

**THE INFLUENCE OF INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES ON UGANDAN  
ENGLISH AS USED IN THE MEDIA**

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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**JANUARY 2014**

**DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not in its entirety or in part, been submitted at any other university for a degree.

**SIGNED:** .....

**DATE:**      **January 2014**

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**Dedication**

*In loving memory of my father*

## Acknowledgements

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## ABSTRACT

When two or more languages come in contact, they influence each other in various ways, for example through word borrowing, transfer of sounds, morphology and syntax taken from one language system and imported to another. In this study, the primary concern is on the indigenous communities of Uganda learning the English language, plus the influence that this interaction brings into the linguistic space. Bringing the Ugandan multilingual situation into perspective, the study looks at how the English language has interacted with the local languages and the local speech habits, customs and traditions of the indigenous people, to the extent that it has been indigenized. Some word usage results in miscommunication due to the socio-cultural uniqueness of Ugandan cultural expressions.

As an example, because of the practice of polygamy in most Ugandan cultures, words like *co-wife* are coined to mean ‘a woman who shares a husband, or a husband’s other wife’, a word that is absent in both the language and culture of native English speakers. Furthermore some words are formed by calquing some indigenous language expressions, e.g. ‘to eat money’ or ‘to eat cash’, an expression that is calqued from the Luganda phrase, *kulya sente*. Such word coinages are meant to fill the ‘shortfall’ where the English language fails to provide adequate equivalents. Understanding the context of this kind of English usage and the influence from the indigenous languages is helpful in handling inter-cultural discourses, as the same expression may convey different senses to different people in different contexts.

So then, this study deals with some peculiarities of Ugandan English, namely; the features of Ugandan English grammar which are influenced by the indigenous languages. Evidence from the Corpus of Ugandan English is explored to establish that indigenous languages in Uganda have a significant influence on the English language variety spoken in the country, and that a large part of English bilingual speakers cannot speak English without transferring the features from their mother tongue or indeed, switching and mixing codes. A British corpus was used for the purposes of comparison with Ugandan English.

The research was conducted in Uganda, drawing data from English newspapers, radio and television talk-shows that were recorded to provide a structural analysis of the contact situations. The result of the study points to the fact that, indeed, the phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantic characteristics of Ugandan English have a considerable amount of influence from indigenous local languages. This study is hinged on the assumption that when indigenous languages and the target language come together in a linguistic contact situation, the resulting variety would exhibit distinct phonological, lexical, grammatical and semantic/pragmatic features (cf. Sankoff, 2001; Thomason, 1995; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Winford, 2005). However, some of these innovations have attracted criticism from ‘prescriptivists’ such as Quirk (1985, 1988, 1990); Gaudio (2011); and Abbot (1991) who perceive them as ‘non-standard’, ‘incorrect English language usage’ and a ‘direct translation from the language user’s mother tongue into English’. Yet, indigenous languages continue to play important roles in shaping the kind of English language usage in Uganda.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introducing the Study

### 1.0 Introduction

This thesis presents the results of a study titled, ‘The Influence of Indigenous Languages on Ugandan English as used by the Media’. It uses combined theoretical approaches to language contact, transfer, variation and change in studying the interference phenomena in the contact situation between the indigenous languages of Uganda and the English language. The English language co-exists and interacts with many of Uganda’s indigenous languages in an interesting language contact situation in that in the course of this interaction, the languages in contact influence one another and bring about a number of linguistic outcomes which include creating a richer lexicon through borrowing and loaning; a more dynamic speech code through code-switching and code-mixing; plus a restructured English language [the Ugandan English] that has been largely influenced by the pronunciation patterns and grammar of the local languages (cf. Winford, 2005, 2007; Schneider, 2000) This study examines the interference features of Ugandan indigenous languages in the English language using a corpus that was constructed using data from the media – radio, television and newspapers.

### 1.1 Contextualizing the Study

When two or more languages come in contact, they influence each other in various ways. Usually the consequences on the language users may be what Alimi and Akitunde (2011) list as the following: a) Termination of contact on

grounds that communication is impossible; b) Employment of ‘dumb barter’; c) One group may learn the language of the other; and d) Both groups may, in due course, make an imperfect attempt at communicating in each other’s language in a kind of pidgin (Alimi & Akintunde, 2011:63 citing Elugbe & Omamor, 1992). In the present study, the primary concern is on one group (the indigenous communities of Uganda) learning the English language, plus the influence that this interaction brings into the linguistic space. Bringing the Ugandan multilingual situation into perspective, the English language has similarly interacted with the local languages, local speech habits, customs and traditions of the indigenous people, to the extent that it has been indigenized, with very interesting innovations that make it a unique variety that differs from native British or American English. But some of these innovations have attracted criticism from ‘prescriptivists’ such as Quirk (1985, 1988, 1990); Gaudio (2011); and Abbot (1991) who perceive them as ‘non-standard’, ‘incorrect English language usage’ and a ‘direct translation from the language user’s mother tongue into English’. Yet, indigenous languages continue to play important roles in shaping the kind of English language usage in Uganda.

The role of the mother tongue in the acquisition of a second language and how it influences second language production has received much research attention over the years, e.g. Ringbom (1987, 2001), Bokamba (1982), Buthelezi (1995), Kamwangamalu & Moyo (2003), Kingsley & Kachru (2006), yet despite this importance, no independent research has yet been done on how indigenous languages of Uganda influence English language usage. The few studies that have been done on linguistic and language teaching research have only mentioned language interference in passing (see Tembe, 2006; Kyeyune, 2003; Parry, 2000; Fisher, 2000b). Considering that not much has been written about Ugandan English and its interaction with the indigenous languages, this

study attempts to fill this gap and contribute to the body of knowledge of New Englishes research – especially African Englishes (Crystal, 2003).

This study is hinged on the assumption that when indigenous languages and the target language come together in a linguistic contact situation, the resulting variety would exhibit distinct phonological, lexical, grammatical and semantic/pragmatic features (cf. Sankoff, 2001; Thomason, 1995; Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Winford, 2005). The formation of new varieties of English came about in their “ready ability to re-enact, adapt and express socio-cultural nuances of many of indigenous languages” (Medubi, 2009:114). Hence, innovations such as *co-wife* (a woman who shares a husband), *safe house* (illegal place of detention), *Give-away ceremony* (traditional marriage), *detoother* (gold digger or leech) etc. are examples of coinages that have resulted from the close contact English and African socio-cultural experiences.

Uganda has close to 40 indigenous languages used across 65 ethnic groups (Chibita, 2006 citing Wanyeki, 2000). These are grouped into 4 language families, namely; the Bantu (Niger-Congo group), Nilotics (Nilo-Saharan), Central Sudanic (a sub-branch of the Nilo-Saharan language family) and the Kuliak. The predominant language group is the Bantu language family which constitutes 55% of the population of Uganda. With this extensive collection of languages and cultures, the speech patterns of the indigenous languages strongly influence the English language usage, even in cases where speakers are perceived as proficient in English. As an example, at the phonetic/phonological level, there is interference in the sound systems of bilingual speakers of English and an African language. (cf. Mutonya, 2008:434). In Uganda’s case, the phonology of most indigenous languages has a five vowel inventory: /i, e, a, o, u/ compared to the English vowels which could be as many as twenty, depending on the English language variety used. This is

evidence of the difficulty that the Ugandan speakers of English face in pronouncing English vowels. A Ugandan speaker of English pronounces *hat*, *heart*, *hut*, and *hurt* in the same manner, in all the cases using the central vowel /ʌ/. However, depending on the geographical region of Uganda and language used, one is bound to find many words pronounced in a manner that reflects the sounds in their mother tongue. For instance, most speakers of the Nilotic languages of Northern Uganda substitute glottal fricative /h/ for vowel /a/, so a word such as *high* /hai/ is pronounced as *eye* /ai/ because of the absence of sound /h/ in their mother tongue. A lot more indigenous languages in the different parts of Uganda may reflect different traits of their mother tongue characteristics. It is suggested that due to this and other influences in the lexical, grammatical, and semantic aspects, Ugandan English may have developed local features, i.e. it has become ‘indigenized’ and has adopted a local flavour that varies from British or other English native speaker norms with varying pronunciation and intonation patterns; a slight difference in grammar and sentence structure; and different words and expressions, which include borrowings and code-mixing from the indigenous languages etc.

This study is theoretically underpinned by sociolinguistic and second language acquisition theories, specifically; language contact theories (Weinreich, 1974; Thomason, 2001; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Schneider, 2002; Mufwene, 2001; Winford, 2003); theories of transfer/cross-linguistic influence (Chomsky, 1975; Krashen, 1976, 1977, 1982; Gass and Selinker, 1983, 2008;), as well as variationist approaches to language change (Labov, 1971, 1972; Sankoff, 1982, 1988; Odlin, 1989).

Language contact theory claims that the development of new varieties of English are a result of a special type of contact-induced language change that came about as a result of the interaction between indigenous languages and a settler/colonial language (Schneider, 2002:271, Thomason, 2001:18). The result

is that the interaction brought about changes in the new ‘colonial language variety’, and brought in non-native speaker features. In Uganda’s case, because the new users of the English language already had previous indigenous language experiences this interaction caused the new language to be indigenized. So the proposed research will use speech data from radio and television talk-shows plus data from the print media to find out to what extent this model applies to Ugandan English, i.e. how much of the phenomena of borrowing, lexical transfer, etc. are realized in the data.

Odlin (1989:27) defines transfer as “the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired”. In transfer theories, the knowledge of the mother tongue in the acquisition of a second or foreign language can either inhibit or facilitate the learner’s progress in mastering a new language. (See Isurin, 2005:1115; Benson, 2002:68). Where there is negative transfer, there are bound to be errors, or non-native features in the L2 production. When the structures of both languages are the same, there is production of correct responses (where "correct" refers to being in line with most native speakers' notions of acceptability) and therefore, a positive transfer. Considering that the English language and Uganda’s indigenous languages are typologically different, this theory will serve to explain the language interference and transfer cases in the collected data. Through the processes of transfer and direct translation, the following linguistic categories will be examined as contributing factors to the indigenization of Ugandan English with its unique linguistic identity: lexical borrowing, word coinages, loan-blends, code-mixing, translation equivalents, otherwise called ‘calques’, and semantic shifts and extensions. Using data from feature stories published in selected daily and weekly press together with that from radio and television talk-shows, the proposed study will explore the contributions of Ugandan indigenous languages

and culture on the development of Ugandan English. Some features are marked by innovative words and expressions that reflect new ways of language use. Hence analyses will not be limited to the examination of lexical and semantic aspects of Ugandan English but also to the grammatical and pragmatic realizations.

Some word usage results in miscommunication due to the socio-cultural uniqueness of Ugandan cultural expressions. As an example, because of the practice of polygamy in most Ugandan cultures, words like *co-wife* are coined to mean 'a woman who shares a husband', a word that is absent in both the language and culture of native English speakers. Such word coinages are meant to fill the 'shortfall' where the English language fails to provide adequate equivalents. Understanding the context of this kind of English usage and the influence from the indigenous languages is helpful in handling inter-cultural discourses, as the same expression may convey different senses to different people in different contexts (see Adegija and Bello (2001)).

The variation theory involves a combination of techniques from various disciplines that scientifically investigate language use and structure in the naturalistic context. Variationists work to account for language production contained in speech samples in order to find out patterns of usage relating to the relative frequency of occurrence or co-occurrence of structures (See Sankoff 1988, Poplack, 1993:252). Variationists also look at language variation associated with certain age groups e.g. speech of senior executives in the age bracket of 50–65 years, or the speech of street youth and the kind of language they use. Similarly, in the case of the proposed research, radio and television presenters have their own register. The variation framework is useful in examining the language use of the journalists together with the language of the people they interview on the talk-shows, taking note of whether the variation is occurring in pronunciation, word choice, or even preferences for particular

grammatical patterns. A great decision has to be made on whether utterances such as *the community is wisening up* (becoming wise), or *you wanna come?* or *he tall* are instances of dialect, slang, or just performance errors/mistakes. (cf. Tagliamonte, 2006:56). This will be uncovered in the conclusion of this thesis.

## **1.2 Problem Statement and Research Questions**

As has been mentioned in Section 1.2, there are few researchers in Uganda who have studied and analysed the structure and use of Ugandan English and the role that indigenous languages of Uganda play in shaping the kind of English used in Uganda. This thesis addresses such a “gap” by investigating the linguistic features in Ugandan English, examining the interference features transferred from the indigenous languages to English, attending also to the distinction between research work that has been done in African Englishes vis-à-vis Ugandan English – both Englishes being L2 varieties of English. The following research questions guided this research project:

1. What role do the indigenous languages of Uganda play in shaping the development of Ugandan English?
2. Which features of indigenous languages contribute to language variation and change?
3. Which words are borrowed from the indigenous languages of Uganda to the English language?
4. Which are the most dominant indigenous language features that are “imported” into Ugandan English? And which features are used as uniquely Ugandan English? What types of transfer patterns occur?
5. What are the features of Ugandan English?

## **1.3 Research goals**

The following are the goals for this study:

- 1 To examine the role that the indigenous languages of Uganda have played in shaping the development of the Ugandan variety of English.
- 2 To document and analyse the features in the indigenous languages of Uganda that contribute to language variation and change.
- 3 To provide a language variation account of the use of words loaned from the indigenous languages of Uganda to Ugandan English.
- 4 To contribute to the body of knowledge of language research in the field of African Languages in general and Ugandan English in particular.
- 5 To find out the most dominant indigenous language features that are “imported” into Ugandan English? What types of transfer patterns occur?

## **1.4 Research Methodology**

### **1.4.1 Data Collection**

From the outset, this study sought to construct a corpus of Ugandan English usage using data from electronic and print media. To determine the extent of the various forms of influence that the indigenous languages of Uganda have on Ugandan English plus the resulting language variation and change, a 200,000-word text corpus of samples of written and spoken Ugandan English was sourced from the media and built by the researcher. Speech data of 50,000 words for the spoken component of the corpus was collected from radio and television talk-shows, which comprises recorded spontaneous natural conversations and interviews produced by radio and television talk-show guests and commuter passengers, as well as radio phone-in programs. The recordings were then transcribed. In choosing the mass media for sources of data for this study is in agreement with Fairclough (1995) who underscores the important link between language and mass media, acknowledging that the media influences the evolution of language and is probably the cause of the many

changes and innovations that happen in language at both written and spoken level (Fairclough 1995, cited by Gregori-Signes 2000:2).

