primary education to university education. The occupation of the respondents was also a factor in the selection.

1.11.3 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection instruments were questionnaires, interviews and observation schedule. An interview schedule and language use and attitude questionnaires (LUAQ), were used to collect information on the attitudes and practices of the respondents in relation to their language use and maintenance. Similar structured questions, presented in similar order in all cluster of questionnaire were used. There were three types of questionnaires: one, for the young generation, one for the middle and one for the older generations. These questionnaires were self-administered meaning that respondents read and wrote their responses. In situations where the informants could not write, structured interviews were used to elicit data from them.

The study used a mixed method of descriptive approach that is both qualitative and quantitative techniques. A qualitative approach an account of trends, attitudes and opinions of a population at one given point in time.

1.11.3 Data Analysis Procedure

The qualitative data from the interviews was grouped according to the study objectives and theoretical framework and analyzed to come up with the findings. The questionnaires were sorted out, before a quantitative analysis was done of the numerical data collected. Percentages were used to test the hypotheses of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE VITALITY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at language Vitality and factors that influence it such as language contact, language shift and language maintenance. Language vitality is an indicator of language maintenance. In many parts of the world, minority speech communities are in an alarming manner abandoning their mother languages and shifting to using another language, embracing the new language in child upbringing and formal education. This has led to death of many indigenous languages as when children fail to learn them, there is a break in the intergenerational transmission which is difficult to restore once lost. It is a very worrying trend.

2.1 Language Endangerment

In many parts of the world, minority speech communities are deserting their indigenous mother languages and shifting to other languages, in contexts such as in child upbringing and structured education. Such a language is described as an endangered language. An endangered language is one whose speakers have stopped to use and has a reduced number of communicative contexts, and lacks intergenerational transmission (UNESCO, 2003). This means that parents no longer find it necessary to encourage their children to learn the language. They instead encourage them directly or indirectly to learn another language or languages which they find more useful in their daily interactions. They do not encourage the use of the language at home either because of the belief that it is not very useful.

Maintaining such minority languages can only be victorious if meaningful present day roles can be confirmed, for the necessities of modern life within the group as well as in national and international spheres. Meaningful present day roles are and not limited to the importance of these languages in everyday life, business, formal and informal learning, arts, and/or the media. In other words, the language to be used as medium of instruction in institutions of learning, use the language to publish educational related books, it can be used in broadcasting stations, in print media, in public institutions and other domains that would make it more relevant to not only the native speakers but even other people this therefore implies that support from within

and without the government both political and economical is needed to establish these roles because there must exist good will and cooperation from all parties involved.

2.2 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The assessment of ethnolinguistic vitality includes a study of particular factors that control the life force and prosperity of a speech community and the heritage language of that speech community. The ethnolinguistic vitality model suggested by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977 : 307–348) proposes the societal factors that are liable to change, which specifies the structural factor that support or discourages the preservation of a community's language in the long term. The variables were grouped into three broad groups: these are status, demography, and institutional support.

Status factors deal with the use of the language in public circles and the way a group views their language in terms of whether they have pride in using the language or they are ashamed of using it. It also includes the history that has shaped the language and the struggles an ethnic group has gone through for their language. Demographic factors involve the number of speakers in linguistic community and how they live, that is, are they sparsely distributed among other language speakers or do they live separately in own closed community. Institutional support refers to whether the language is used in public interactions like education, religious activities, government functions and institutions and others. The more the mentioned factors are alive in a speech community, the greater the vitality of their language.

This model demonstrates that the greater the ethnolinguistic group vitality, the greater the possibility that the group will maintain their social identity and their heritage language. On the contrary, an ethnolinguistic group with no or low vitality will most probably lose its unique aspects of culture, its group identity and the heritage language and adopt a language that has a high vitality and this is most likely a language of a majority linguistic group.

2.3 Factors Influencing Language Vitality and Maintenance

2.3.1 Transmission of Language across Generations

Fishman (1991), observed that the most widely used factor in examining the strength of language maintenance is whether or not it is being passed onto younger generations. For a

language to be maintained there must be continuous transmission within three generations (grandparents, parents and children). Vitality of languages can be positioned on a continuous sequence from the stable ones to those that are extinct. Stable languages have high vitality while the extinct ones have none. There are other languages that are in between the stable ones and the extinct ones. These ones too have varying vitality. A language with strong intergenerational transmission guarantees language vitality, because such a language is used for communication by and to all members and all generations of the linguistic community and does not show any sign of linguistic threat from any other language: while one that is not spoken by all generations is weak as it is only spoken by parents and grandparents. This one is at the verge of dying unless something is done urgently to stop its eminent death.

2.3.2 Absolute Number of Speakers

A small linguistic community is consistently threatened in matters of language maintenance. They have a high likelihood of losing their language. This is so often because a small population at a greater extent more vulnerable to decimation (e.g. by disease, warfare, or natural disaster) than a larger one. A small population language group may find themselves easily merging neighbouring group or groups, leading to loss of its heritage language and culture. The vitality of such languages is weak and they can easily face extinction. However, a small linguistic group that is geographically separated from other large linguistic groups for example living in an island may have a high vitality because there is no threat from other languages. The linguistic groups comfortably use its language in many if not all its interactions.

2.3.3 Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

The number of people that speak a language in comparison to the whole population of a group is a noteworthy indicator of the strength of the language, where “group” may refer to the ethnic, religious, regional, or national group with which the speaker community identifies (UNESCO, 2003). The language will be safe from endangerment when all members of a speech community speak it; while it will be considered censoriously endangered when very few members of the speech community use it. Encouraging all members of a minority speech community to speak their language is a guaranteed way of maintaining the language in the face of competition from dominant languages.

2.3.4 Trends in Existing Language Domains

The transmission of a language to the next generation is directly affected by the set of different topics for which it is used. A minority language that is universally used by the speakers as the language of interaction, identity determination factor, arts, and entertainment, and is actively used in all forms of communication for all purposes has a strong vitality and is highly maintained.

When another one or more languages, other than the language of the minority speech community is/are the primary language(s) in most official domains such as in public institutions, and learning institutions or when the non-dominant language is used in very restricted domains for example during community rituals and used by very few people for instance a ritual leader on ceremonial occasions, the minority language become endangered and may lose ground and become extinct.

2.3.5 Response to New Domains and Media

Society is dynamic. New fields for language use often arise as community living conditions change. Some language communities are able to expand their vocabulary so as to include the new phenomena and changes while most are unable. External factors like learning institutions, new work environments, mass media, and the Internet, normally only serve the interests of dominant language by expanding its power and scope while overshadowing minority languages. These minority languages continue to sink in the sea of endangered and dying languages. For a period of time, it may seem as if the existing domains of minority endangered language is lost but slowly by slowly, they may be completely overpowered by the dominant language unless a deliberate effort is made to maintain them.

It is important to note that if a speech community language is unable to address modern issues, it becomes irrelevant to the young generation and it would be very difficult to encourage them to learn it thus breaking the intergenerational transmission. A language that is used in all or most new fields easily changes to accommodate new changes and remains strong while a non-dominant language that is used only in a few new fields or is never used in any new field becomes inactive, and members may shift completely to the more useful language.

2.3.6 Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Learning opportunities in the language are important for language vitality. Some speech communities preserve strong oral traditions and may be unwilling to have them written. Education delivered in a certain language gives that language a certain pride, it has an elevated status from other languages. In general, a language that has books and materials on all topics for various ages and language abilities is easily maintained than one without.

Where a language has orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media, it remains highly maintained. However, if all these are available and may only be useful for some members of the speech community; or are for symbolic significance and literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum, then the language is endangered. The information available does not enhance language maintenance.

2.3.7 Language Attitudes and Policies

Linguistic attitudes can be powerful tools in propagating language maintenance or language loss. The dominant linguistic culture may dictate the use of non-dominant languages. A speech community that derives pride in its Language: that has positive attitude towards their language will use it freely in all domains and even ensure that the young generation learns the language. On the contrary a speech community may have negative attitude towards its native language and this often leads to limited use of the language and at long run it is lost.

Members of the dominant speech community develop the ideological environment, by spreading and promoting a value system in which their language is viewed as a positive asset, and considered to be a symbol of unity. Where several large linguistic communities compete for the same space, each has own conflicting linguistic attitudes. This is what has led to the general perception that multiple languages cause divisiveness and are a threat to national unity. The legislation and promoting of on one two dominant languages as official is guided by this thought. Such a policy will discourage or ban the use of other languages in particular places which is disadvantages the minority languages.

Most governments have made policies on Language use. In some countries like South Africa, they have given several languages the official status. In others there are either one or two official languages. However it is important to note that legislation and giving languages equal status does not always result to that in the real situation.

2.3.8 Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Language

Speakers of a language in a speech community always have a positive or negative attitude. Some may be neutral in that they use the language but never promote it. Those who are negative will avoid using the language as much as they can. Those with positive attitude will use the language comfortably. These attitude can be infectious especially the negative attitude which more often than not is propagated by members of a different speech community.

When members of a speech community have a positive attitude, their language is one of the unifying factor and a symbol of group identity. Members of such speech community will view their language central of the existence of the values important to their community and ethnic identity. If by any chance a speech community feels that their language acts as an obstacle that prevents them access some privileges in the society, they develop a negative attitude. A minority language that has speakers with positive attitude and who value the language is well maintained while the one whose speakers do not care and are more comfortable using the dominant language has a weak vitality and is likely to die.

2.4 Language Contact

This is a norm. Languages are in constant contact as they are constantly developing. No language develops in total isolation from others. Language contact is experienced in situations where two or more languages are used by speakers alternatively depending on the situation (Thomason, 2001). (Garret, 2006) as quoted in (Ngure, 2015) says that language contact occurs when people of different ideas, customs and social behavior meet and try to engage in communication.

This means that for us to say that there is language contact there must be communication taking place. It mostly involves direct interaction within groups of speech communities in a given geographical area. Sometimes different speech communities live together in the same

community which may lead to mutual bilingualism or multilingualism. The bilingualism or multilingualism may be stable where patterns of multilingualism are long standing.

Contact can be through speakers of the different languages being in contact or it can be through use of a specific language in a certain institution making it in contact with others. For example, the use of English in the mass media and Internet makes English to be in contact with many other languages of the world. The use of classical Arabic in the Quran also makes it to be in contact with other languages where the speakers are of the Islamic religion.

In a contact situation, minority language speakers may face some difficulties from the dominant language speakers. In fact they may be targets to discrimination and this may impact negatively on the minority languages. Most of the countries have one or a few national languages which are just a few of languages spoken in the country. This alone will force people in the country to learn the national language as it will guarantee them better interaction and access to government services. It will also add an advantage of the ability to find employment in many parts and sectors of the country. For example, in Kenya, Kiswahili is a national language which is spoken by almost every citizen especially when speaking to a person of a different ethnic group.

Some language contact situations are more stable with both languages being maintained while in others one or some languages get assimilated. An example of a stable one in Kenya is whereby English, Kiswahili and indigenous languages have almost defined domains and are used with great ease by speakers, only that each is used when deemed appropriate. Language contact may result to a complete shift from the language, which is assimilation. This means that speakers of a specific language will choose to use another language which they feel is more rewarding. It can also lead to change in the forms of the language involved or emergence of a contact language. The contact language will be formed where the speakers of the languages in contact lack sufficient time to learn each other's language or are not willing to do so or both.

2.5 Language Shift

Language shift refers to circumstances where in a language the numbers of speakers reduce, they become sparsely populated and speakers lose their language proficiency while

concurrently decreasing in use of the language in different domain (Baker2001). It happens when the people in a certain culture or subculture change their primary language for communication.

It is approximated that about 50% of the 6,000 languages in the world are not in use. Moreover, 40% are endangered for there is a diminishing intergenerational language transmission (Krauss, 1992). According to Sasse (1992), language transmission within a family is significant in order to ensure language maintenance. If there is no transmission within a family in the case of parents not speaking to their children in their native language, the native language may be faced out within first and second generations.

Mugane(2006), observes that just like any other thing that exists, languages can either develop or die altogether. When there is language shift, it does not imply that speakers stop to exist. One can speak only one language which is not necessarily his first language. Derrida (1998: 14), said that "I speak only one language and it is not my own." This means that a majority of a speech community rarely gives up completely communicating in one language but instead replace it with some other language in the course of their life time. Typically, the group that speaks two languages cannot pass both the languages but only one of the two languages to the subsequent generation.

Fasold(1984), observes that the generation which is bilingual is faced with an 'exposure to risk' of eventually losing one of the languages as the condition is that the transmitting generation should be able to speak two languages for intergenerational switching to occur. The speakers of the subordinate language then avoid it and its domains of usage become reduced until it is completely replaced by the new language. McMahon (1994) calls this change in sociolinguistic a language shift.

Shift in Language comes as result of a long-term choice in language. When speakers start to use a new language in contexts that were once reserved for their native language, it implies that a shift in language has taken place (Fasold, 1984). De Fries (1992) also defines language shift as a scenario in which a language that interacts with a dominant one is partly or wholly gets replaced by the dominant language and its traditional contexts of usage are taken by the dominant language.

Batibo (2008), opines that the speakers of a speech community determine whether their language continues or gets abandoned, whether inter-generational transmission takes place or not and whether their language expands or reduces its domains of use. Dittmar and Schlobinski (1988), equally note that the speakers' stance towards a language dictates its standing in the speech community and the status it is accorded and the class of speakers probability of using it. Bilingual and multilingual communities, view languages differently: some languages prestigious while others remain stigmatized by the speakers (Jourdan and Kuite, 2006).

The death of a language emanates from shift from a diminishing dominated language to a dominant language in shaky bilingual or multilingual societies (McMahon, 1994). There are linguistic repercussions for the dying minority language. The linguistic consequence of an endangered language is that there would be no intergenerational transmission and the younger generation fails to become fully fluent. This is followed by a gradual falling of vocabulary items and constructions (McMahon, 1994).

According to Webb and Sure (2000), it is common in cities like Nairobi to find families where despite parents having the same ethnic L1, the children would have English as their L1 with very little competence in their parents' L1. Wangia (1991), while studying language use in Nairobi observes that children in the higher class families, often commune in English in most of their interactions. There are also other students who speak either Kiswahili or English or both as their first languages.

Fink (2005), based his study on language attitude particularly on perceptual interaction among Kiswahili, English and indigenous languages in Nairobi. He established that younger speakers preferred English to the local languages while the older generation preferred the indigenous languages. Her take was that this is a case of language shift in Kenya. This is similar to the case of Gujarati spoken in and is rivaled by other languages such as English and Kiswahili.