The written component of the corpus has 150,000 words of text that were generated from five of Uganda's English newspapers. The data was extracted from lead stories, editorials, letters to the editor, opinion columns, and commentary between the period 2012 and 2013. The newspapers in question are *The New Vision*, *The Monitor*, *The Observer* newspapers plus tabloids, *The Kampala Sun*, *ChimpReports*, and *The RedPepper*. A detailed description of the corpus will be undertaken in chapter three.

#### **1.4.2 Analytical Framework**

After collecting the data, it was transcribed orthographically and turned into a text document. Search and retrieval techniques were carried out aided by *WordSmith tools 6.0* (Scott, 2012) to try and get features of frequency of occurrence, i.e. how many times the particular word appears in the corpus and how it appears in context, which other words does it appear with, and so on. Examples of usage of words in context were extracted from the corpus and the language features are specifically shared by texts across the newspapers listed, as these pointed to the popularity of the word or the most commonly used expressions. In addition, descriptions were made of the different features and patterns of usage plus how they are realized in the corpus in an effort to determine if indeed there is evidence for indigenization of Ugandan English and to what extent it exhibits distinctive linguistic features.

Overall, this study endeavours to demonstrate that the indigenous languages of Uganda do influence the Ugandan variety of English in significant ways, which is a positive, rather than a negative phenomenon because it is a

response to the natural processes of language variation and change. This will be explained further in chapter 3.

### **1.5 Sociolinguistic situation of Uganda**

According to Uganda's Population Secretariat records, the country's population stood at 34.2 million people in 2012, and is currently estimated to be 34.5 million (PopSec 2012). Of the 34.5 million people, the Baganda, the largest ethnic group make up 17.3 % of the entire population – which makes Luganda the language of wider communication. This is followed by the Banyankore (9.8 %); Basoga (8.6 %) who come in third position, the Bakiga, (7 %) in fourth, Itesot (6.6 per cent) in fifth, Langi (6.2 %) in sixth; Acholi (4.8 %) in seventh, Bamasaaba (Bagisu) (4.7 %) in eighth; and the Lugbara (3.3 %) in ninth position. All these groups have more than 1 million speakers and constitute about 69 per cent of the Ugandan population (UBOS 2006).

The forty or so distinct language groups that constitute Uganda as a nation are classified according to linguistic similarities, i.e. according to the languages that are mutually intelligible. The groupings are Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo, and Kuliak. Nilo-Saharan languages, spoken in the northern part of Uganda, are further categorised into three: Eastern Nilotic, Western Nilotic, and Central Sudanic. They are located in the North, North East and North West of the country.

Of all the language groupings, the Niger-Congo group is the largest, and the Bantu language family who belong to the much larger Niger-Congo language grouping make over 60% of the entire population of Uganda. They are located in the Central, some parts of the East, the West as well as South of the country.

Lake Kyoga in central Uganda serves as a rough boundary between the Bantu-speaking south and the Nilotic and Central Sudanic language speakers in

the north. This seemingly geographical divide although it places certain ethnic groups in particular locations; many Ugandans nevertheless live among people of different language and culture, and often end up with mixed languages and cultures.

Bantu-speakers probably entered Southern Uganda by the end of the first millennium A.D. and developed centralized kingdoms by the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Following independence, Bantu-language speakers comprised roughly two-thirds of the population. They were classified as Eastern Lacustrine and Western Lacustrine Bantu, referring to the populous region among East Africa's Great Lakes (Victoria, Kyoga, Edward, and Albert in Uganda; Kivu and Tanganyika to the south). Eastern Lacustrine Bantu-speakers included the Baganda (people of Buganda, whose language is Luganda), Basoga, and many smaller societies in Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya. Western Lacustrine Bantu-speakers included the Banyoro (people of Bunyoro), Batoro, Banyankole, Bakiga and several smaller populations.

Nilotic-language speakers probably entered the area from the north beginning about A.D. 1000. They were the first cattle-herding people in the area but also relied on crop cultivation to supplement livestock herding for subsistence. The largest Nilotic populations in Uganda in the 1980s were the Iteso and Karimojong cluster of ethnic groups, who speak Eastern Nilotic languages, and the Acholi, Langi, and Alur, who speak Western Nilotic languages. Central Sudanic languages, which also arrived in Uganda from the north over a period of centuries, are spoken by the Lugbara, Madi, and a few small groups in the north-western corner of the country.

Of the indigenous languages, the most widely spoken is Luganda, which to some extent serves as a lingua franca for the uneducated. (Briggs and Roberts, 2010:497) The Baganda, are the largest ethnic group in Uganda, representing 16.7% of the population. They are a people that take pride in their

language and culture, and they often communicate in their language (Luganda) whether or not the interlocutor understands it. Interestingly, the name Uganda is derived from the Swahili term that means ‘the land of Buganda’, or the ‘land of Baganda’. It was adopted by the British in 1894 when they established the Uganda Protectorate and centred their administration in Buganda, so the Baganda strongly feel and express the fact that Uganda, as a country, exists because of them. Buganda's boundaries are marked by Lake Victoria to the south, the Victoria Nile River to the east, and Lake Kyoga to the north. This region was never conquered by colonial armies; rather the powerful king (*kabaka*), Mutesa, agreed to protectorate status. At the time, Mutesa claimed territory as far west as Lake Albert, and he considered the agreement with Britain to be an alliance between equals. Baganda armies went on to help establish colonial rule in other areas, and Baganda agents served as tax collectors throughout the Protectorate. Trading centers in Buganda became important towns in the protectorate, and the Baganda took advantage of the opportunities provided by European commerce and education. At independence in 1962, Buganda had achieved the highest standard of living and the highest literacy rate in the country.

Up until the 1880s, the area which now constitutes the Republic of Uganda comprised autonomous kingdoms or chiefdoms. Prominent among these were the Kingdom of Buganda (where Luganda language is spoken), which was the dominant kingdom and powerhouse of the great lakes region; the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara (where Runyoro language is spoken); the Kingdom of Nkore (where Runyankore language is spoken); and the Kingdom of Tooro (where Rutooro language is spoken). The kingdom of Buganda which had strong systems of governance, akin to the British Monarchy system was admired by the early British missionaries and traders and so was later to become the harbinger of British colonialism.

## 1.6 The Indigenous languages of Uganda

There is contention on the exact number of indigenous languages in Uganda. However, different sources put the figures between 40 and 63. These figures are largely based on Ladefoged's et al. (1972) study 'Language in Uganda', which mentions 63 languages and dialects, 30 of which were categorized as different languages (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:31). In the same study, the indigenous languages of Uganda were classified into four language groups, namely; the Bantu languages, the Central Sudanic languages, the Eastern Nilotic languages, and the Western Nilotic languages. Bantu languages belong to the Niger-Congo family, while the rest of the language groups are sub-groups of the Nilo-Saharan language phylum (Greenberg, 1963). Speakers of Bantu languages live in the South of the country, while those that speak Central Sudanic and Nilotic languages live in the north (Ladefoged et al. 1972:17-18). The Kuliak languages are reported to be extinct.

It is important to note that there are some discrepancies in the reporting of language classifications, as well as their statistics. The inconsistencies come in the form of the two major groups of researchers that carried out an extensive study of the languages of Uganda, i.e. Ladefoged, Glick and Criper (1972) and Lewis (2009). Ladefoged and his colleagues (1972) put the number of languages at 30 while Lewis (2009) in 'Ethnologue' lists 45 languages, two of which are now extinct. Furthermore, some of the languages that Ladefoged and his colleagues classified as dialects of some particular languages are listed in Ethnologue as separate languages. A case in point is the Western Nilotic languages Acholi, Alur and Lango, and the Eastern Nilotic language Karamojong. In addition, the eastern Ugandan Bantu languages Ganda, Kenyi and Soga are also seen as a dialect cluster by Ladefoged et al., but are classed as

separate languages in Ethnologue. The same applies to the western Ugandan languages Chiga, Nyankore, Nyoro and Tooro.

Ethnologue additionally lists the Nilotic languages Bari (Eastern Nilotic) and Pökoot (Southern Nilotic), the latter being said to be the same language as Suk. Ladefoged et al. has no Southern Nilotic group, but classifies Jie, Mening and Suk, as well as Ngapore and Ngadotho, which are dialects close to Karamojong, as Eastern Nilotic. Ngadotho is not found in the Ethnologue classification. Jie is said to be a dialect of Karamojong, while Ngapore is listed as another name for the extinct Nyang’i (see below). The Bantu language Samia, listed in Ladefoged et al., is said to be the same as Luhyia found in Kenya in the Ethnologue classification. The Central Sudanic languages Lendu and Ndo (called Kebu in Ladefoged et al.) are also found in Ethnologue (Lewis 2009). Lendu was not identified by Ladefoged et al., who instead identified the languages Ma’di (Ogoko), Ma’di (Oyuwi), which are not mentioned in the Ethnologue list. Nyang’i (Eastern Sudanic) and Singa (Bantu) are said to be extinct (Lewis, 2009).

As for languages of non-Ugandan origin, Ethnologue lists Swahili (a Bantu language), Nubi (an Arabic-based Creole), Gujarati and Hindi (Indo-Aryan), as well as English (Germanic). The Western Nilotic languages are sometimes referred to collectively as Luo. Acholi, Adhola, Kumam, Alur, and Lango are mutually intelligible dialects which constitute a dialect cluster called the Luo group (Ladefoged, Glick and Criper 1972:144). Luo is also used as “a cover term for just Acholi and Lango”. Acholi, Alur and Lango are classified as Southern, Luo-Acholi, Alur-Acholi, while Adhola and Kumam are classed as Luo, Southern (Lewis, 2009). In this thesis, the term Luo is used in the wide sense referring to the Western Nilotic languages as a whole.

The area languages mentioned above also represent the major language groups in Uganda: Bantu (Luganda, Nyakitara), Central Sudanic (Lugbara), Western Nilotic (Lango/Acholi) and Eastern Nilotic (Teso/Karimojong).

The majority of Ugandans are bilingual, while others are proficient in three or more languages” (Okech 2002:19). Research conducted in the northern and the central regions of Uganda shows that the degree of multilingualism varies between different speech communities. For example, multilingualism is more widespread among Luo/Teso speakers than among Ganda speakers (Reh, 2002:36). Some 27 per cent of the Luo/Teso speakers were monolingual, while 55 per cent of the Luganda speakers only spoke one language. A total of 47 per cent of the Luo/Teso speakers were bilingual (35 per cent for Luganda speakers). Furthermore 19 per cent of Luo/Teso speakers were trilingual, compared to only 7 per cent of the Luganda speakers. 3 per cent of both interviewed groups were quadrilingual, while 4 per cent of the Luo/Teso speakers spoke more than 5 languages (0 per cent of the Luganda speakers). According to this study totally 73 per cent of Luo /Teso speakers are able to communicate in more than one language, while only 45 per cent of the Luganda speakers are multilingual (ibid.). Luganda is the most-used Language of Wider Distribution (LWD) as well as Language of Wider Communication (LWC) in Uganda. It is not only employed in the central region and adjacent districts, but is also said to be used in the far north-west and east, as well as in cities of Kigali in Rwanda and Juba in South Sudan because of the trade links between. It is reported to be the L1 of 16.3% of the entire population, and is used as an L2 by 23% of Uganda’s population. (ibid:25). Furthermore, Walusimbi (pers. comm. 20 May 2005) estimates that 75 to 80% of the Bantu languages are mutually intelligible to a major extent.

In the beginning of the colonial period, i.e. in the late 19th century, Swahili was used as the lingua franca in this British Protectorate. In 1912,

however, due to massive support from the Church Mission Society (CMS), Luganda was “the compulsory language for all officials” (Hansen 1984:387). Swahili and some local languages continued to be bonus languages (ibid.). Ganda remained the compulsory language until 1924 for government officials, but in 1922 some exceptions were made: Gang (Acholi) was used in the north, Nyoro in Bunyoro, and Tooro and Swahili in Kigezi (Hansen, 1984:391). There was a rivalry between the advocates of Swahili and advocates of Luganda. This has been called a “persisting Kiswahili/Luganda controversy” that eventually led to the growing importance of English (Mukama, 1990:144).

## **1.7 English in Uganda**

Ugandan English is a variety of English spoken by most educated Ugandans, i.e. those who have undergone formal education from post primary level upwards. Its characteristic features, as is the case with other African Englishes and postcolonial varieties of English, are rooted in its origin and in education (see for example Fisher, 2000a; 2000b; De Klerk, 2003a:463ff). English was first introduced in Uganda in 1894 when the Kingdom of Buganda was declared a British Protectorate. In the late 1800s missionaries came to Uganda and set up schools first in Buganda, and trained people (mainly sons of Chiefs) who would be their interpreters in the spreading of their religion, and later government. As such, the small number of indigenous people who attended missionary schools had access to teachers who were English native speakers. However, some of the teachers were not first language speakers of English, especially those that came from French and Italian Missionary Societies. To further aggravate the problem, during Idi Amin’s reign of terror, he expelled the British nationals who had been teaching English and so the teaching of English language was from then on handled by indigenous Ugandans, thus; the explanation of the different

accents and realizations of ‘strange’ grammars – something that causes it to be critically viewed and labelled as ‘non-standard’ English by English native speakers who use their English as a standard to measure the kind of English spoken or written. As such, deviations from the norm are viewed as ‘errors’ and as ‘poor English’ (Sharma, 2008; Ajani, 2007; Isingoma, 2013) and not as features of different varieties of English.

The variety of English referred to as “Ugandan English” (UgE), although well established as a locally spoken variety within Uganda with a strong local flavour is, according to Fisher (2000:59) “in an embryonic state as far as its documentation is concerned”. It is a distinct non-native variety with its own phonology, syntax and morphology and usage. This may be explained in a historical context. Ugandan English gradually emerged from the days of the British Protectorate, when it was used as the official, administrative language of the colonial authority. People did not often use English, except for the educated elite. In the run up to independence in the late fifties and early sixties, English became more widespread as there was an increase in the number of schools built. The missionaries educated and trained the future cadre of administrators and teachers for an independent state. As in India, where English expanded enormously since 1947, Uganda began to indigenise the English language in the run-up to independence. The indigenisation of English continued through the regimes of Obote and Amin, at a time when the numbers of expatriates decreased dramatically. English was left to “stand on its African feet” (Fisher, 2000) and was even then considered to be the only medium through which official business could be conducted. Today a large number of Ugandans can speak and write in English. Despite this development, the Ugandan Government language policy states that the medium of instruction in the first four years of primary education should be the area mother tongue, and thereafter the medium of instruction should be English. However, this is difficult in urban areas where

there is a mixture of different people with different mother tongues. In the meantime, English continues to have a prestigious status and to develop locally for inter-ethnic communication purposes and is in use as a medium of instruction in schools from Primary four upwards, at secondary and tertiary level. Regional politics and the recent events in the Great Lakes region are also factors in the development and expansion of Ugandan English, and have encouraged its use beyond the borders of Uganda into Rwanda, Congo and Southern Sudan.

## **1.8 Conclusion**

As was indicated earlier, there are no known studies conducted on the influence of indigenous languages on Ugandan English. This study will be the first in the country and will contribute to the body of knowledge of African Englishes and World Englishes by giving a linguistic account of features that influence and shape Ugandan English. Though this study may not give an exhaustive account of the grammar and features of Ugandan English, it gives insights into phonological, lexical, grammatical, and semantic patterns that shape Ugandan English, features that have often been labelled, ‘non-standard English’. This study will provide a usage-based account of such features, making use of a corpus of spoken and written Ugandan English constructed from radio and television talk-show data, as well as data from Uganda’s English newspapers. The study also uses a native English control corpus of broadcast media. The insights provided by the various researchers on African Englishes should provide this study with the necessary information to determine if there is evidence for indigenization of Ugandan English and to what extent Ugandan English exhibits distinctive linguistic features. The study also attempts to explain why some of the features in the corpus are semantically realized differently from native speaker English. Overall, the study endeavours to

demonstrate that the influence of indigenous languages on the Ugandan variety of English is a positive, rather than a negative phenomenon because it is a response to the natural processes of language variation and change.

The chapter that follows presents theoretical foundations which underpin the thesis.

## CHAPTER 2

### Theoretical Foundations

*“In a world where humans grow old, tadpoles change into frogs, and milk turns to cheese, it would be strange if language alone remained unaltered”.* (Jean Aitchison 2001:4)

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the major models and theoretical perspectives surrounding language in contact situations and how it behaves in those contact situations, resulting in language interference, variation and change. The purpose of this chapter is to provide an exposition on the theories that inform this study that will also provide a framework for analysing and interpreting the data. Section 2.1 and its sub-components give an overview of the approaches to language contact, language variation and change, and introduces a number of theoretical concepts relevant to this study. Sections 2.2 and 2.3 present varieties of postcolonial English and models of New Englishes. Section 2.4 provides an exposition of the concepts language transfer, language interference and cross-linguistic transfer; concepts that are central to this research. 2.5 illustrates language transfer at different levels of linguistic analysis. This study contributes to the field of language transfer, variation and change in Uganda by examining linguistic variation among bilingual speakers of English. It provides a detailed description of patterns of linguistic innovation and language variation and the associated factors that contribute to the variation.

## **2.1 Language Contact, Variation and Change**

It is a fact of life that language or languages have to change at some point in time. Jean Aitchison (2001:3) talks of a world that is ever changing and phenomena that are equally changing, pointing out that language change is inevitable. She observes that “everything in the universe is perpetually in a state of change and so language, like everything else, joins in this general flux”. Aitchison’s study is important to the study of Language Change (including new varieties of English) who, from time immemorial, have been told by prescriptivists that there is “a proper English” or a “standard English” which is correct and good (Schneider 2011:634), and on the other hand, there is a “non-native English” which is “non-standard” and full of errors (Labov 1969:3; Goldstein, 1987; Quirk 1988, 1989). Language variation and change is, therefore, an inevitable process.

### **2.1.1 Language Contact**

The phenomenon of language contact has received considerable attention from many researchers in the field of language and applied language studies over the years, including Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Thomason (2001), Weinreich (1963), Winford (2002). in their quest to analyse ways in which language contact has influenced lexical and/or structural developments over time. Sociolinguists have focused on processes involving contact and in analysing synchronic variation: an analysis of variation in grammatical systems which happen in a particular time, as in; how do people use language right now, or how did they use it ten or twenty years ago, and what are the variations? In bilingual or multilingual societies, when speakers of different languages communicate with each other for various purposes e.g. trade, worship, and other such functions, the linguistic exchange of speakers occurs very frequently, with

the consequence that each of their languages influence one other. So when these speakers of different languages interact very closely with each other, this often results in a phenomenon that is called language contact where more intense interaction of the languages in question often results in distinctive long-term effects on the grammars of those languages. The outcomes of that interaction are defined as language contact phenomena, and it takes many forms which include code-switching, borrowing/loaning, language transfer or interference, development of pidgin and Creole. Language contact, then, can be used as a cover term for bilingual speech behaviour (Nguyen 2009: 196)

All languages always change and basically all languages are in constant contact with other languages. In a situation where two or more languages and cultures are in contact, there is bound to be language and cultural interference. In more ways than one, some socio-cultural habits and traits from indigenous languages are transferred and expressed in the English language, e.g. *co-wife* (a woman who shares a husband), a *small house* (mistress/concubine), and so when speakers of different language backgrounds closely interact, each of their languages influence each another in various ways – with some resulting in dialect change. But where the contact is more intense, the two dialects cease to be mutually intelligible and result in separate languages. When two or more languages are spoken by groups of speakers in the same geographical area, over time, features from one language can be transferred to the other language, especially when the languages in question are unequal in terms of prestige, institutional support and demographic factors (Treffers-Dallar & Mougeon, 2005:93). The process that leads to the adoption of such features in the contact languages is generally known as interference or transfer. Through some linguistic processes like loan words, loan coinages, loan blends, pidginization, code switching and the like bilingual speakers of English tap into their first language resources and indigenise the foreign tongue. In many ways, the

linguistic innovations offer an avenue for creative use of the language and put a new life into the new acquired language.

Language contact occurs in various ways. These include language convergence, borrowing, and re-lexification. In convergence, bilingual speakers borrow morphological and syntactic features, making their typology more similar. In this case, sounds from one language may be assimilated into the other and they get absorbed into their language system. In borrowing, bilingual speakers transfer lexical items into the “receiver language”, while in re-lexification one language replaces much or its entire lexicon including basic vocabulary, with that of another language without drastic change to its grammar. The most common products of such a process are pidgins, creoles, code-switching, and mixed languages. It is important to note that unless interact in some way; there can be no transfer of linguistic features in either direction (Thomason, 2013:1648).

Language contact is everywhere. Thomason (2001) notes that there is no evidence that any languages have developed in total isolation from other languages. It most often involves face-to-face interactions among groups of speakers, at least some of whom speak more than one language in a particular geographical locality (Thomas 2001:3). And in the course of that interaction, one language influences the other and new features are brought into it in what linguists call interference or language transfer. In the process there is variation and change of the major features of a language. In this variation and/or change, even native speakers of the English language may have trouble talking to each other, not because of a few unfamiliar words or that someone used slang, but because they spoke different dialects with significantly different sound patterns (Thomas, 2001:2). The situation is worse when it comes to speakers of English as a second language, because then their English language usage is influenced by their diverse indigenous languages. The most common products of language

contact are pidgins, creoles, code-switching, and mixed languages. Contact can affect not only the lexicon, but also the phonology, morphology, and syntax (McMahon, 2013 citing Thomason, 2001). For instance, when an adult spends more time with the youth, it is highly likely that the language typical of youth such as ‘hang out’, ‘chill’, ‘cool’, ‘hot’ etc. will interfere with his formal non-colloquial language.

Sometimes, however, language contact has negative social consequences such as minority languages being forced on the dominant languages, or dominant languages subjugating the minority ones by exerting their influence on them and in some extreme cases they can even replace them completely. Some of the examples of such can be cited in cases where English replaced many of the indigenous languages spoken in the territories to which English was exported such as the Celtic languages of the British Isles which nearly became extinct but have survived “because of dedicated affirmative action” (Siemund, 2013:527–8), The other examples are the Aboriginals of Australia, the native Indians of America, and some of the indigenous languages of Tanzania which were replaced by Kiswahili. In Uganda, although no language has replaced the other in recent times, Luganda is the most dominant language and tends to subjugate all the other languages, for everyone who lives in Central Uganda is expected to communicate in Luganda.

Language contact has been defined by Thomason (2001) as a situation whereby two or more languages are spoken by an individual or a community at the same time and in the same place. Thomason (2001) further explains that though Language Contact occurs when speakers of two or more languages come into contact, verbal contact is not always the means of influence; in some contact situations, texts and writings have played major roles in the influence. In addition, languages of major world religions such as Latin influenced the English language, which also went and influenced many minority languages. In

the same vein, Arabic influenced the Swahili language. More recently, radio, television and computer technology have greatly influenced language contact, variation and change.

The issue of Language Contact brings to the forefront the survival of languages that are less privileged. Of the over 6,700 estimated languages that are spoken across the world, about fifty percent are said to be threatened by extinction (Austin & Sampson, 2007; Wamalwa & Oluoch, 2013). These languages are often spoken by small groups of communities with a population of mere hundreds or sometimes thousands. On the home-front of the African continent, some concerns have been raised in the past about some minority language groups in Sub-Saharan Africa that have been under the heavy influence of European languages since colonization and evangelism in which critics lament that African languages are no longer “pure”. This is because the languages in contact influence each other and affect each. The effect is often a two-way process, not just indigenous languages transferring their linguistic structures to the English language. Arguably, the influence of English and French has greatly affected the “purity” of the local languages in many African nations. Many studies attest to the fact that local languages of the African continent have been, and continue to be strongly impacted by the European languages. The works of authors such as Ayandele (1966), Dumont (1983), Bamgbose (1991), Brenzinger (1991), Batibo (2005), Adejunmobi (2004), and Obondo (2007) among others, directly or indirectly present significant information to attest to this fact. Adejunmobi (2004) in particular highlights the continuing appeal of language users in social networks who prefer to communicate in languages that are not their mother tongues. This study, though, has focused on the influence of indigenous languages on the English language. In this study, using empirical data from the corpus as evidence, I demonstrate how the indigenous language features such as lexical borrowing, phonological,

morphological, and syntactic changes, themselves being the result of contact have been transferred to the English language.

#### *2.1.1.2 Language Transfer*

Language transfer is a term in second language acquisition research that refers to “the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (Odlin 1989: 27). The term is generally used synonymously with ‘cross-linguistic influence’ (CLI), which Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 1) define as “the influence of a person’s knowledge of one language on that person’s knowledge or use of another.”

The study of transfer has undergone several changes. Its origins can be traced to the work of Fries, Lado, Haugen and Weinreich in the post-war period (when the phenomenon was referred to as ‘interference’) and to the practice of contrastive analysis. In the 1970s the latter concept became tarred with the brush of behaviourism – undeservedly, according to Swan (2007). However, today most theorists accept that cross-linguistic influence plays an important role in second language learning and that it “can occur in *all* linguistic subsystems, including morphology and syntax” (Odlin 1989: 23). The earlier focus on “interference” and “errors” (negative transfer) has been balanced by the recognition of positive transfer, described by (Odlin 1989: 26) as “the facilitating influence of cognate vocabulary or any other similarities between the native and target languages”, and of other manifestations of cross-linguistic influence such as avoidance and over-use. The view of learner language as a ‘deficient’ form of the TL has similarly been replaced by the concept of ‘interlanguage’ as a linguistic system in its own right (Selinker 1972).

More recent developments in transfer research include “new findings and refinements in already established areas, such as lexis and phonology; new areas and directions of transfer research, such as reverse transfer, sociolinguistic transfer, and the study of the multilingual lexicon; and new theoretical accounts of CLI, such as conceptual transfer” (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 212).

### 2.1.1.3 *Lexical transfer*

The focus of the current study is cross-linguistic influence in the lexicon, or lexical transfer. Whereas most previous work on lexical transfer (Ringbom 1987, 2001, 2007; Arabski 2006; Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008; Jarvis 2009; Llach 2010; etc.) deals primarily with content words, the methods and data used in this study bring function words to the fore. Nevertheless, the framework established previously is relevant here.

Lexical transfer can involve both form and meaning. Citing examples from Ringbom (1987, 2001) and Poullisse (1999), Jarvis & Pavlenko (2008: 75) present five kinds of lexical transfer that is grouped according to whether they involve “morphophonological” (form-related) errors or “semantic” (meaning-related) errors, as follows:

#### *Form-related transfer*

(a) *False friends*: False friends are pairs of words or phrases in two languages that look or sound identical but significantly differ in meaning. An example of this is the French word *carte* (meaning ‘card’/‘menu’) and its English counterpart *cart* (a ‘pushcart’) which bring out a huge difference in meaning, and thus, can be confusing to a second language learner of English and French, as he is likely to wrongly identify the words due to language interference. False friends are also a frequent source of difficulty between speakers of different

dialects of the same language, e.g. British English versus American English, where for instance, *blinkers* in American English means ‘car indicators’, while the same word in British English means ‘leather blinders that are put on a horse to restrict its lateral vision’. This clearly poses a problematic case even for native English speakers.

(b) *Unintended code-switching*: This is when a bilingual user of a language unconsciously code-switches to their indigenous language as a compensatory strategy because of lack of appropriate words in the target language. In the case of a bilingual user of English in Uganda, it is easier for them to use the word *kaveera* than using polythene bag.