The first language often is the preferred home language. Speakers are also expected to be proficient in their mother tongues. However, if this is not the case, then language shift might have taken place (Michieka's, (2012).

Daniel Nettle opines that language shift happens due to shortage of choices brought about by the exercising tyrannical power. Some Languages are more threatened. Those that are highly threatened are the minority languages. Rubenstein (1957:283) says that language shifts usually take time to be fully effected. A high percentage of language shift occur in the areas of high cultural mobility, social and political instability. In some rare cases some form of cultural continuity has been observed even after a complete language shift (Dauenhauer, 1998). Language shift can occur as a product of decrease of available options, and it can also result from threats.

2.6 Language maintenance

Language maintenance is a concern of small minority speech communities which may be at risk of having their languages falling into disuse as when they are over shadowed by the dominant language of the majority. It concerns the relatively insecure languages that do not have many speakers and also not have great social and institutional support.

Language maintenance implies a continuation of use of a language in ordinary spoken form and this in therefore points at the significance of uninterrupted home language transmission from old generation to young generation. The family being the smallest unit in the society and knowing that children acquire their first language at home, then the transmission needs to take place at home. If domestic transmission is guaranteed, then language maintenance is guaranteed and if domestic transmission is not maintained the language becomes vulnerable and threatened. Maintenance is not guaranteed and language loss looms. Fishman (1990) ,observes that home is the most important of all language domains but it cannot be isolated from the others. There must be other settings within which the language is considered important or just considerably important.

Language maintenance can be affected through the following ways: To begin with, continued existence of relevant fields where the language can be used. That is social, political and economic force both within and without the language community. In such a situation, members of a particular community will be willing to continue using and transmitting the language as it will be useful in meeting their needs and also making life easier for them.

Another one is the combined desire to eliminate discontinuity in order to sustain life in the element that threatens the language. A speech community may plan on how to keep their language alive despite the forces that threaten it. For example, if the language is shifting because it is no longer used as a medium of instruction in school, and therefore the speakers are forced to learn another language from an early age, they can decide to mostly or deliberately use it at home and may also start a language school for those who would like to learn it or even a parallel school for their children to learn the language well. These efforts would definitely lead to the language at least being important in some domains hence giving a reason for people to keep on learning and using it thus ensuring its survival.

2.7 Summary

It is evident that there are different factors that lead to influence language maintenance or loss. They are political, social, demographic cultural and linguistic factors. The following are tables showing a summary of some of these factors.

2.7.1 Political, Social and Demographic factors

Political factors refer to issues related to the government or public affairs of the country or region. These affect language use in that people will want to be part and parcel of what is termed as acceptable to the government of the day if they support it but would be defiant if they had problems with it. Social factors arise from environment, society ideologies and worldviews that affect language. Demographics refer to the number of speakers and their distribution in a given region. These three are interrelated. The table that follows summarizes these factors.

Table 2.1: Political, Social and Demographic Factors That Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance.

FACTOR ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTOR ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE LOSS (SHIFT)
Many members of a speech community living in close proximity.	Small number of members of speech community living dispersed area.
Recent and / or continuing in migration	Long and stable resident
Living near homeland and easily available means of transport to the place.	Living away from homeland which is inaccessible.
Desire to go back to homeland and some actualizing it.	Little or no desire to return/ impossible to return/ few numbers return
Security and stability of homeland language.	Low vitality in homeland language.
Stability in occupation	Occupational shift, especially from rural to urban
Employment opportunities available where homeland language is spoken.	Employment requires proficiency in dominant/ majority language
8. Low social and economic mobility in mini occupation	High social and economic mobility in main occupation
Social and economic mobility is low as they are checked by ensuring low levels of education. Community leaders are speaking their language well.	Social and economic mobility is high and people are highly educated. Potential community leaders are alienated from the language.
Social and vocational identity is sacrificed for ethnic group identity.	Social and vocational mobility is achieved by denying ethnic group identity.

Source: Conklin and Lourie (1983), cited in Ngunjiri 2015: 53

The factors reflected in Table 2.1 show that political, social and demographic factors play a major role in language maintenance and shift. There must be favourable political, social and demographic factors for a language to be maintained.

2.7.2 Cultural Factors That Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance.

Cultural factors encompass the set beliefs, moral values, traditions and rules of behavior that govern a nation or region. These factors directly affect language use as language is the tool that transmits culture. Attitude towards a language is part of the culture and beliefs and this adversely determines whether such a language is going to survive in a competitive environment. Positive attitude will lead to establishment of a cultural environment that encourages use of the language hence the language is maintained. Hostile cultural environment

is likely to lead to language shift hence loss of the language. Table 2.2 summarizes the cultural factors that enhance language shift and maintenance.

Table 2.2: Cultural Factors That Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance

FACTOR ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTOR ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE LOSS (SHIFT)
Presence of mother tongue institution e.g. school community organization, mass media, leisure activities	Absence of mother tongue institutions
Mother tongue is used to conduct cultural and religious activities.	Majority language used to conduct cultural and religious activities.
Home language is determinant of ethnic identity.	Ethnic identity defined by factor other than language
Nationalistic aspiration as a language group	Few nationalistic aspiration
National language is mother tongue	Mother tongue not the only homeland national language or mother tongue spans several nations
Emotional attachment to mother tongue giving self-identity and ethnicity	Self-identity derived from factors other than shared home language
Community cohesion and family ties are emphasized.	Emphasis on individual achievement other than community and family ties.
Learning takes place in mother tongue	Learning takes place in majority language
Majority language has low emphasis	Majority language well accepted.
Culture is different from majority language culture.	Culture and religion are similar to that of the majority language

Source: Conklin and Lourie (1983), cited in Ngure 2015: 53

It is important to note that language and culture are inseparable and so as shown in the table above, language maintenance and shift are seriously influenced by culture of a linguistic community. A community's beliefs will determine whether a language will be maintained or lost.

2.7.3 Linguistic Factors That Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance.

These are issues to do with grammar of a language. Some languages have clearly described grammar while others do not. The languages that have been standardized may have more vitality than ones that have not been standardized. Those with written literature are more stable than those without. Below is a table that summarizes the linguistic factors.

Table 2.3:Linguistic Factors That Enhance Language Shift and Maintenance

FACTOR ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE	FACTOR ENCOURAGING LANGUAGE LOSS (SHIFT)
Standardized mother tongue and exists in written form	Mother tongue does not exist in written form
Use an alphabet which makes printing and literacy relatively easy	Use of system which is expensive to reproduce and relatively difficult to learn
International status home language	Little importance attached to home language
Home language literacy used in community and with homeland	Illiteracy (or aliteracy) in the home language
Flexibility in the development of the home language (e.g. limited use of new terms from majority language)	No tolerance of new terms from majority; or too much tolerance of loan word leading to mixing and eventual language loss

Source: Conklin and Lourie (1983), cited in Ngunjiri 2015: 53

From the table above, it is evident that Linguistic factors cannot be ignored in the study of language maintenance and shift because they have a major role to play on whether a language will be maintained or lost.

2.8 Conclusion

Language diversity, Languagecontact, Language change and maintenance are issues that are going to remain as long as human beings continue to exist and continue interacting because they will use language. Language diversity is as a result of many languages of the world and since people will always interact, it leads to language contact. Another cause of language contact is the fact that we cannot have a physical barrier that separates one speech community from another. At the boundary, there is always language contact. When languages come into contact they affect each other leading to language change. The changes may be in the structure or borrowing of some words or it can be so much that one language gets completely assimilated by another leading to language shift. The language that is in continuous use is said to be maintained. They are mainly languages of dominant speech community.