(c) *Cross-linguistic blends*: *we have the same clothers* (EN clothes + SW *kläder* ‘clothes’)

#### *Meaning-related transfer*

(d) **Semantic extension**, i.e. authentic target language words used in senses that reflect a different semantic range, e.g.: *She detoothed all the young men in the village* (UgE *detooth* = ‘fleece’)

(e) **Calques**: *She ate his money and dumped him* (UgE *eat money* = ‘defraud or rip-off somebody’)

Jarvis (2009: 100) reformulates this taxonomy in terms of a proposed distinction between ‘lemma’ and ‘lexeme’, which are said to specify a word’s semantic-syntactic and morphophonological properties, respectively. Lexemic transfer is essentially the same as form-related transfer and is divided into the same three subtypes; lemmatic transfer, on the other hand, includes the two types of meaning-related transfer (d) and (e), and two further types:

(f) **Collocational transfer**: e.g. *there is also people who wants to get married, do children and build a nice house* (*do children* = ‘have children’,)

(g) **Subcategorization transfer**, i.e. selection of the wrong type of complement to a headword: *she kissed with him* (Prepositional Phrase is used instead of the Noun Phrase, to form *she kissed him*).

Jarvis emphasises that lemmatic transfer, in contrast to lexemic transfer, does not appear to be constrained by language distance Jarvis (2009: 118).

#### 2.1.1.4 *Code-switching and Code-mixing*

This section reviews the development of Code-switching and Code-mixing as a research topic from the 1950s to the present day. Emphasizing the important shift that took place in bilingual studies in the 1950s, this section also provides a survey of models and theories from the 1970s to the present day focusing on Poplack (1980), Gumperz (1982), Grosjean (1982), Kachru (1983), Auer (1984), Fasold (1984), Myers-Scotton (1993), Heller (1995), Muysken (2000), and Thomason (2001). On the basis of theories and models presented by these scholars, the issue of Code-mixing is handled under sociolinguistic analyses.

Code-switching, is variously defined by different scholars. Wardaugh (1998:103), for instance, defines code-switching as the “alternation between two or more languages in a speaker’s speech, which occurs naturally in the scheme of bilinguality”. Bokamba (1989) cited by Ayeomoni (2006) defines both code-switching and code-mixing this way:

Code-switching is the mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two distinct grammatical (sub) systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event... code-mixing is the embedding of various linguistic units such as affixes, words, phrases, and clauses from a co-operative

activity where the participants, in order to infer what is intended, must reconcile what they hear with what they understand.

Myers-Scotton (1993:3) defines code-switching as the “selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix variety during the same conversation”.

Studies have reported that code-switching often happened subconsciously; ‘people may not be aware that they have switched, or be able to report, following a conversation, which code they used for a particular topic’.

However, although bilingual speakers claim that code-switching is an unconscious behaviour, research has also shown that it is not a random phenomenon. As attested by Li Wei (1998:156),

Sociolinguistics who have studied code-switching draw attention to extra-linguistic factors such as topic, setting, relationships between participants, community norms and values, and societal, political and ideological developments influencing speakers’ choice of language in conversation.

Code-switching is, thus, seen as a purposeful activity, that is, there are functions and intentions assigned to this behavior (Gumperz, 1971; Myers-Scotton, 1983, 1988, 1989; Hoffman, 1991).

The terms “code-switching” and “code-mixing” are sometimes used interchangeably but, for the purpose of this thesis, a distinction between the two will be maintained. Gardner-Chloros (2009:202) defines code-switching as “the alternate use of two or more languages or language varieties by bilinguals for communicative purposes”, as when a bilingual speaker uses Luganda or Rukiga at home and English at work, or Rukiga or Luganda when speaking to her parents and but switches to English when speaking to her children. Code-mixing

can occur within a single conversation and within the turns of a single speaker. Wardhaugh (2006:101) distinguishes between code-mixing that occurs between sentences (also called *Inter-sentential code-switching*) and within a single sentence (*intra-sentential code-switching*) in a single speaker's turn.

#### 2.1.1.4 *Previous Views about Code-switching*

The study of language change has been traditionally assigned to historical linguistics although it is now being re-evaluated by contributions from anthropological, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and neuro-linguistic research. Scholars previously engaged in studying sound and changes in structure focused on what happens to languages as they evolve through time, and dealt less with what happens to languages when they are in contact with others. Historical linguistics concentrated on internally motivated factors that change the internal character of a language, mainly in syntax (e.g. change in word order in English from Subject-Object-Verb (SVO) to Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) and phonology (e.g. the Great Vowel Shift in English – a major change in the pronunciation of the English language where the two highest long vowels became diphthongs and the other vowels took on another change).

With the turn of the 21st century, the perceptions on language change due to language contact, transformed. This transformation was facilitated by the concept of the world as a global village. The significance of contact-induced language change is presently a force to reckon with and so cannot be ignored in a multilingual world. This has given rise to views that changes in languages occur due to both internal psycholinguistic factors and external sociolinguistic factors such as colonization, military invasions, slavery, living in border areas of different linguistic communities and migration, which cause language variation and change as one language come into contact and interacts with

another. Scholars such as Thomason (2001), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Winford (2002, 2005, 2007) propose that prolonged and intense contact between languages can change them significantly.

Scholars also acknowledge that bilingualism or multilingualism, resulting in language mixing is neither markedly different nor non-standard but rather a skilled linguistic performance. However, points of view toward bilingualism differ among scholars themselves. Whereas some scholars argue that bilingualism resulting in language mixing is a skilled performance, others maintain that bilinguals are rarely fluent in their languages. Scholars point out that stable bilingualism exists in bilingual communities where the languages enjoy equal prestige – such as in the case of Spanish-English bilinguals in USA, and Afrikaans-English bilinguals in South Africa. In post-colonial bilingual societies, however, where one language – especially the one that assumes official status - is always dominant over others, a different situation prevails. In these communities, the socially dominant language is usually the colonial language, as in the case of English in Uganda.

Views on the bilingual's use of two languages have since changed from what they used to be. According to Weinreich (1953) bilingualism occurs when a person uses two languages alternatively. In defining the perfect bilingual, Weinreich (1953:73) held the view that the 'perfect bilingual' cannot mix language unless there are changes in the 'speech situation' and 'not within a sentence'.

#### *2.1.1.5 Contemporary views on code-switching*

From the 1970s to the 1980s perceptions of the bilingual and bilingual phenomena shifted mainly as linguists believed that external factors have a significant influence on changes in languages perhaps even more than internal

factors. Language change was not merely researched from the perspective of monolingual studies but now was included in bilingual contact situations as well. The change resulted in a revolutionary perception of the bilingual. Current research now includes terms such as 'skilled', 'performance' and 'strategy' to describe bilinguals and their speech. Linguists after the 1970s, for example Timm (1975), Pfaff (1976,) Lipski (1978), Kachru (1978), identify mixing languages as both functionally and formally, a rule-governed process that has collocational and grammatical constraints.

The bilingual's use of two languages is viewed as 'socially significant' (Gumperz, 1982:72), emphasizing the speaker as a skilled performer using both languages at his/her disposal as a tool in society. This attitude towards the use of two languages in speech resulted in the flourishing of research in the years that followed. Supported by anthropological linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics, the field of contact linguistics has grown in leaps and bounds in the last twenty years and has shown that mixing languages cannot be judged from the perspective of the monolingual. The bilingual's use of the two languages depends on the domain, topic and interlocutor. It is also governed by social and individual norms.

Code-mixing is now the prime focus of research in contact language phenomena. Are these mixed utterances structurally constrained, and therefore are they governed by one grammar or two grammars, which would suggest that mixing takes place at specific turns or points? On the other hand, are they unconstrained making available a number of possibilities to the bilingual to switch and mix at any point or turn, which would account for the simplicity and the fluidity with which it is employed? What are the social constraints that govern language mixing in bilingual societies? What are the norms in bilingual societies and how are they different to monolingual societies? How does language processing take place in the bilingual brain when producing mixed

utterances? These questions reflect the many challenges that lie ahead for researchers engaged in this field.

At present, scholars have agreed on many issues. They are at a consensus that mixed utterances are constrained and that these constraints are structural, social and individual. There is also agreement that bilingual norms are different to monolingual norms, and hence bilingualism cannot be judged by monolingual standards. To an extent researchers agree that the two lexicons of the bilingual contribute to a code-mixing (CM) grammar and that in language processing in the bilingual, the mixed grammar provides clues to the fluency of the two languages in the bilingual.

Researchers also focus on a universal approach towards CM. Such a universal approach needs to include issues such as the bilingual context, the period of contact between languages, the status, the typology, the competency of speakers, and the motivations for activation of certain languages over others. In post-colonial countries where CM with English is a relatively widespread phenomenon, other issues such as the status of the imperial language after colonization, the amount of fostering and nurturing it has received by the local governments after independence, and attitudes towards languages need to be considered.

## **2.2 Sociolinguistic approaches to Code-Switching**

Research into code switching has commonly always been carried out either from a sociolinguistic perspective or grammatical approach. A sociolinguistic approach is concerned with the role of social factors in the occurrence of code switching with a view to determine patterns of occurrence of code switching and how these patterns may be affected by social factors such as context and speakers' role relationships. A grammatical approach, on the other

hand, focuses on the structural aspects of code switching with a view to determine the syntactic and morphological characteristics of code-switched constructions.

### *2.2.1 Gumperz*

Gumperz (1982) emphasizes that Code-switching is a discourse strategy and a pragmatic phenomenon. To Gumperz, Code-switching is exhibited in the ‘informal speech’ of urban bilinguals in modern ‘urbanizing’ areas. He observes that speakers in these regions live in situations of ‘rapid transition where traditional inter-group barriers are breaking down and norms of interaction are changing’ (Gumperz, 1982:64).

The Code-switching exchanges reveal that bilinguals have their ‘own socially defined notions of code and grammatical systems’. Gumperz (1982:96) suggests that during code-switching, speakers rely on the “juxtaposition of grammatically distinct subsystems” to produce conversational inferences. Gumperz observes that a pragmatic and conversational analysis of Code-switching relates bilingual speech to non-linguistic environments that require conversational inferences. In his analysis, Code-switching is described as a discourse marker in bilingual interactions where lexical items are incorporated in daily discourse not for referential purposes but as contextualization cues. In the bilingual domain, Code-switching signals the ‘contextualization of information’ whereas ‘prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes’ are used for such purposes in the monolingual domain (Gumperz, 1982:98). He also observes the importance of separating Code-switching from the phenomenon of established as well as idiosyncratic borrowing.

The pragmatics or sociolinguistic aspects of the use of two languages in discourse was significant to Gumperz’s analyses of situational and metaphorical code-switching. In Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavaz (1972), Code-switching is

defined as a 'communicative skill which speakers use as a verbal strategy in much the same way that skilful writers switch styles in a short-story'. Gumperz's approach was an influential sociolinguistic approach and most of the subsequent sociolinguistic approaches to Code-switching owed much to his theory that language cannot be taken in isolation from society.

### *2.2.2 Conversational Code-switching*

Conversational Code-switching is defined not only as the 'juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two grammatical systems or sub-systems' but also as the 'juxtaposition of cultural forms' (Gumperz, 1982:65) which differentiates bilinguals from monolinguals. Gumperz observes that bilinguals are aware that their own mode of behaviour is 'one of several possible modes' (Gumperz, 1982:65). Accordingly, 'communicative style' is employed by a speaker to affect the intended interpretation of the message.

According to Gumperz (1982:61) the social norms that govern the rules of conversational code-switching are akin to grammatical rules. It is observed that speakers use situational norms to communicate 'metaphoric information' about how they want their message to be understood by the participants. Gumperz further suggests that Code-switching does not necessarily mean or indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems concerned where the speaker resorts to a dominant language in search of a word to express what he/she want to say in a particular code. Code-switching also is not indicative of educational inferiority. In fact, conversational Code-switching is marked by in-group (which is marked by the juxtaposition of cultural forms) and out-group standards (where the majority style prevails), which 'best characterizes the bilingual experience' (Gumperz, 1982:65).

### 2.2.3 The 'we' and 'they' codes

The juxtaposition of cultural forms described in conversational Code-switching reveals that speakers identify the minority or ethnically specific language as the 'we' code, which is associated with in-group activities, and the majority language as the 'they' code, associated with out-group activities.

### 2.2.4 Metaphorical and stylistic Code-switching

Gumperz (1982) observes that the motivations for bilinguals to code-switch are *stylistic* and *metaphorical* than grammatical. Accordingly, rather than an internal structural interpretation, an external interpretation of how and why words, phrases and sentences from another language are used to convey meaning, would yield realistic information. Blom and Gumperz (1972) proposed that the use of different codes depended on topic and participants. The different codes convey different messages while depicting linguistic repertoire that is both 'patterned and predictable on the basis of certain features of the local system'. Most important to later research in conversational analysis is the distinction made between situational and metaphorical switching. It was observed that the situation (in situational switching) and relationship (in metaphorical switching which invites conversational implications) dictates the codes speakers use in certain domains (Blom and Gumperz, 1972).

Accordingly, situational Code-switching occurs when language change accompanies a change of topic or participant or any time the communicative situation is redefined. Style may also shift in situational Code-switching depending on the participants. In metaphorical CS, switching adds meaning to the conversation as it is defined by the relationship with the participant.

### 2.2.5 Borrowing and code-switching

Although there is a close link between borrowing and code-switching, Gumperz (1982:66) emphasizes that CS must be separated from ‘loanword usage or borrowing.’ Borrowing refers to a process by which word forms from one language are introduced into another. It can also be defined as the “incorporation of features of one language into another” (Treffers-Daller, 2007). In contrast, code-switching is defined as a process which relies on the ‘meaningful juxtapositioning’ of two grammatical systems. Gumperz further notes that where borrowing is a word-clause level phenomenon, code-switching requires a context-bound bilingual ‘conversational interpretation’ (Gumperz, 1982:68) where words are not just used for referential purposes but also for contextual and social purposes. The conversational interpretation of code-switching data requires a range of ‘interpretable alternatives’ or ‘communicative options’ which enables the linguist to distinguish between meaningful discourse and errors due to lack of grammatical knowledge. In borrowing, the ‘conversational effect’ of the utterance is that of a single variety and not of two. Gumperz (1982:67) observes that the new items ‘phonetically’ and ‘rhythmically’ integrate into the utterance to provide the conversational effect of a single variety in borrowing.