These are issues that are pertinent as they too contribute much in the national unity and peaceful co-existence which is in the interest of everybody. A linguistic group that accepts its language status and deals with it peacefully will not cause trouble for others and also a linguistic group that feels appreciated by the other linguistic groups will likely try to interact in a harmonious manner with them and this would lead to national unity.

CHAPTER THREE

PRESENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF DATA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data as collected in the field. It presents the response rate, demographic information, sociolinguistic factors that are responsible for the maintenance of Gujarati language in Nairobi, the attitude of Gujarati speakers towards the use of Gujarati language, and to the determination of whether Gujarati language is an important factor in the definition of a Gujarati identity.

3.2 Response Rate

Response rate is the proportion of the returned questionnaires after they have been administered to the respondents. In this study, out of the targeted 90 respondents comprising of 30 young people, 30 middle aged adults and 30 old aged adults, 76 of them returned the questionnaires comprising of 27 young people, 24 middle aged adults and 25 old aged adults. This represented 84.44% hence by virtue of the response rate the responses would be deemed as satisfactory representative.

3.2.1 Distribution of Respondents by Age

Information on age was sought since age is a factor in determining intergenerational transmission of language that either strengthens or weakens the vitality of a language. For a language to have a high vitality, it must be used by old and young generation and be effectively transmitted from the older generation to young one without a break.

The young people were asked to indicate their age as shown in the Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age	F	%
10 years	5	18.5
11-15 years	7	25.9
16-20 years	15	55.6

According to Table 3.1 the respondents in the category of young people comprised those aged 10 years (18.5 %); those aged 11-15 (25.9%) and those aged 16-20 (55.6%).

The adults were asked to indicate their age as shown in the table below.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Adults by Age

Age	Middle age		Old age	
	F	%	F	%
21-30 years	1	4.2		
31-40 years	11	45.8		
41-50 years	12	50.0		
51 -54 years			3	12
55 years and above			22	88

According to the table above, 4.2% of the middle aged adults were between 21-30 years, 45.8% were between 31-40 years while 50 % were between 41-50 years. Age distribution on old aged adults showed that 12% were between 51-54 years while 88% were 55 years and above.

This information is important to show that three generations were covered in the research to enable establish whether there is intergenerational transmission of the language.

3.2.2 Distribution of the Respondents by Gender

The respondents were required to indicate their gender. Gender is recognized as one of the variables from which contrast in linguistic behavior among persons can be exhibited. Different gender may behave differently in the face of linguistic competitive environment.

The results of the findings among the young respondents are presented in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3: Distribution of the Young Respondents by Gender

Gender	Young people		Middle age		Old age	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Male	15	55.6	13	54.2	14	56.0
Female	12	44.4	11	45.8	11	44.0

As shown by the table above, 55.6% of the young people were male while 44.4% were female. 54.2% of the middle aged adults were male while 45.8% were female. 56 % of the old aged adults were male while 44% were female. This data clearly shows that two third rule on gender was highly observed in this particular study.

3.2.3 Distribution of Adults by their Occupation

Respondents were required to indicate their occupation since the kind of occupation one is engaged in greatly influences the choice of language used. The language that is considered to promote one's career or occupation is preferred to those that are considered not so important to one's occupation.

The results of the findings are presented in table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4: Distribution of Adults by their Occupation

Occupation	Middle age		Old age	
	F	%	F	%
Student	4	16.7	0	0
Business person	8	33.3	16	64.0
Formal employment	3	12.5	2	8.0
Religious leader	3	12.5	4	16.0
Not working	6	25.0	3	12.0

According to the table above, a large number of Gujarati were business people. They managed family businesses where there were a number of Gujarati family members in the same premises and had employed people from other speech communities to help in selling. They speak Gujarati among themselves even in the shops and only switch to other languages when speaking to people from other speech communities who may be either employees or customers. Some employees have even learnt a little Gujarati.

3.2.4 Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

The respondents were asked to indicate their marital status. This was important as it would help the researcher in identifying the use of language in the homes and whether marriage patterns affect the use of Gujarati.

It was discovered that all the respondents were married to persons of the same speech community. The results of the findings are presented in Table 3.5 below.

Table 3.5: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status

Occupation	Middle age		Old age	
	F	%	F	%
Single	5	20.8	4	16.0
Married	11	45.8	9	36.0
Widowed	4	16.7	9	36.0
Divorced	4	16.7	3	12.0

According to the table above, 20.8% of the middle aged adults were single, 45.8% were married, 16.7% were widowed while the same proportion were divorced. 4(16%) of the middle aged adults were single, 36% were married, 36% were widowed while 12% were divorced. When people marry the language used at home is that which is favourable to both parties and that is the language that they transmit to their children. So, marital status becomes an important variable in ensuring language maintenance. If one spouse is from a minority linguistic group and the other a majority/dominant linguistic group, it is almost automatic that they will adopt the language of the dominant group.

3.2.5 Distribution of Adults by Education Qualification

The respondents were asked to indicate their education qualification. This was important as it would reveal how much the respondent had interacted with other languages since the languages used in education system in Kenya are largely determined by the ministry of education. These languages have high status and often affect the use of other languages. Most of the minority language speakers that have migrated to towns in Kenya, find it hard to keep using their

indigenous languages and with time the minority language is lost in the younger generation in towns who are left with only English and Kiswahili. This is because the languages of instruction in schools are English and Kiswahili and they are the same languages mostly used outside school environment since people in towns even Nairobi come from different ethnic backgrounds.

The results of the findings are presented in Table 3.6 below.

Table 3.6: Distribution of Adults by Education Qualification

Education qualification	Middle age		Old age	
	F	%	F	%
Primary school	4	16.7	5	20.0
Secondary school	11	45.8	6	24.0
Tertiary level	6	25.0	10	40.0
Illiterate	3	12.5	4	16.0

It was established that there were schools that were mainly preferred by the Gujarati speakers and they took their children to those schools. These are the international schools. In some of these schools Gujarati is taught as a language and so young people get to interact with it in school to. They preferred to send their children out of the country for university and tertiary education. Mostly they are sent to India and United Kingdom. In India they interact with the native speakers of the language while in UK they too have a chance of interacting with other Gujarati speakers because there is a sizeable number that lives there.

3.2.6 Distribution of young people by their Religion

Respondents were required to indicate the religion they subscribed to. This was vital since the use of a language in religion impacts in its maintenance.

The results of the findings among the young respondents are presented in the table below.

Table 3.7: Distribution of the Young Respondents by Religion

Religion	F	%
Hindu	19	70.4
Islam	4	14.8
Christian	4	14.8

The table above shows that 70.4% of the young people were Hindu, 14.8% was Islam while 14.8% were Christians. The young respondents took to the religion of their parents. According to these findings most of them subscribe to the Hindu religion and Gujarati language is used in carrying out religious activities.

3.2.7 Distribution of Adults by their Religion.

The adults respondents were requested to indicate the language used in their religious functions. This is because religion is an important aspect of human life and a language used in religious circles is held in high regard.

The results of the findings are shown in the table below.

Table 3.8: Distribution of Adults by their Religion

Religion	F	%
Hindu/ Gujarati	38	77.6
Islam/ Arabic	4	8.2
Christian/ English	5	10.2

From the table above, majority 77.6% stated that Gujarati was used in places of worship and so it is important in their religion.