Gumperz further proposes that in borrowing, there is actually one grammar at work whereas in code-switching there are two. Reflecting on an example from Hindi (1a) his example (6) which obeys Hindi syntactical rules, Gumperz (1982:67) observes that the word *teacher* is a borrowing and therefore part of the ‘we code’ (3) (Gumperz, 1982:66). In (1b) his example (10), Gumperz (1982:67) observes that an English stem is combined with an inflected auxiliary from Hindi to form a compound verb. In the same example, ‘fix’ is

compounded with a native auxiliary verb *kiya*. In example (1a) taken from Gumperz (1982:60) his example (6), the English word ‘teacher’ is classed as a Hindi item as it obeys Hindi gender and number rules and hence can be classified as a borrowing. In this sense, loans are described as items that conform to the grammatical rules of the new language.

### 2.3 Models of Code-Switching

In linguistics, code-switching occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more languages or language varieties, in the context of a single conversation. Multilinguals sometimes use elements of multiple languages when conversing with each other. Thus, code-switching is the use of more than one linguistic variety in a manner consistent with the syntax and phonology of each variety.

Code-switching is distinct from other language contact phenomena, such as borrowing, pidgins, and creoles, loan translation (calques), and language transfer. Borrowing affects the lexicon, while code-switching takes place in individual utterances (Gumperz, 1982; Poplack & Sankoff, 1984; Muysken, 1995). When speakers who do not speak a common language interact, they form and establish an intermediate, third language known as a pidgin. On the other hand, speakers practice code-switching when they are each fluent in both languages.

Code mixing is a thematically related term, but the usage of the terms *code-switching* and *code-mixing* varies. Some scholars use either term to denote the same practice, while others apply *code-mixing* to denote the formal linguistic properties of language-contact phenomena, and *code-switching* to

denote the actual, spoken usages by multilingual persons (Bokamba, 1989; Clyne, 2000; Genessee, 2000).

Interestingly, in the 1940s and 1950s, many scholars considered code-switching to be a sub-standard use of language (Weinreich, 1953). Since the 1980s, however, most scholars have come to regard it as a normal, natural product of bilingual and multilingual language use (Goldstein & Kohnert, 2005).

The term "code-switching" is also used outside the field of linguistics. Some scholars of literature use the term to describe literary styles which include elements from more than one language, as in novels by Chinese-American, Anglo-Indian, or Latino writers (Torres, 2007). In popular usage, *code-switching* is sometimes used to refer to relatively stable informal mixtures of two languages such as Spanglish, Franponais, or Portunol (Zentella, 1997). Both in popular usage and in sociolinguistic study, the name code-switching is sometimes used to refer to switching among dialects, styles, or registers, as practiced by speakers of African American Vernacular English as they move from less formal to more formal settings (DeBose, 1992).

### *2.3.1 Myers-Scotton's 'Markedness Model'*

One of the most complete theoretical proposals with regard to the link between extralinguistic factors and language behaviour is Carol Myers-Scotton's (1993a) *Markedness model*. In its latest version (cf. previous versions in Myers-Scotton 1987, 1991) it is explicitly presented as an attempt at overcoming the limitations of both physicalist and interpretative approaches to language behaviour. Myers-Scotton acknowledges the importance of what she sees as the two previous research paradigms: The "allocation paradigm" and the

"interpretative/interactionist" model. She particularly underlines the relevance of John Gumperz in the promotion of research on code-switching.

Myers-Scotton considers it essential that a theoretical model should (a) provide for an adequate explanation for *all* language behaviour, and (b) go beyond purely descriptive terms to explanation and even prediction, if possible. The allocation paradigm is inadequate for the description of language use in that it can only account for the use of one single language variety in each domain, and therefore does not provide any explanation for the use of the other varieties or for code-switching. On the other hand, the interpretative/interactional paradigm fails to provide researchers with some theoretical construct which goes beyond open-ended lists of functions for code-switching. She doubts that Gumperz believes in the possibility of generalizing *across interactions* in order to build explanatory theories (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:59). A model which does not provide with general explanations ends up as an untestable model and risks to be based on *ad hoc* explanations.

Concerning the actual links between extralinguistic factors and language behaviour, Myers-Scotton rejects the interpretative/interactionist position that meaning is basically locally managed. She has this to say:

The issue, which has relevance far beyond the work of Gumperz, is this: are social meanings so much a product of individual interactions that they are largely locally negotiated? I would claim that answering this question with a 'yes' results from undue emphasis on the surface diversities existing among interactions everywhere. (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:60)

Utterances do not obtain their meaning out of nothing at every interaction; rather, their meaning heavily depends on social arrangements which are external to the speakers. The Markedness Model incorporates the

interpretative view that the speaker is the ultimate manager of conversation; he or she is no automaton predetermined by external circumstances, but has the power to choose whether to accommodate to the expected language behaviour or whether he or she prefers to break the expectations and adopt another language behaviour. This theory proposes that speakers have, as part of their communicative competence, a cognitive capacity to establish a difference between the expected (*unmarked*) linguistic varieties and the unexpected (or *marked*) linguistic varieties. This capacity, called *markedness metric*, is locally enacted according to each speech community rules.

This markedness has a normative basis within the community, and speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices. Because the unmarked choice is 'safer' (i.e. it conveys no surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relationship), speakers generally make this choice. But not always. Speakers assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices, and make their decisions, typically unconsciously. (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:75)

Linguistic choices are indexical, understood in Peirce's terms, of attitudes, beliefs, expectations a member of a given community shares with the others for a given interaction type. The use of each variety in a community's repertoire points to a somewhat different RO [Rights and Obligations] set within the interaction. An RO set is an abstract construct, derived from situational factors, standing for the attitudes and expectation of participants towards one another. Switching to a different variety indexes a different persona for the speaker and a different relationship with the addressee.

This connexion between a given RO set and a language variety grows out of the regular association between both. The most frequently used language is

the unmarked language in that context of interaction. Breaking the expectations amounts to asking for a different RO set to be enacted, and it is an option the speaker can take. The Markedness Model is based on a principle, the *negotiation principle*, followed by three maxims comparable to those proposed by Grice (1975). The negotiation principle states:

Choose the *form* of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange. (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:113)

The three maxims which follow the negotiation principle are: (a) The unmarked-choice maxim: "Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set." (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:114); (b) The marked-choice maxim: "Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange." (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:131); and (c) The exploratory maxim: "When an unmarked choice is not clear, use code-switching to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour." (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:142)

The unmarked-choice maxim is complemented by two auxiliary maxims: (a.1) The deference maxim: "Switch to a code which expresses deference to others when special respect is called for by circumstances." (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:147); and (a.2) the virtuosity maxim: "Switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation/ accommodate the participation of all speakers presents." (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:148)

The application of these maxims may result in one of the following four patterns of code-switching:

- a) *Sequential unmarked code-switching* is the most widespread possible result of applying the unmarked-choice maxim: "When one or more of the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked RO set may change. (..) Whenever the unmarked RO set is altered by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he or she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set." (*ibid*:114). From a structural point of view, sequential unmarked code-switching seems to be basically intersentential.
- b) *Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked code-switching)*, based on the frequent switching between languages, is a less frequent possibility of code-switching: "each switch in unmarked CS does not necessarily have a special indexicality; rather, it is the *overall pattern* which carries the communicative intention." (*ibid*:117). From a structural point of view, unmarked code-switching may include alternating sentences as sequential unmarked code-switching, but may more typically include a good deal of intrasentential switching, which is especially characteristic of unmarked code-switching. One-word and intra-word switching is also characteristic of this code-switching pattern (*ibid*:125).
- c) *Code-switching as a marked choice* is produced when the speaker follows the marked-choice maxim, suggesting: "Put aside any presumptions you have based on societal norms for these circumstances. I want your view of me, or of our relationship, to be otherwise." (*ibid*:131). The final goal of a marked choice is to negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it, by gaining ascendance or authority by switching to a language associated with power, excluding/including non-ethnics from an interaction by

switching to an ethnic/shared language, aesthetic effects, etc. Marked code-switching is often structurally flagged, i.e., it is accompanied by a number of elements which detach it from its surroundings. This is not surprising since, in her model, marked choices are meant to call attention to the utterance. Flagging occurs at several different levels, basically at the content level and at the phonological levels (*ibid*:141)

d) *Code-switching as an exploratory choice (exploratory code-switching)* is the result of applying the exploratory maxim. It is not frequent because non-conventionalized situations are usually few. They are usually the result of different norms overlapping or due to the fluidity provoked by changes in language policy such as those in which a part of the community contests the former norms.

The Markedness Model makes an effort to systematically predict in what conditions code-switching will take place and what sort of speakers will engage in such practice: "(...) when faced with choosing paths, the majority of speakers will follow the known path and make unmarked choices (...)" (*ibid*:154). It also makes different predictions about the contexts which favour each code-switching type.

While the Markedness Model is undoubtedly a remarkable attempt to explain the social motivations for code-switching, it has received numerous critiques from a number of authors (e.g. Baetens Beardsmore and Anselmi, 1991; Meeuwis and Blommaert, 1994; Muysken and De Rooij, 1995). Some of the main points of criticism are the following:

The Markedness Model statement that all code-switching is to be understood in terms of negotiation of identity is too powerful, and excludes other conversational and stylistic functions of code-switching. Code-switching as a marked choice should be more carefully defined in its attempt

at subsuming all the 'rhetorical' or 'aesthetic' functions already described in the literature, for at the moment it seems vaguely defined. In this sense, the Rights and Obligations (RO) set in its current formulation suffers from lack of definition. In order to make it operational, it should be carefully described; otherwise, it may end up becoming the joker to explain all sorts of switches.

The Markedness Model is weakly linked to societal processes; in Meeuwis and Blommaert's (1994) terms, society is simply absent from this model. A Parsonian structuralist functionalist view is implicitly adopted where the subjects decide how to act on the grounds of their individual interests. This model, thus, includes micro-level negotiation and speakers' rational choice, but the model does not suggest that social groups, as individuals, compete for resources, and it seems to assume that all speakers belong to the same speech community (cf. Muysken and De Rooij, 1995:1045). In the model, norms are shared and linguistic varieties appear as generally available to everyone, when this is hardly the case. Association between RO sets and linguistic varieties is not simply a matter of frequency: it is a matter of history, power and dominance as well (Gal, 1988), and this should be explicitly recognized in the model. This limitation had already been pointed out by Blommaert (1992) in the model's previous versions, and is now stressed by Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994), who blamed the model's mentalist, subjectivist bias for it.

The Markedness Model yields a fixed, rather static image of sociolinguistic reality (cf. Muysken and De Rooij, 1995:1045). This shortcoming is significant in several aspects. The model does not clearly discuss how code-switching patterns arise, and how they transform from one into another; for instance, when and how does code-switching as a marked option becomes itself the unmarked option, and why? In its present form, the

Markedness Model pays scarce attention to the link between code-switching and language shift and, when it does, it is only to refuse their systematic association (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:1). However, research elsewhere has proved that at least some populations known for their ample resource to code-switching do experience massive shift as well (e.g. Hispanics in the USA, see Fishman, 1991:187), and other researchers have documented code-switching as an intermediate stage in thorough language shift (Gal, 1979; Gardner-Chloros, 1991; Li Wei, 1994). Some of Myers-Scotton's examples, such as ex. 23 (1993a: 149) and her own comments in the sense that some social groups do not need the African ethnic languages anymore (1993a:34) suggest that, at least in a number of cases, code-switching does constitute a path for abandoning subordinate linguistic varieties and to spread nativized (ex-)colonial languages (cf. Myers-Scotton, 1991). In this sense, the Markedness Model suffers from the same staticness as domain analysis and interpretative/interactive analysis. If bilingualism and multilingualism are unstable by definition, a clearer distinction should be attempted between those cases in which code-switching constitutes a language-shift by-product (code-switching itself as an unmarked choice?) and those in which it indexes other cases of group contact.

### 2.3.2 Sankoff and Poplack's model

David Sankoff and Shana Poplack's model of code-switching is the most thorough in accounting for alternational code-switching (Winford, 2003). In this model, code-switching is subject to two constraints. The *free-morpheme constraint* stipulates that code-switching cannot occur between a lexical stem and bound morphemes. Essentially, this constraint distinguishes code-switching from borrowing. Generally, borrowing occurs in the lexicon, while code-switching occurs at either the syntax level or the utterance-construction level

(Gumperz, 1982; Poplack & Sankoff, 1984; Muysken, 1995). The *equivalence constraint* predicts that switches occur only at points where the surface structures of the languages coincide, or between sentence elements that are normally ordered in the same way by each individual grammar (Winford, 2003). For example, the sentence: “I like you *porque eres simpático*” (“I like you *because you are nice*”) is allowed because it obeys the syntactic rules of both Spanish and English (Sankoff & Poplack, 1981). Cases like the noun phrases *the casa white* and *the blanca house* are ruled out because the combinations are ungrammatical in at least one of the languages involved. Spanish noun phrases are made up of determiners, then nouns, then adjectives, while the adjectives come before the nouns in English noun phrases. *The casa white* is ruled out by the equivalence constraint because it does not obey the syntactic rules of English, and *the blanca house* is ruled out because it does not follow the syntactic rules of Spanish (Winford, 2003).

Critics cite weaknesses in Sankoff and Poplack's model. The free-morpheme and equivalence constraints are said to be restrictive, in the sense that there are numerous exceptions that occur. For example, the free morpheme constraint does not account for why switching is impossible between certain free morphemes. The sentence: “The students had *visto la película italiana*” (“The students had *seen the Italian movie*”) does not occur in Spanish-English code-switching, yet the free-morpheme constraint would seem to posit that it can (Belazi, Rubin, Almeida, The equivalence constraint would also rule out switches that occur commonly in languages, as when Hindi postpositional phrases are switched with English prepositional phrases like in the sentence: “John gave a book *ek larakii ko*” (“John gave a book *to a girl*”). The phrase *ek larakii ko* is literally translated as *a girl to*, making it ungrammatical in English, and yet this is a sentence that occurs in English-Hindi code-switching despite the requirements of the equivalence constraint (Winford, 2003). The Sankoff

and Poplack model only identifies points at which switching is blocked, as opposed to explaining which constituents can be switched and why.

### 2.3.3 *Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame model (MLF)*

Carol Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame model is the dominant model of insertional code-switching (Winford, 2003). The MLF model posits that there is a Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). In this case, elements of the EL are inserted into the morphosyntactic frame of the ML (Myers-Scotton, 1993b:7). The hypotheses are as follows:

- a) The Matrix Language Hypothesis states that those grammatical procedures in the central structure in the language production system which account for the surface structure of the Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituent are only Matrix Language based procedures. Further, the hypothesis is intended to imply that frame-building precedes content morpheme insertion. A Matrix Language can be seen as the first language of the speaker or the language in which the morphemes or words are more frequently used in speech, so the dominant language is the Matrix Language and the other is the Embedded Language. Also, a Matrix Language island is a constituent composed entirely of Matrix Language morphemes (Myers-Scotton, 1993).
- b) According to the Blocking Hypothesis, in Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents, a blocking filter blocks any Embedded Language content morpheme which is not congruent with the Matrix Language with respect to three levels of abstraction regarding sub-categorization. Congruence is used in the sense that two entities, linguistic categories in this case, are congruent if they correspond in respect of relevant qualities.

The three levels of abstraction are:

1. Even If the Embedded Language realizes a given grammatical category as a content morpheme, if it is realized as a system morpheme in the Matrix Language, the Matrix Language blocks the occurrence of the Embedded Language content morpheme. (A content morpheme is often called an “open-class” morpheme because they belong to categories that are open to the invention of arbitrary new items. They can be made up words such as "smurf", "nuke", "byte", etc. and can be nouns, verbs, adjectives, and some prepositions. A system morpheme, e.g. function words and inflections, expresses the relation between content morphemes and do not assign or receive thematic roles.)
2. The Matrix Language also blocks an Embedded Language content morpheme in these constituents if it is not congruent with a Matrix Language content morpheme counterpart in terms of the theta role assignment.
3. Congruence between Embedded Language content morphemes and Matrix Language content morphemes is realized in terms of their discourse or pragmatic functions functions.

Examples of Swahili/English Code-switching:

- i. *Wewe u-nge-rudisha hiyo halfu anytime u-ki-hitaji u-na-weza ku-ja ku-i-borrow* (if you would return that thing, then anytime you are needing [it] you can come and borrow it.
- ii. *hata wengine nasikia washawekwa cell.* (Even others I heard were put [in] cells).

(Myers-Scotton, 2002:2 -- from her Nairobi Corpus, 1988)

Example 1 above comes from a conversation inclusive of Swahili/English code-switching. While the rest of the sentence is largely in Swahili, the speaker

mixes in the English word ‘anytime’ and also uses innovative ways to mix the infinitive [to] “borrow” with the Swahili prefix ‘ku-i’, thus forming a brand new verb “ku-i-**borrow**”. Sometimes non-harmonization between counterparts in the Matrix Language and Embedded Language can be circumvented by accessing bare forms. “Cell” is a bare form and so the thematic role of “cell” is assigned by the verb -wek- 'put in/on'; this means that the verb is a content morpheme.

The Embedded Language Island Trigger Hypothesis states that when an Embedded Language morpheme appears which is not permitted under either the Matrix Language Hypothesis or Blocking Hypothesis, it triggers the inhibition of all Matrix Language accessing procedures and completes the current constituent as an Embedded Language island. Embedded Language islands consist only of Embedded Language morphemes and are well-formed by Embedded Language grammar, but they are inserted in the Matrix Language frame. Therefore, Embedded Language islands are under the constraint of Matrix Language grammar.

### **Examples of Swahili/English Code-switching:**

1. *Sikuona **your** barua ambayo uliipoteza.* (I didn't see your letter which you lost).
2. *Nikamwambia anipe ruhusa niende ni-ka-**check for** wewe.* (And I told him he should give me permission so that I go and check for you.)
3. *Nikamwambia anipe ruhusa niende ni-ka-check for you.* (Code-switching grammatical).

Example 1 is ungrammatical because “your” is accessed, so the Embedded Language Island Trigger Hypothesis predicts that it must be followed by an English head (e.g. your letter) as an Embedded Language island. The reason is that possessive adjectives are system morphemes. We see the same thing

happen in example 2 and thus it is ungrammatical. However, the correct way to finish the sentence is not “for *wewe*”, where it switches back to Nairobi but rather it should end it as “for you” since it would have to end in an Embedded Language island.

The Embedded Language Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis can be stated as two sub-hypotheses: 1. The farther a constituent is from the main arguments of the sentence, the freer it is to appear as an Embedded Language island. 2. The more formulaic in structure a constituent is, the more likely it is to appear as an Embedded Language island. Stated more strongly, choice of any part of an idiomatic expression will result in an Embedded Language island (Winford 2003).

#### The Implication Hierarchy of Embedded Language Islands:

1. Formulaic expressions and idioms (especially as time and manner Prepositional phrases but also as verb phrase complements)
2. Other time and manner expressions
3. Quantifier expressions
4. Non-quantifier, non-time noun phrase as verb phrase complements
5. Agent Noun phrases
6. Theme role and case-assigners, i.e. main finite verbs (with full inflections)

Example:

- i. *Ulikuwa ukiongea a lot of nonsense.* (You were talking a lot of nonsense.) (Swahili/English)

In example (i), we see the quantifier is a predicted Embedded Language island and herewith see an objective complement of a finite verb begin with the quantifier.

It is important to note that even to-date; the huge debate regarding models of code-switching still goes on. Much remains to be done before a more complete understanding of code-switching phenomena is achieved. Linguists continue to debate apparent counter-examples to proposed code-switching theories and constraints (Bokamba, 1989; Winford, 2003).

The *Closed-class Constraint*, developed by Aravind Joshi (1985), posits that closed class items (pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.) cannot be switched. The *Functional Head Constraint* developed by Belazi et al. holds that code-switching cannot occur between a functional head (a complementizer, a determiner, an inflection, etc.) and its complement (sentence, noun phrase, verb phrase). These constraints, among others like the Matrix Language-Frame model, are controversial among linguists positing alternative theories, as they are seen to claim universality and make general predictions based upon specific presumptions about the nature of syntax (Bokamba, 1989; Bhatt, 1995).

Jeff MacSwan has posited a *constraint-free approach* to analyzing code-switching. This approach views explicit reference to code-switching in grammatical analysis as tautological, and seeks to explain specific instances of grammaticality in terms of the unique contributions of the grammatical properties of the languages involved. MacSwan characterized the approach with the refrain, “Nothing constrains code-switching apart from the requirements of the mixed grammars. “The approach focuses on the rejection of any rule or principle which explicitly refers to code-switching itself (MacSwan, 2013). For more on this, see Myers-Scotton and MacSwan’s debate on the relative merits

of their approaches in a series of exchanges published in 2005 in *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, issues 8(1) and 8(2).

## **2.4 Language variation and change**

*“Every day we speak and write and use a complex, structured system to communicate but at the same time that system is evolving”* (Tagliamonte, 2012:1).

A number of researchers e.g. Gumperz (1958), Wolfram (2006), Sankoff (1988) have carried out studies on language variation and change, however, Labov is widely regarded as the founder of variationist sociolinguistics because of his 1963 pioneering research of change in dialect at Martha’s Vineyard.

Adopting recent approach to variation by researchers such as Tagliamonte, this study examines linguistic behaviour of Ugandan English, looking at how it has been indigenized over the years since English was first introduced in Uganda during and after the colonial period. Placed in this background, this dissertation specifically focuses on features that have been transferred from Uganda’s indigenous language into the English language at all levels of linguistic analysis.

At a general level, this dissertation informs the study of language contact, variation and change. But specifically, this research provides a description of innovative features that influence Ugandan English.

In his book *Dialects in Contact*, Trudgill (1986) examines factors of long-term linguistic accommodation by speakers immigrating to a different region from their own. In his analysis of British English speakers who reside in the USA, Trudgill points out that the American English in its current form appears

to be due to several factors such as phonological contrast, saliency of features, and strength of stereotyping.

In examining dialect acquisition by people from one dialect region to another, Chambers (1992) focuses on children who immigrated to England from Canada. He suggests that factors in dialect acquisition share common ground with factors in second language acquisition, including the critical period, complexity of rules, and length of exposure to the language. Previous sociolinguistic research has detailed how historical, political and sociolinguistic factors have influenced issues of language; however, those studies have largely emphasized language use in the larger social structure, focusing on language attitudes, language shift, and language use. No study, as far as I know, has examined variable use of linguistic features in varieties of Ugandan English.

## **2.5 Postcolonial Englishes [New Englishes]**

Ugandan English is characterized as a New English. A New English is said to have developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population, and is used for a range of functions. Another characteristic of New English is that it has become 'localised' or 'nativised' by adopting some language features of its own, such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words and expressions (Platt, Webber and Ho, 1984:2–3). One of the main characteristics of a New English is that it has developed through an education system. This means that it is taught as a subject, and in many cases is, also used as a medium of instruction.

### *2.5.1 The Postcolonial State*

A postcolonial state was a formerly colonized region or nation state that came under the administration of the rule of a European country as a result of

European expansionism between the 16th and 19th centuries. While some scholars include the United States in this group (Schneider, 2007), it is excluded in this study, since cultural and linguistic imperialism was not a central goal for settlers to the U.S., although it actually was in the case of indigenous Americans. Further, because of the position of power held by the U.S. today, as well as its own earlier colonizing activity in parts of the world and displacement of indigenous people within the U.S., its experience of colonialism is further differentiated from non-settler contexts.

The specific manner in which a colonized state came to be colonized varies; some entailed a history of violence while other contexts experienced more amicable conquests. Some colonized states originated as military outposts and later became part of the (British) empire with or without the cooperation of indigenous residents. The nature and circumstances of colonization are important for studies of postcolonial Englishes, as they have had an impact on current ideologies surrounding English, the language of former colonizers. Furthermore, the ways in which British colonialism is remembered in the local scholarship and the local consciousness are also important for understanding the course English has taken in particular contexts. In summary, a postcolonial state, in the restricted sense discussed here, is a former non-settler colony previously occupied by British forces and which has since been removed from British control and become independent.

### *2.5.2 World/New/Postcolonial Englishes*

The three most commonly used terms for the field of study interested in varieties of English around the world, especially those which emerged outside of the United Kingdom, North America, Australia, and New Zealand are ‘world,’ ‘new,’ and ‘postcolonial’ Englishes. Each term has been variably used by scholars, and the referents of these labels in some cases overlap and diverge

in various ways. ‘New Englishes’, though, is the term most often used. The use of the plural form ‘Englishes’ is meant to stress the diversity to be found in the language today, and “to stress that English no longer has one single base of authority, prestige, and normativity (Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008:3). Thus, before reviewing the major theoretical models of English around the world, I will delve into some of the prominent works on this topic.

#### 2.5.2.1 *World Englishes*

The most widely used term to refer to varieties of English spoken around the world is *World Englishes*, and it is attributed to Braj Kachru. In its broadest sense, world Englishes characterizes any regional or national variety of English spoken around the globe, making the term akin to Mesthrie and Bhatt’s newly proposed, *English Language Complex* (2008). World Englishes may initially have been intended to include all English varieties spoken around the world; however, in practice, this is not the case. The term is used largely to describe emerging localized or indigenized varieties of English, especially varieties that developed in former British and American colonial territories, and less often, varieties being acquired as a ‘foreign language’ at the societal level in places without a history of British or American occupation. McArthur (1987), for instance, reserves the term World Englishes for localized varieties of English in ‘English as a Second Language (ESL) societies’ throughout the world, which excludes English varieties learned in ‘English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts.’ In this more restricted sense, world Englishes excludes, for instance, English in the United Kingdom, and the United States – i.e., varieties spoken in nations which correspond to Kachru’s ‘inner circle’ nations. Kachru’s model will be discussed shortly below.

Bhatt and Mesthrie (2008) point out that some people understand the word ‘world’ in world Englishes as drawing its referent from the ‘world music’ genre, where world music signifies music which emerges from non-Western nations or non-Western artists. In this sense, world Englishes is applied to English as it is spoken in the same regions and by non-Western people. This suggested mapping of the referents of world music onto world Englishes removes British and American varieties from the scope of world Englishes, as well as varieties of English spoken in geographically and culturally ‘Western’ nations, but which are at the same time not traditionally English-speaking. Also largely absent from the scope of world Englishes are nonstandard regional and social varieties of English spoken within traditionally English-speaking nations, such as dialects in Southern England, Chicano, and African American Englishes in the U.S., or Cockney in Britain, as the term, world Englishes, is usually applied to a single national or supranational variety of English (e.g., Euro English), a point which we return to below. While scholars call for inclusivity in the field (Davis, 2010), the term is rarely used to discuss regional or social varieties within dominant English-speaking nations, and published articles based on English in these contexts in *World Englishes* are scarce.

World Englishes is often distinguished from the singular *World English*, whereby the latter refers to an idealized form of “...an internationally propagated and internationally intelligible variety of the language, increasingly associated with the American print and electronic media” (Bolton, 2003:4). Similar attempts to describe and/or propose a single English norm for a supranational region have occurred in Europe with Euro-English (Carstensen, 1986; Jenkins, Modiano & Seidlhofer, 2001). Alternative labels for this singular world English include *International English* and *Global English* (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Jenkins, 2003).

### 2.5.2.2 *New Englishes*

Oftentimes World Englishes is used synonymously with *New Englishes*, a term initially proposed by Pride (1982). However, when the two terms are used synonymously, they are more restricted than the broadest use of world Englishes, referring only to the outer circle and less often, the expanding circles of Kachru's (1985a) model. Since the early 1980s, the term New Englishes has been used for non-native varieties of English spoken in former British colonies mainly in South Asia, South-East Asia, West Africa, and East Africa. The fundamental difference between these varieties of English and those in countries like the United States, Australia, and New Zealand is that the former do not derive from settler English, i.e. there has been no transmission of native-speaker English across the generations.

The label 'New Englishes' does not appear to be applied to regional varieties of English, or to ethnic varieties in traditionally English-speaking nations. De Klerk (2006), in her corpus analysis of Xhosa English, uses the terms 'new' and 'world' Englishes interchangeably, regarding both as largely second language varieties having resulted from British colonialism. Richards (in Pride, 1982) speaks of new Englishes as 'nativized' and 'local' varieties of English. Likewise, in their book, *The New Englishes*, Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) suggest the label should be used to describe varieties of English which have developed in education systems and spoken in places where English is not the native language of the majority, just like De Klerk (2006) suggested. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) suggest new Englishes should be reserved for varieties used in a wide range of functions and "...by groups within the country as a regular language for communication in at least some areas of everyday activity" (Platt et al., 1984:6).