3.3 How Often People Use Languages in Different Situations

This section tends to find out how young people use different languages with different groups of people. These reveal situations in which the language under study is used. The children were asked to indicate the language they use in different situations.

The findings are show in the table that follows.

Table 3.9: How Often Young People Use Languages in Different Situations

Situation	Gujarati		Kiswahili		English		Sheng	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
When you are speaking to your grandparents	14	51.9	7	25.9	3	11.1	3	11.1
When your grandparents are speaking to you	11	40.7	7	25.9	5	18.5	4	14.8
When you are speaking to your parents	10	37.0	7	25.9	6	22.2	4	14.8
When your parents are speaking to you	10	37.0	8	29.6	3	11.1	6	22.2
When the parents are speaking to each other	11	40.7	11	40.7	3	11.1	2	7.4
When you speaking to your siblings	4	14.8	3	11.1	4	14.8	16	59.3
When you are speaking to other adults in your home.	10	37.0	8	29.6	6	22.2	3	11.1
When you are speaking to your friends in school during break time and games	2	7.4	6	22.2	7	25.9	12	44.4
When speaking to your teachers	2	7.4	10	37.0	12	44.4	3	11.1
When your spiritual leaders lead worship	11	40.7	7	25.9	7	25.9	2	7.4

According to the table above, majority of young people speak Gujarati to their grandparents and parents. Their grandparents and parents use the same language when speaking to them. They also stated that their parents use the language while speaking to one another. A good number used Gujarati in their interactions with the siblings. This clearly indicates that Gujarati is well used in home domain a very important domain in language maintenance. It also implies that there is an intergenerational transmission of Gujarati.

3.4 Views on the Use of Gujarati, Kiswahili and English in Different Areas

This section tends to find out the importance of Gujarati, Kiswahili and English languages in different circumstances. This was meant to establish their attitudes towards Gujarati and other

rivallanguages. The respondents were asked to indicate if the language is important, not important or slightly important as shown in the tables below.

3.5 Respondents View on the Use of Gujarati

Respondents were required to indicate their view of the use of Gujarati. The findings were as follows:

3.5.1 Young Respondents View on the Use of Gujarati.

The young people were asked to indicate their views on the importance of Gujarati in various domains. This is important as it directly reveals their attitude towards the language and this attitude determines their willingness to learn the language.

The findings are in the table below.

Table 3.10: Young people’s view on the use of Gujarati

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	5	18.5	14	51.9	8	29.6
Employment	8	29.6	6	22.2	13	48.1
Trade	4	14.8	6	22.2	17	63.0
Socializing with friends	9	33.3	8	29.6	10	37.0
Cultural identity	3	11.1	4	14.8	20	74.1
Religion	5	18.5	7	25.9	15	55.6
General usefulness in life	6	22.2	9	33.3	12	44.4

According to the table above, Young people felt that Gujarati is important in many aspects of life. Majority indicated that it was important in trade since they maintained relations with India and because most of their families were business people. They also indicated that it is a mark of cultural identity, since of cultural activities do not have equivalent word to describe them, in fact they stated that incase one doesn’t learn the language then he/she cannot claim to be a complete Gujarati as they will have many limitations in carrying out cultural expectations.

3.5.1 Middle Aged Adults View on the Use of Gujarati

The middle aged adults were required to indicate their view of the use of Gujarati. These views would help determine their attitudes towards language. This attitude determines their willingness to continue using the language in various situations.

The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.11: Middle Aged Adults View on the Use of Gujarati

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	5	20.8	13	54.2	6	25.0
Employment	7	29.2	6	25.0	11	45.8
Trade	4	16.7	5	20.8	15	62.5
Socializing with friends	8	33.3	6	25.0	10	41.7
Cultural identity	3	12.5	3	12.5	18	75.0
Religion	5	20.8	6	25.0	13	54.2
General usefulness in life	6	25.0	7	29.2	11	45.8

According to the Table 3.11above, majority of the middle age indicated that Gujarati is important in trade, employment, socializing, religion, cultural identity and general things of life. They stated that since they live as a close knit society, Gujarati binds them together and enables them to smoothly carry out their cultural practices. They said it would be difficult to translate all Gujarati cultural aspects to be expressed in either English or Kiswahili hence the continued use of Gujarati language. They stated too that they have maintained contacts with India and this also makes it necessary to propagate the language. The fact that most of them are business people also makes it necessary to keep the language alive. The marriage systems have also enabled them to keep using the language as they mostly marry from the same speech community in the country and abroad (mostly India).

3.5.2 Old Aged Adults View on the Use of Gujarati

The old aged adults were required to indicate their view of the use of Gujarati. These views would help determine the attitudes towards the language. Their attitude towards the language would determine their willingness to continue using the language and efforts they would put in ensuring that the younger generation learnt the language.

The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.12: Old Aged Adults View on the Use of Gujarati

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	4	16.0	14	56.0	7	28.0
Employment	7	28.0	4	16.0	14	56.0
Trade	5	20.0	9	36.0	11	44.0
Socializing with friends	3	12.0	6	24.0	16	64.0
Cultural identity	4	16.0	4	16.0	17	68.0
Religion	6	24.0	7	28.0	12	48.0
General usefulness in life	8	32.0	5	20.0	12	48.0

According to the Table 3.12, majority of the old people indicated that Gujarati is an important language in trade, employment, socializing, religion, cultural identity and general things of life. They stated that since they live as a close knit society Gujarati binds them together and enables them to smoothly carry out their cultural practices. They said it is difficult to translate all Gujarati cultural aspects to be expressed through either English or Kiswahili languages hence the continued use of Gujarati. They stated too that they have maintained contacts with India and this also makes it necessary to propagate the language. Once in a while they visited their relatives back in India. The fact that most of them are business people also makes it necessary to keep the language alive so as to maintain other business relations. The marriage systems have also enabled them to keep using the language as they mostly marry from the same speech community in the country and overseas(mostly India) and also encourage and ensure their children marry in the same pattern.

3.5.3 Young People's View on the Use of Kiswahili Language

The young people were required to indicate their view of the use of Kiswahili. These views would help determine the attitudes towards the language and the pressure it exerts on Gujarati. The more important the language is in many domains the greater the pressure it exerts on

Gujarati. There are also some domains that are more influential in language maintenance than others.

The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.13: Young People’s View on the Use of Kiswahili Language

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	5	18.5	8	29.6	14	51.9
Employment	5	18.5	16	59.3	6	22.2
Trade	3	11.1	8	29.6	16	59.3
Socializing with friends	6	22.2	15	55.6	6	22.2
Cultural identity	17	63.0	7	25.9	3	11.1
Religion	7	25.9	14	51.9	6	22.2
General usefulness in life	3	11.1	5	18.5	19	70.4

According to the table above, Majority of young people indicated that Kiswahili is important in general usefulness in life. A significant percentage also felt that it is important in education and trade. In trade it important in communicating to customers from other ethnic groups while in education Kiswahili is a compulsory subject in Kenya. Most of them said it was only important when interacting with their age mates from other speech communities. They rarely used it and learn it at school since it’s an official language in Kenya.