New Englishes show a strong influence of the background languages spoken in a region, e.g. Nigerian English, Ugandan English, Indian English. The new varieties of English exhibit distinctiveness in ‘sounds,’ ‘words,’ and ‘sentence structures,’ and in societies where they have emerged, English is associated with high status, often holding the position of official or co-official language due to language and education policy of those nations. Nations where new Englishes have emerged include Ghana, Nigeria, Singapore, India, and the Philippines (Platt et al., 1984).

There has always been debate of whether the word ‘new’ should be interpreted literally, giving it a time reference? This seems unlikely as the term has been applied to varieties which developed hundreds of years ago and to those which have developed more recently. Thus, in this sense, it wouldn’t be appropriate to give it a ‘time reference’ since, for example, it has been used to refer to Indian English despite Indian English being older than some ‘non-new’ varieties such as Australian English (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:3).

While the majority of scholars use ‘new’ and world ‘Englishes’ on equal terms, some understand new Englishes in an even more restricted sense, i.e. new Englishes are sometimes thought to exclude varieties of English being learned as a foreign language, i.e., corresponding to Kachru’s expanding circle nations. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) are exemplary in this respect, suggesting that new Englishes are largely synonymous with Kachru’s outer circle varieties. In this most restricted sense of the term, new Englishes becomes synonymous with the next term, *postcolonial Englishes*.

### 2.5.2.3 *Postcolonial Englishes*

The more recent term, *postcolonial Englishes*, was established by the work of Edgar Schneider (2007) who proposes that the distinct forms of English

which have emerged in postcolonial contexts “are products of a specific evolutionary process tied directly to their colonial and postcolonial history” (3). Describing the motivation for his dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes, Schneider (2007) argues that previously, varieties of English spoken in postcolonial contexts have been studied only individually; yet, because of their shared colonial history and emergence in contact settings, a single dynamic theory of dialect emergence in postcolonial contexts is warranted. Thus, this term encompasses varieties grouped together based on shared historical circumstances, i.e., as products of 16th century British colonial expansion and later U.S. colonial expansion. Postcolonial varieties may even include American English. Schneider writes, “it is not customary to view American English as a new or postcolonial English”; but “...the difference to other Postcolonial Englishes is essentially one of colonization type and of a more prolonged time depth, not a matter of principle” (Schneider, 2007:251).

Postcolonial Englishes may be the most precise term of the three found in the literature, but it has some limitations. For instance, it does not distinguish between former British protectorates and British colonies. It also groups varieties of English based on their parallel history of emergence, an approach which may or may not be empirically supported. That is, we do not yet have evidence that postcolonial varieties share a similar course of emergence as assumed by Schneider’s model. As a label, postcolonial Englishes points back in time, presupposing that a variety of English spoken in a postcolonial context must be understood largely, if not exclusively, from its history of emergence – that is, its colonial past – whereas the global position of English as an important worldwide language and valuable linguistic commodity is not figured into the equation of dialect emergence in this model (Bruthiaux, 2003; Tan & Rubdy, 2008).

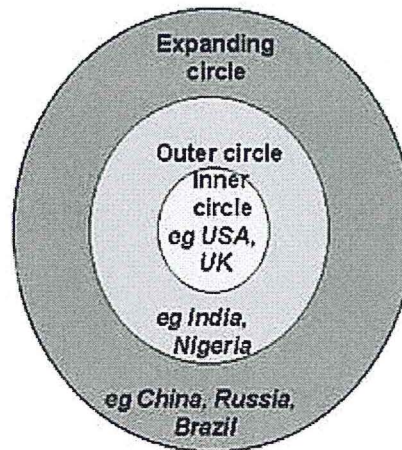
## 2.6 Models of World [New] Englishes

Following are the major models and theoretical perspectives surrounding the field of New Englishes, also called ‘World Englishes’ or ‘Postcolonial Englishes’. A summary and critique of six prominent theories of World Englishes, namely; Kachru’s (1985a; 1986) ‘Concentric Circles model’, McArthur’s (1998) ‘Wheel Model’, also known as ‘Circle of World English’, Schneider’s (2007) ‘Dynamic Theory of Postcolonial Englishes’, Mesthrie and Bhatt’s (2008) ‘English Language Complex’, and Wolf and Polzenhagen’s (2009) recent ‘Cognitive Sociolinguistic approach to World Englishes is also provided. A discussion on the ways in which the global spread of English has been theorized and examined in the sociolinguistic paradigm will then follow.

### 2.6.1 Kachru’s Three Circle Model of World Englishes

Kachru’s (1985b) *World Englishes Circles model* is the earliest and probably the most widely cited model of world Englishes. The ‘Circles model’ consists of three circles of English, the inner, outer and expanding circles, “representing different ways in which the language has been acquired and is currently used” around the world (Crystal, 2003:59). Inner circle Englishes represent the “traditional bases of English,” i.e., the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand (Crystal, 2003:59). Outer circle English-speaking nations are those with a history of British and American colonization and where English has become institutionalized, including India, Singapore and Nigeria. Expanding circle Englishes lack a history of colonization by inner circle nations; in expanding circle nations, English is learned as an additional, foreign language as they “...recognize the importance of English as an international language” (Crystal, 2003:59). A diagrammatic representation of this model is reproduced in Figure 1 below:

*Figure 1: Kachru's Concentric Circle Model of World Englishes*



Source:

Jenkins, J. (2009)

Given these definitions, English in Uganda would belong to the outer circle of Kachru's model. Uganda has a history of British colonization and the English language is widely used in government, all levels of education and as a first or home language among a small portion of the population. However, there is a huge population of non-English users in the rural areas and in some cities where the indigenous language of the area is spoken widely. Kachru's model has attracted a number of criticism, including the following: (i) questions about its present-day utility, as in: as a static model, the 3-Circles model does not allow a nation to change its position as time goes by and circumstances change, such as English becoming increasingly spoken as a first language exclusively or alongside indigenous languages. (ii) the classification of world English varieties by historical circumstances alone is another problematic aspect of this model; it assumes that present-day structural variation and ideologies surrounding English are able to be understood in terms of historical events alone, and in the case of postcolonial nations, by postcolonial history. As Pennycook (2003a:4)

argues, the world Englishes model (iii) fails to consider the “broader political context of the spread of English”, i.e. the circumstances motivating English language acquisition and use today are not exclusively colonial. They include such non-colonial reasons as the role of English as a global linguistic commodity (English as a Global Language or ELF), as well as local factors, including the views that the international utility of English renders its acquisition indispensable and that English is the most appropriate medium of expression of an individual’s or group’s social identities. Phillipson (1992), however, would argue that these new motivations for learning English are still linked to the colonial project, whereby the interests of imperialist powers are still being spread around the globe. In this form of ‘linguistic imperialism,’ particular language varieties spoken in economically powerful nations are elevated above other languages and varieties of English, including through the English teaching industry. According to Phillipson, the industry works to reinforce imperialist ideologies and structures through the use of English teaching materials developed in the West, which embody ‘centre’ interests.

However, others have suggested that the learning of English today is not necessarily, for spreading imperialistic values. Canagarajah (1995) shows English learning contexts are demonstrating ‘resistance’ to centre ideologies and structures through the overt display of local English forms as well as local reinterpretations and uses of English language materials derived from centre nations. Pennycook (2003b), exploring the use of English by Japanese hip hop artists, Rip Slyme, states this practice is not simply an instance of the hegemonic spread of a world language, but rather the use of English in performance provides these hip hop artists and everyday language users with an additional resource for representing modern, global-yet-local identities. The fusion of Japanese and English “allows language users opportunities to represent cultural, social, and historical conditions of being” (Blommaert,

2003:611). Thus, a hegemonic view of the spread of English does not encapsulate the creative uses of English today which serve to represent users' global identities.

In critiquing the three Circles model, there is a suggestion that Kachru's model unintentionally generates two sets of ideologies – an ideology of nativeness (Shuck, 2004) and a standard language ideology (Milroy, 2001). While the intention of the model was to bring attention to and validate nonstandard varieties of English which in turn led to an explosion of inquiries into varieties of English and the establishment of the sub-discipline of world/new/postcolonial Englishes, the way in which nations are represented in the model, with Western and largely economically and politically powerful nations grouped together, creates a firm boundary between these centre nations and less powerful 'periphery' ones. Since the different types of circles appear as having tight boundaries between them, this division may work to reinforce an 'ideology of nativeness' (Shuck, 2004) where inner circle Englishes are the most native-like, the most correct, and hence the varieties to which English speakers worldwide ought to aspire. Unintentionally, the model sets up a native-nonnative dichotomy, which is unrepresentative of English in non-inner circle nations, such as Uganda where English is learned as an L1 and L2, and it also reinforces the linguistic insecurity that plagues speakers of English spoken outside of standard language cultures. (iv) by codifying localized forms of English, in practice the model may result in the imposition of a local standard thereby rendering it ideologically a standard language model (James Milroy, 2001). As Canagarajah (1999:180) has written,

In his attempt to systematize the periphery variants, he has to standardize the language himself, leaving out many eccentric hybrid forms of local Englishes as too unsystematic. In this way, the Kachravian paradigm

follows the logic of the prescriptive and elitist tendencies of the center linguists.

(v) A final critique of this model, which afflicts Schneider's (2007) model as well, is what it fails to capture because of its nation-state starting point. By grouping together all postcolonial nations, the model homogenizes English speakers in a given nation, and internal variation based on local, socially salient categories and social groups is not discussed, a view that Bucholtz and Hall (2008:417) have also expressed:

...Kachru's association of world Englishes with national boundaries – where national Englishes such as Australian English or Indian English are categorized as belonging to either 'Inner,' 'Outer,' or 'Expanding' Circles – carries its own set of problems, not the least of which is an inability to evaluate diverse, or even oppositional, materializations of English within a single nation-state.

Unfortunately this results in the process of erasure marking this model, with the rich variation of English language use within nations omitted from discussion (Irvine & Gal, 2000). In later formulations of the theory, Kachru represents the circles as concentric, in hopes of alleviating the inelasticity of its earlier presentation, and probably, to recognize some of the internal diversity within nations where English is spoken. However, some scholars such as Bruthiaux (2003) have advocated for the abandonment of the nation-state as a unit of analysis for English varieties, and instead move to examine English language use from a holistic perspective, considering the local and global as well as historical and synchronic influences on English language structure, use, and ideologies. Furthermore, leaving the nation-state aside automatically requires researchers to focus on smaller, locally defined language communities. This approach aligns with the return to ethnographically informed studies of

language variation in sociolinguistics as a whole (e.g., Eckert, 2000; Labov, 1966), thereby bridging the methodological gap between world Englishes and sociolinguistics, more generally.

The most influential model of world Englishes is Kachru's (1986) 'three circles model' (see Figure 1). This model distinguishes between *inner circle*, *outer circle* and *expanding circles* of English. These circles represent the type of spread of English and also symbolize the patterns of acquisition and the functional allocation of English. The inner circle includes the 'norm-providing' native varieties of English such as the English of USA, UK, Australia and New Zealand. The most interesting aspect of Kachru's model is that it indicates that the outer circle shares certain features with both the inner circle (potential for developing norms) and with the expanding circle (non-nativeness). The outer circle includes 'norm-developing' varieties of English in countries such as India, Ghana and Nigeria, Uganda. This circle consists of institutionalized varieties of English that are developing their own standards. The expanding circle refers to the use of English as a foreign language, varieties that are 'norm-dependent' on the inner circle. The basic premise of McArthur's (1987) and Kachru's (1986) models in the context of second language varieties of English is that English has gone through a process of nativization and has its own particular features, discourse and style that have come about due to the influence of local languages, culture and society. This nativized variety has developed its own status in society, and as mentioned above, it serves a range of functions.

In the 1980s 'world', 'new', or 'postcolonial' Englishes emerged as a field of inquiry which sought to recognize and describe local, institutionalized varieties of English spoken around the world. Attributed to Braj Kachru (1985a; 1986) and dispersed largely through the journals *World Englishes* and *English World Wide*, World Englishes grew out of dissatisfaction with a then prominent

view that the teaching of English in former colonies should be based on a single standard variety. Quirk (1985:6), its main proponent, suggested, “the relatively narrow range of purposes for which the non-native needs to use English...is arguably well catered for by a single monochrome standard form.” Since the Kachru-Quirk debate, the debate surrounding the norms of language teaching outside of standard English language contexts has been called and World Englishes has rapidly grown as a field of inquiry in linguistics interested in the forms, functions, and status of English all over the world in “distinctive cultural, sociolinguistic and educational contexts”, including postcolonial contexts and minority, ethnic, and immigrant communities within dominant English-speaking contexts. While initially world Englishes research was based on English in former British and American contexts colonial contexts, today its object of study has expanded to include English in all its manifestations, including contexts without a colonial history.

### 2.6.2 *McArthur’s Circle of World English*

McArthur’s (1987) ‘Wheel Model’ has a wheel at its centre playing a major role as the ‘World Standard English’ (which does not exist in an identifiable form presently – Jenkins, 2009:17). In the next outward band, there are regional standards or standards that are emerging (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008:27). In the band after that which has spokes separating the world into eight regions, McArthur (1998, cited by Jenkins, 2009:17) identifies many sub varieties like BBC English, African American Vernacular English (also known as *Ebonics*), Singapore English and Caribbean English. Finally, the outer layer comprises indigenized varieties, such as, African Englishes (Ugandan English, Nigerian, Kenyan, Zimbabwean, South African etc.); Caribbean English

(Jamaican English, Barbadian, Trinidadian etc.). These localised varieties may have similarities with the regional standards or emerging standards (see figure 2 below).