3.5.4 Middle Aged Adults View on the Use of Kiswahili Language

The middle aged adults were required to indicate their view of the use of Kiswahili. These views would help determine the attitudes towards the language and the pressure it exerts on Gujarati. The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.14: Middle Aged Adults View on the Use of Kiswahili Language

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	5	20.8	7	29.2	12	50.0
Employment	5	20.8	13	54.2	6	25.0
Trade	3	12.5	5	20.8	16	66.7
Socializing with friends	5	20.8	13	54.2	6	25.0
Cultural identity	15	62.5	7	29.2	3	11.1
Religion	5	20.8	14	58.3	5	20.8
General usefulness in life	3	12.5	5	20.8	16	66.7

As can be seen on Table 3.13 Majority of the respondents indicated that they considered Kiswahili important in Education, trade and general usefulness in life. They stated that it is important in interacting with other speech communities especially in not so formal situations. Most customers in Nairobi prefer speaking Kiswahili. For general interactions which are not so many as they prefer keeping to themselves, they pointed out instance such as during public holidays and other functions where Kiswahili is used and so they stated it is important to learn it only for such situations even if they are limited.

3.5.5 Old Aged Adults View on the Use of Kiswahili Language

The old aged adults were required to indicate their view of the use of Kiswahili. These views would help determine the attitudes towards the language and the pressure it exerts on Gujarati. The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.15: Old Aged Adults View on the Use of Kiswahili Language

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	5	20.0	6	24.0	14	56.0
Employment	5	20.0	14	56.0	6	24.0
Trade	3	12.0	4	16.0	18	72.0
Socializing with friends	4	16.0	15	60.0	6	24.0
Cultural identity	15	60.0	7	28.0	3	12.0
Religion	3	12.0	15	60.0	7	28.0
General usefulness in life	5	20.0	5	20.0	15	60.0

As can be seen on Table 3.15 Majority of the respondents indicated that they considered Kiswahili important in Education, trade and general usefulness in life. They stated that it is important in interacting with other speech communities especially in not so formal situations. The fact that most of them are business people and would like to establish good rapport with the customers, they said that Kiswahili is important since most customers in Nairobi prefer transacting in Kiswahili. For general interactions such as during public holidays and other functions, Kiswahili is used and so they stated it is important to learn it only for such situations.

3.5.6 Young People's View on the Use of English Language

The young people were required to indicate their view of the use of English language. These views would help determine the attitudes towards language and the pressure it exerts on Gujarati. The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.16: Young people's view on the use of English language

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	6	22.2	3	11.1	18	66.7
Employment	7	25.9	14	56.0	11	40.7
Trade	17	63.0	6	22.2	4	14.8
Socializing with friends	9	33.3	14	51.9	4	14.8
Cultural identity	20	74.1	5	18.5	2	7.4
Religion	9	33.3	15	55.6	3	11.1
General usefulness in life	9	33.3	4	14.8	14	51.9

According to the table above, majority of young people, 66.7% indicated that they considered English important in education. In Kenya English is an official language and is the mostly used language of instruction in Kenyan schools. For one to do well, they must have mastery of the language. For those who wish to further their studies, it is very important as this is the language that would enable them interact and integrate with people from other parts of the world since it is a Lingua Franca.

3.5.7 Middle aged adults view on the use of English Language

The middle aged adults were required to indicate their view of the use of English language. These views would help determine the attitudes to the language and the pressure it exerts on Gujarati.

The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.17: Middle aged adults view on the use of English language

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	4	16.7	3	12.5	17	70.8
Employment	5	20.8	9	37.5	10	41.7
Trade	15	62.5	6	25.0	3	12.5
Socializing with friends	7	29.2	14	58.3	3	12.5
Cultural identity	17	70.8	5	20.8	2	8.3
Religion	7	29.2	14	58.3	3	12.5
General usefulness in life	7	29.2	3	12.5	14	58.3

According to the Table 3.17, 70.8%, 41.1%, and 64.0% of the middle aged people indicated that they considered English important in Education, Employment and general usefulness respectively. These are the only domains that had a significant percentage in their importance of English language among the respondents. As stated earlier, they too attributed this to the fact that English is an official language in Kenya: it is the main language of instruction in Kenyan schools, the main language that is used in offices and official functions and that it is a lingua

Franca that would enable them to establish and maintain contact with the rest of the world; a factor they highly value.

3.5.8 Old aged adults view on the use of English Language

The old aged adults were required to indicate their view of the use of English language. These views would help determine the attitudes towards the language and the pressure it exerts on Gujarati. The responses given would help determine if English is a threat to Gujarati in Nairobi.

The findings were as follows:-

Table 3.18: Old aged adults view on the use of English language

Field	NI		SI		I	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
Education	2	3	12.0	11.1	20	80.0
Employment	3	12.0	10	40.0	12	48.0
Trade	15	60.0	6	24.0	4	16.0
Socializing with friends	6	24.0	15	60.0	4	16.0
Cultural identity	17	68.0	6	24.0	2	7.4
Religion	5	20.0	17	68.0	3	12.0
General usefulness in life	5	20.0	4	16.0	16	64.0

In Table 3.18, the old people's data, 80%, 48%, and 64% show their attitude towards the usefulness of English in Education, employment, and general usefulness respectively. These are the only domains that had a significant percentage in their importance of English language among the Gujarati. As stated earlier, they too attributed this to the fact that English is an official language in Kenya, it is the main language of instruction in Kenyan schools, and that it is a lingual Franca that would enable them to establish and maintain contact with the rest of the world; a factor they highly value.

3.6 Gujarati Language Performance along the Four Language Skills.

Respondents were asked to state how well they rated themselves in the four language skills. They would indicate as satisfactory (ST), good (GD) or very good (V.G). This would provide information on language performance along the four language skills.

The results were provided in the table that follows.

Table 3.19: Language Performance in Language Skills

Language skills	Young people						Middle aged people						Old aged people					
	ST		GD		V.G		ST		GD		V.G		ST		GD		V.G	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Listening	0	0	7	25.9	20	74.1	0	0	14	58	10	41.7	0	0	5	20	20	80
Speaking	0	0	7	25.9	20	74.1	0	0	14	58	10	41.7	0	0	5	20	20	80
Reading	5	19	10	37	12	44	4	16.7	11	45.8	9	37.5	9	36	8	32	8	32
Writing	5	19	10	37	12	44	4	16.7	11	45.8	9	37.5	9	36	8	32	8	32

As can be seen on Table 3.19 above, it is evident that a majority of the respondents were confident in the language. They stated that they rated themselves highly in the listening and speaking skills. Most of them rated themselves as in the very good category while none rated him/herself at just satisfactory level. In reading and writing, majority of the respondents said that they rated themselves as good and others as just satisfactory. This shows that in these two language skills the Gujarati in Nairobi have a lower performance than the first two (listening and speaking) but the performance is good. We can deduce the Gujarati have tried to ensure that the speakers acquire all the language skills.

3.7 FirstLanguage

All respondents stated that Gujarati was their first language. They spoke other languages which included Hindustani, English, Kiswahili and Sheng. English, Kiswahili are mostly used to communicate to people of other ethnic group and in official situations. Sheng is slang mostly a combination of English and Kiswahili and is used in informal settings by the young members. Most of the married respondents also stated that their spouse's first language was Gujarati including the widowed and divorced ones. They also said that they are married from the same ethnic group since it is the norm but they knew some few Gujarati who in the recent past have gone against the tradition and married outside their ethnic group and caste.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSIONS OF MAINTENANCE OF GUJARATI LANGUAGE; NAIROBI

4.0 Introduction

The concern of this chapter is predominantly the discussion of the results presented in chapter three. The aim is to analyze the factors that have contributed to the vitality of Gujarati language spoken in Kenya within the framework of ethnolinguistic vitality theory. One needs to remember that this theory accounts for the language vitality by investigating various language vitality behaviors that make a linguistic group to stand out as one distinct and active collective entity in an intergroup situation.

Before we examine factors that are responsible for the maintenance of Gujarati language in Kenya, it is of importance at this point to first relate the analyses to be provided in this chapter to the research objectives and the hypotheses of this study. The general aim of this study as was earlier indicated in the introduction of chapter one is to investigate factors that contribute to the maintenance of Gujarati language. These factors are classified into three broad categories: socio-demographic factors, language domain factors and cultural factors.

4.1 Socio-Demographic Factors

4.1.1 Geographical Concentration

The Gujarati speakers in Kenya live together in a particular geographical location. In Nairobi, they are majorly concentrated in Parklands of the larger Westlands Sub-county. In this area, all the social amenities such as schools, hospitals and places of worship are present. Most service providers in these facilities are speakers of Gujarati. This means that the Gujarati speakers do not have to go away from home to receive these services. The concentration of the Gujarati speech community in one area allows for the increase of daily interaction and use of Gujarati language. This is in line with Fishman (1991) contention that community languages were better well maintained by minority groups who are more concentrated within a certain geographical areas.

4.1.2 Marriage Pattern

The minority group marriage pattern can influence the maintenance of the minority language. This influence can either be positive or negative. According to Holmes (2013: 65), marriage to a majority group negatively influences language maintenance as it is the quickest and easiest way of ensuring the shift to the majority group language because the children; since they will learn the language with the highest status and prestige becomes it is the favoured language for daily communication. However, when the immigrant community does not encourage marriage to a majority group like in the case of Gujarati speakers in Kenya, the minority language is maintained.

4.2 Language Domain Factors

These are settings in which language is used. These settings include home, education, trade, religion, inter alia. The repeated usage of a language, especially at home with family members such as parents, grandparents and children, in education, religious places, commercial places and general socialization, help minority languages to survive. The fact that Gujarati speakers of Kenya continuously speak Gujarati in these different social settings has equally helped them to retain the language. Fishman (1966), opines that the habit of using a language at more than one point in time or space in an environment of intergroup contact is a strong sign of language maintenance.

4.2.1 Home

Home provides the richest environment in which language is used. Results reported in Table 3.7 on young people use of language in different situations indicate that young speakers actively use Gujarati in their daily interactions at home. When asked to indicate the language they use to interact with different members of the family, 63% reported that they use Gujarati to talk to their grandparents. Another 51.9% indicated that they use it when communicating to their parents, 48.1% use it when interacting with the siblings and a significant number, and 51.9% also use Gujarati when talking to other adults. This active use of Gujarati by the younger generation indicates a strong vitality of the language that is likely to survive and be passed to subsequent generations.

The result presented in Table 3.13 similarly shows that majority of middle age adults speak Gujarati at home. That is 70.8% use it when speaking to their old parents, 45.8% use it when conversing with their children, 45.8% communicate in Gujarati when interacting with other siblings, 62.5% use it when talking to their spouses. Table 3.3.7 also reports that 66.7% of parents equally use Gujarati amongst themselves. The regular usage of Gujarati among the adult folk has helped in maintaining the language.

Clyne (2001:367), points out those grandparents are instrumental in intergenerational language maintenance. Generally, when older members of a minority group actively use the language in the community, the survival of the language will be affected positively since they act as agents that hand down the language to a younger generation for continuity. In Table 3.4, 63% said that their grandparents use Gujarati when speaking to them. This shows that the younger generation acquires the language during their childhood from the older members such as grandparents and parents.

4.2.2 Religion

Regular usage of Gujarati in places of worship has really helped in its maintenance. 44.4% young Gujarati speakers who are inclined to Hindu religion say that 70% of the Hindu religious leaders use Gujarati when preaching. Moreover, 75% of the adults report that they use Gujarati language in places of worship. A significant number 76% feel that Gujarati is necessary for worship. This underscores the role of religion in maintaining Gujarati amidst competition from dominant languages such as Kiswahili and English.

4.2.3 Trade

Gujarati has also been maintained in commercial activities. Majority of the respondents across all age brackets agree that Gujarati language is vital in trade. When asked to indicate their views on the use of Gujarati in trade, 22.2% of the young Gujarati speakers said that it is slightly important while 63% contended that it is important. 20.8% and 62.5% of the middle age reported that it is slightly important and important respectively. The old respondents were also of the same view with 36% reporting that it is slightly important while 44% saying it is important.

4.2.4 Employment Opportunity

The need to speak Gujarati in order to easily get employed has necessitated its continued use even in the face of competition from majority languages such as Kiswahili and English. 48.1% of the young Gujarati speakers reported that Gujarati is important in employment, another 45.8% of adults stated that it is important while 56% of the old respondents reported the same.

4.2.5 Education

The use of a community language in education contributes to the maintenance and development of a language (Rouchy, 2013). Teaching the language in schools and generally using it for communication amongst students and teachers, increases its chances of survival. However, the findings from Gujarati speakers in Nairobi indicate otherwise. With regard to general usage in school to interact with others, only 7.4% of school going young speakers reported that they use Gujarati when speaking to other students and a similar number use it when speaking to teachers in school. This shows that Gujarati is not maintained in schools. Interestingly, most of the aged speakers feel that Gujarati is indispensable in education.

4.2.6 Socialization with Friends

Gujarati is the preferred language for the majority of the speakers when interacting with friends outside home. The result shown in Table 3.12 indicates that 64% of the old respondents believe that Gujarati is important when socializing with friends. Similarly, when middle aged speakers were asked the same question, 41.7% of them reported that they felt Gujarati was preferred when socializing with friends as presented in Table 3.11. Young speakers also reported that Gujarati is important in interacting with friends though with a smaller percentage of 37% as compared to adults and the old. It should be noted that this is only possible with friends who also speak Gujarati. Otherwise, Kiswahili and English is used when interacting with friends who do not speak Gujarati.

4.2.7 Mass Media

From the interview that was conducted, the respondent revealed that there are written literature available in the Kenyan market about Gujarati and in Gujarati language. These include

magazines, school books and fashion books. There are radio stations that broadcast in the language whereby they present news items, religious and entertainment items. With the coming of digital television platform the Gujarati have had a great access to channels that broadcast in Gujarati. This has further encouraged its use and maintenance.

4.3 Socio-Psychological Factors

4.3.1 Positive Attitude towards Gujarati

Gujarati speakers living in Nairobi, Kenya have a positive attitude towards which has consequently strongly and positively affected its maintenance. When respondents were requested to indicate their view of the general usefulness of Gujarati, 44.4% of the young respondents, 45.8% of the adult respondents and 48% of the old respondents said that it is generally useful. They considered it to be a useful language in expressing their ideas and feelings especially when using it at home with other members of the family. The Gujarati minority group also demonstrates a strong dedication and allegiance towards their language and culture by using it within the family at home and all other social contexts. It is this loyalty to their language that has enhanced its maintenance and transmission to the younger generations.

4.3.2 Emotional Attachment as a Sense of Identity

While it is obvious that language is a marker of speakers identity, their attachment to the same language may not be guaranteed especially when a minority language is under threat from majority languages. As mentioned earlier, Gujarati is rivaled by English and Kiswahili in almost all the domains of language use, but it has survived and is actively used by the speakers. Majority of the respondents, 75% young, 74.1% adults and 68% old said that their language, Gujarati, marks their cultural identity. The strong attachments to the language and fear of losing the language hence loss of identity have contributed to the maintenance of Gujarati language.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

The essence of this chapter is to provide a summary, conclusion and recommendations for further research. This has been done by revisiting the research hypotheses formulated in the first chapter of this study, assessing them against the research findings and the analyses made throughout the three chapters of the study. In the last section of the chapter, suggestions for further research are pointed out.

5.1 Summary

The main objective of this study was to establish factors that have supported the maintenance of Gujarati language among the Gujarati speakers of Kenya. The analysis was based on Ethno-linguistic vitality theory which was originally proposed by Giles et al. (1977) as the most adequate theory for examining language maintenance.

An expository of this study was provided at the beginning of this report. This was a research on the minority language maintenance in a multilingual setting looking at the case of Gujarati in Nairobi- Kenya. The research problem revolved around the desire to establish factors that have supported the maintenance of Gujarati language in a multilingual environment. To achieve this, the following research questions were formulated to guide the study: What factors are responsible for the maintenance of Gujarati in Nairobi? What is the attitude of the Gujarati speakers towards the use of Gujarati Language? How is the language performance among Gujarati speakers in the four language skills?

Factors that support language maintenance were discussed and the aim of doing this was to provide a concrete background upon which the identification and analysis of the specific factors operating in Gujarati would be made. Various factors such as domains of language use, demographic, and institutional support factors were established as generally responsible for language maintenance.

With regard to the objectives of the study, factors such home, religion, and trade are responsible for the maintenance of Gujarati language in Kenya. The study also established that Gujarati speakers in Nairobi have strong emotional attachment to the language because it is source of their pride and identification. In relation to language performance, majority of the speakers do speak and understand Gujarati so well. However, they have some difficulties in writing and reading skills of the language. Some stated that they were not very confident in writing and reading material in the language.

5.2 Conclusion

This study was anchored on three objectives. The objective was to investigate the vitality factors that have contributed to the maintenance of Gujarati language in Nairobi. The findings of the study showed that a number of factors have supported the maintenance of Gujarati language in Nairobi-Kenya. These factors are speaking the language at home with members of the family such as parents, grandparents, siblings, spouse and even friends; religion as it is the language used by spiritual leaders when preaching, positive attitude towards the language and commercial activities. The speakers stated that Gujarati is an important language in their cultural interactions and in carrying out their cultural festivals which are part and parcel of their lives.

The second objective was to establish the Gujarati speakers' attitudes towards their language. Our analysis of the data collected revealed that Gujarati speakers in Nairobi - Kenya have a positive orientation to the language. They regard it as a source of their pride and a marker of their identity and culture. They believe that for one to consider him/herself a Gujarati, one must be in a position to communicate in Gujarati as it is the vehicle that transmits culture, hence to them, learning Gujarati is imperative.

The third and final objective was to find out about their language performance along the four language skills. That is can Gujarati speakers in Nairobi- Kenya write, read, speak and listen to information in Gujarati? The study found out that the level of their performance is higher in speaking, listening and understanding skills than in writing and reading skills. This is partly

because Gujarati is mainly acquired in the home environment where there isn't much emphasis on writing and reading. In school it is taught as a foreign language and is not used as a main language of instruction. The language is used in teaching Gujarati and other cultural related lessons.

5.3 Recommendations for Future Research

This study has brought to light a number of possible areas of future research.

Due to the fact that this current study has dealt with the Gujarati community living in Nairobi, an immigrant community in Kenya, further research on language maintenance in Gujarati communities in other parts of Kenya is recommended. This study only concentrated on the Gujarati community. We suggest that a further research is carried out to investigate language vitality and maintenance in other immigrant communities in Kenya such as the Nubians. Since this study focused majorly on the maintenance of Gujarati language in Kenya, a detailed study on its vitality would be necessary to assess the ability of the language to stand the test of time amidst competition from dominant languages in the country.

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APPENDICES

APPEDIX 1: LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADULTS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ADULTS

I am a student at the University of Nairobi's Department of Linguistics and Languages. I am undertaking a research on language maintenance among the Gujarati speakers in Nairobi. Your kind response to the following questions will help a lot in the study. The information you give in this questionnaire will be treated confidentially.

SECTION 1

Age (tick appropriately in the box)

21 – 30

31 – 40

41 – 50

50-54

Above 54

Gender (tick appropriately)

Male

Female

Place of birth

Town _____

County _____

Country _____

Occupation

Student

Business/lady

Formal employment

Religious leader

Not working

Any other (state in the space below)

Marital status

Single

Married

Widowed

Divorced

Highest level of education

Primary school

Secondary school

Tertiary institution (college, university etc.)

Illiterate

Languages.

List in the order to confidence the languages you can communicate in:

i)

ii)

iii)

iv)

SECTION 2

What is your parents' first language?

Father _____

Mother _____

What is your spouse first language? _____

What language do you use mostly at home with

Your parents

Your brothers & sisters

Your spouse

Your children

What language do you use with your age mates in social places (markets/hotels/pubs)

What language do you use at places of worship

Rate your performance of Gujarati in the four language skills.

	Satisfactory	Good	Very Good
Listening			
Speaking			
Reading			
Writing			

SECTION 3

Please indicate your views on the importance of the following languages for:

Area	Language								
	Gujarati			Kiswahili			English		
	Not important	Slightly important	Important	Not important	Slightly important	Important	Not important	Slightly important	Important
Education									
Employment									
Trade									
Socializing with friends									
Cultural identity									
Religion									
General usefulness in life									

APPENDIX 2: LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

I am a student at the University of Nairobi's Department of Linguistics and Languages. I am undertaking a research on language maintenance among the Gujarati speakers in Nairobi. Your kind response to the following questions will help a lot in the study. The information you give in this questionnaire will be treated confidentially.

SECTION 1

Age (tick appropriately in the box)

10

11 – 15

16 – 20

Gender

Male

Female

Class/Form

Place of birth (write the names in the space)

Town _____

County _____

Country _____

Religion

Hindu

Islam

Christian

Any other (state in the space provided)

What is your first language (mother tongue)

List in the order of confidence the language you can communicate in

Rate your performance of Gujarati in the four language skills.

	<u>Satisfactory</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Very Good</u>
<u>Listening</u>			
<u>Speaking</u>			
<u>Reading</u>			
<u>Writing</u>			

SECTION 2

Indicate using a tick how often you or other people use languages in the situations given below.

Situation	Languages			
	Gujarati	Kiswahili	English	Sheng
You use:				
When you are speaking to your Grandparents				
When your grandparents are speaking to you.				
When you are speaking to your parents				
When your parents are speaking to you				
When the parents are speaking to each other.				
When you speaking to your siblings.				
When you are speaking to other adults in your home.				
When you are speaking to your friends in school during break time and games.				
When speaking to your teachers.				
When your spiritual leaders lead worship.				

SECTION 3

Please indicate your view on the importance of the following languages for:

Area	Language								
	Gujarati			Kiswahili			English		
	Not important	Slightly important	Important	Not important	Slightly important	Important	Not important	Slightly important	Important
Education									
Employment									
Trade									
Socializing with friends									
Cultural identity									
Religion									
General usefulness in life									

APENDIX 3 :MAP OF NAIROBI COUNTY



APENDIX 4 : MAP OF WESTLANDS