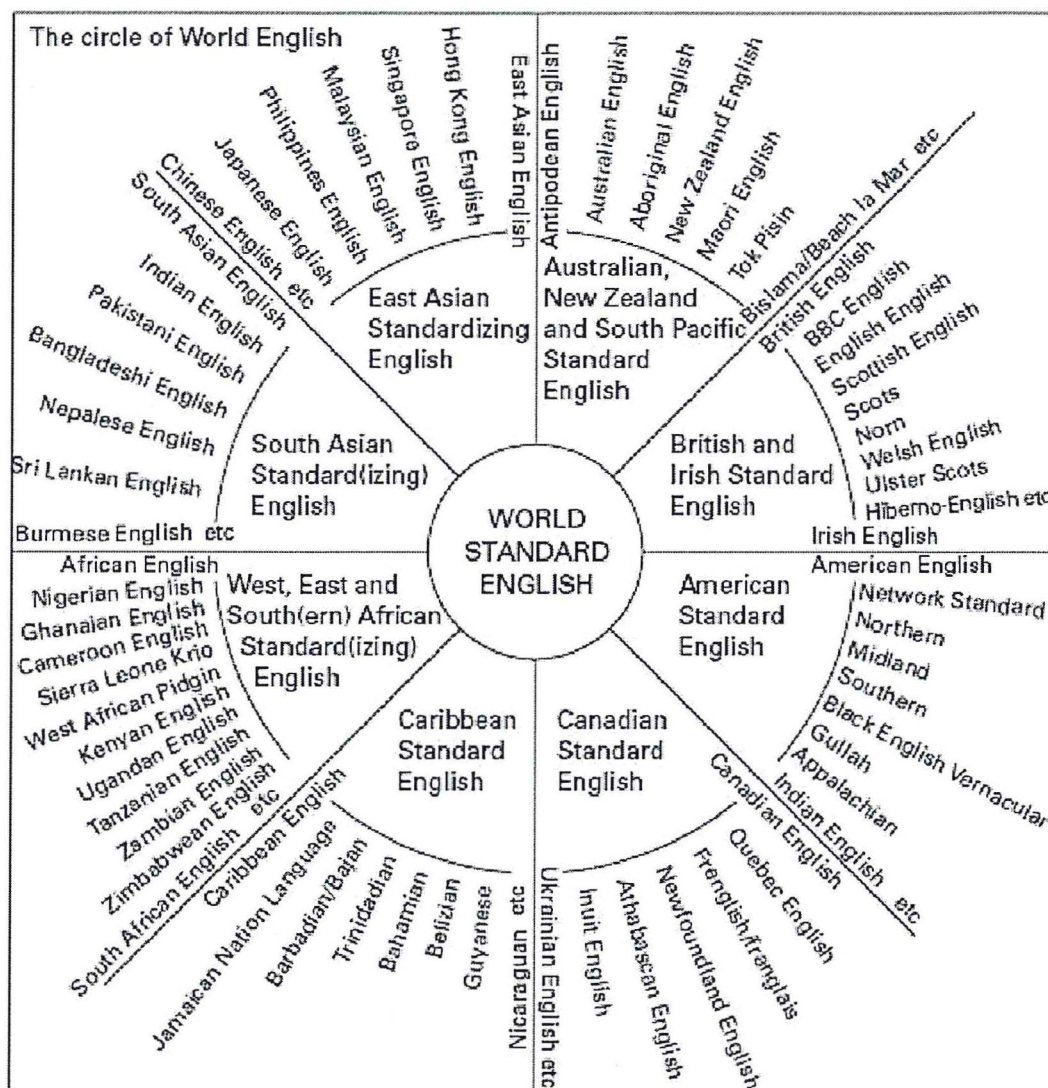


Figure 2. Relationship among the World Englishes, according to McArthur (1987)

Source:

Jenkins, 2009:18 [sourced from McArthur, 1998:97]

### 2.6.3 Görlach's Circle Model of English

Görlach's (1988) 'circle model of English' is similar to McArthur's (1987) with the exception that Görlach's has 'International English' in the middle. In the next band are the regional standard Englishes like Caribbean English and South Asian Englishes followed by the sub regional standard Englishes like Indian English and Irish English in the next band. The outer-most band consists of non-standard Englishes like Jamaican English.

#### *2.6.4 Schneider's Dynamic Model of World Englishes*

Schneider (2003) proposes a dynamic model of the evolution of new varieties of English. Schneider suggests that this model can be invoked whenever a language is transplanted. This model is based on the assumption that there is a shared underlying process which drives the formation of New Englishes and that it accounts for many similarities between them. Schneider's dynamic model is said to have five stages: (1) foundation, (2) exonormative stabilization, (3) nativization, (4) endonormative stabilization, and (5) differentiation. In the foundation stage, English begins to be used in a country where English was not spoken before. At this stage the two communities/languages in contact are still more or less separate, and cross cultural communication is restricted. In the exonormative stage, an external norm, usually written and spoken British English as used by educated speakers, is accepted as a linguistic standard for reference. This stage is marked by some level of (but not full-fledged) nativization of English due to the use of the language by non-native speakers. In the nativization stage, the New Englishes start to construct their identity independent of the "native" variety, and the characteristic features of the New Englishes start to emerge. In the endonormative stabilization phrase, the indigenous linguistic norms are accepted and are supported by a new local self-confidence. At this stage the

nativization process is complete. In the fifth stage, differentiation, the focus of an individual's identity construction narrows down, from the national to the immediate community, and new group identities within the larger community are formed. As Schneider suggests, "Once a solid national basis has stabilized, one's global, external position is safe and stable, as it were, and this allows for more internal diversification" (Schneider, 2003:253). Mukherjee (2007) applies this model to Indian English and suggests that Indian English is in the endonormative stabilization stage of evolution.

## **2.7 Variationist Sociolinguistics and Language Change**

Variationist sociolinguistics has evolved over the last four decades as a discipline that integrates social and linguistic aspects of language. The major motivation for the development of this approach was to present a model of language which "could accommodate the paradoxes of language change" (Tagliamonte, 2006:91). Previously, formal theories of language were attempting to determine the structure of language as a fixed set of rules or principles. However, although language has those fixed rules, it, at the same time changes constantly. Therefore structurally it must be flexible to be able to accommodate the changes. The idea that language is structurally stable is difficult to resolve considering that languages change over time. Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog (1968) cited by Tagliamonte (2006:93) contend that:

Structural theories of language, so fruitful in synchronic investigation, have saddled historical linguistics with a cluster of paradoxes, which have not been fully overcome. (Weinreich et al., 1968:98)

Unfortunately, because it is such an extensive field of research, sociolinguistics is often criticised in the sense that it tends to be either too restricting to the external factors, i.e. social categories such as class, sex, style, geography, or too restricting to the structural ones, i.e. linguistic categories such as systems, constraints and rate of change. Nonetheless, this, notwithstanding the field of variationist research is basically about the study of the “interplay between variation, social meaning and the evolution and development of the linguistic system itself” (Tagliamonte, 2006:99), or as indeed, Weinreich seems to echo Tagliamonte’s (2006) words:

Explanations of language which are confined to one or the other aspect - linguistic or social - no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behaviour...

(Weinreich, 1968:188, cited in Tagliamonte, 2006:101)

So in the study of language variation and change, it is important to consider both the social aspect of variation as well as the structural one.

## **2.8 Summary**

This chapter has reviewed the theoretical underpinnings of language contact, language variation and change. It has also reviewed prominent models of world/new/postcolonial Englishes, and discussed the historical focus of postcolonial Englishes research and the focus on varieties of English. A discussion has been done in the context of English as a global language and how English “can no longer claim sole ownership” (Crystal, 1997:599). In the next chapter, I present the method and methodology used in the present research

## CHAPTER 3

### Methodology

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the techniques and methodology used in the study. First, I introduce the topic *Corpus Linguistics* and justify my reasons for using this methodology in the study. Next I give a detailed description of the procedures followed in data collection, the techniques used to construct, and the overall design of the corpus of Ugandan English. In the final part of this chapter, I describe the analytic procedures involved. The methodology used in this research, i.e. the Corpus Linguistic methodology involves an analysis of how texts interact with each other and form patterns.

#### 3.2 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus Linguistics is one of those debatable subject matters where one school of thought regards it as a linguistic theory (for example, Sinclair, 1994, 1996, 2001, 2004; Halliday 1993; Baker, 2010) and another considers it a method of linguistic inquiry (e.g. Crystal, 1992; Leech, 1992; McEnery and Wilson, 2001; McEnery and Hardie, 2012; Lindquist, 2009). However, Halliday (1993) cited by Cheng (2012:704-5) argues that it is a combination of both and stresses that Corpus Linguistics “re-unites data gathering and theorising”, something that leads to “qualitative change in our understanding of language”.

Halliday’s (1993) view is echoed by Teubert and Krishnamurthy (2007:6), who suggest that corpus linguistics is a “bottom-up approach” that looks at “the full evidence of the corpus, analyses the evidence with the aim of finding probabilities, trends, patterns, co-occurrences of elements, features or

groupings of features”. In other words CL facilitates a process which will go on to “search behind the curtain of language data for an underlying system which would explain those data”.

Corpus linguistics has transformed the perception of language use and how language is studied. Its main focus is to discover and describe patterns of language use through analysis of actual language usage as realised in texts of written and/or spoken forms. Corpus linguistic research methodology is based on the theoretical orientation of language use in context, as patterns can be identified and defined only through analysis of large bodies of text. Corpus Linguistics puts emphasis on the real-life samples of language, a position in sharp contrast to the generative approach to linguistics, which relies predominantly on the intuitive data of native speaker analysts.

In tracing the history of the corpus linguistic approach, McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006) observe that corpora and its use of authentic data was viewed as no longer desirable in the early 1960s due to criticism by linguists such as Chomsky. Chomsky (1965:47–59) dismissed corpora as a source of linguistic knowledge for he felt that linguists should attempt to model language competence (the language user’s knowledge of his/her language) rather than performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations). One of Chomsky’s arguments was that corpora encourage linguists to model language performance instead of language competence, and as a result, it can only partly account for the true model of language as it can be influenced by a range of other external factors:

Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and

errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance. (Chomsky, 1965:3)

And then he goes on to complain:

Like most facts of interest and importance ... information about the speaker-hearer's competence ... is neither presented for direct observation nor extractable from data by inductive procedures of any known sort.

(Chomsky, 1965:18, cited in O'keefe and McCarthy, 2010:14)

However, modern technology has rejuvenated the corpus linguistic approach so that it has in recent years gained popularity seeing that the corpora can now be much larger due to the availability of electronic texts and more powerful computing resources (McEnery et al. 2006; Baker, 2010). The British National Corpus (BNC), for instance, contains 100 million words, while the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) has 450 million words. Furthermore, the advances in computing technology have facilitated the ease at which enormous amounts of data may be stored and processed relatively quickly, thus; benefitting from the capacity of concordancing software such as *WordSmith*, *Antconc*, *Paraconc* and others, to search and retrieve data quickly and in complex ways. Once read, the texts are sorted in various ways in an attempt to answer the query posted.

### **3.2.1 What is a Corpus?**

A corpus basically refers to a large collection of language texts as a source of data for linguistic analysis (Sinclair, 2004:16). It is usually stored in an electronic database so that researchers can easily automatically search and retrieve word patterns in the data, or like Baker (2010:6) puts it, a corpus is “a very large collection of naturally occurring language, stored in computer files”.

Corpus texts usually consist of thousands to millions of words of authentic naturally-occurring spoken and written language. (McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006:4). Because they are stored in an electronic database, this allows for “very large amounts of text to be amassed and analysed using specially designed software” (O’keeffe, McCarthy & Carter, 2007). Corpora vary greatly in terms of size, genre, register, mode (e.g. written or spoken), language variety, and many other features, all depending on the principle according to which texts were selected and stored for corpus construction. The definition that I prefer is Francis’ (1982:7) who describes a corpus as “a large collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of a language, to be used for linguistic analysis”.

### **3.2.2 Types of Corpora**

Research using corpora may be divided into two types in terms of relationship between the two: corpus-based and corpus-driven (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001; Baker et al. 2008; McEnery, Xiao and Tono, 2006). Corpus-based refers to studies in which corpora are used to provide examples for independently developed theories and has been criticized for the way in which annotation is seen to impose the pre-existing theory of the researcher on the data, thus ensuring that the theory is confirmed (McEnery and Gabrielatos, 2006).

Corpus-based studies typically use corpus data in order to explore a theory or hypothesis, typically one established in the present literature, in order to “validate it, refute it or refine it” (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). This study is corpus-driven: an investigation of patterns and tendencies found in a specific body of text. However, the blurred boundary between the two types is revealed in that the pre-set focus of this study means that it could be equally classified as corpus-based. The corpus constructed for this research is also an example of a

specialized corpus, consisting as it does of texts from one genre (Evans, 2009), specifically chosen to answer particular questions (Teubert *et al.* 2007), rather than any attempt to be representative of the range of genres and texts in existence as would a general or reference corpus such as the British National Corpus (BNC) (Evans, 2009).

I chose to construct a specialized corpus – a corpus of language as used in the Ugandan media – comprising two subsets (spoken and written Ugandan English) because my research questions necessitate the inclusion of only one type of genre: media language. A specialized corpus is domain or genre-specific, designed to represent a sub-language. In the case of this study, the UgE corpus was constructed to examine language as used in the media.

### **3.2.3 A corpus-based approach**

Corpora help us to detect facts about language use that our intuition fails to notice (cf. Sinclair, 1991:39; Biber *et al.*, 1998:3). This is particularly important especially when the researcher's native tongue differs from the language being investigated.

Corpora can be useful tools in language and applied language research, in the field of lexical, syntactic, and semantic variation, lexicography, text linguistics, as well as language teaching. In fact, the pedagogical aspect has been emphasised by e.g. Mindt (1997:50), who states that “corpus-based studies of grammar geared to foreign language teaching can do much to bring the teaching of English into better accord with actual language usage”. For instance, frequency analyses will help writers of materials for lower levels decide what features should be given more focus than others (Kennedy, 1992:365f; 1998:290; Sinclair, 1997:31) and corpus-based information about,

for instance, language variation can help advanced learners towards near-native proficiency.

Another issue of debate concerns whether corpus linguistics involves a theory in its own right, or whether it is just another linguistic method. Kennedy (1998:7) is one of those who hold that corpus linguistics is not a theory, but rather a tool that can be used by scholars within many different schools of linguistics. This view is questioned by Tognini-Bonelli (2001:1), who argues that the use of corpora has offered linguists quite a new understanding of language. She distinguishes between two types of corpus linguistics: corpus-based research and corpus-driven research (cf. G. Francis, 1993). Within the first type, towards which Tognini-Bonelli (2001:65ff) is critical, corpora are mainly used for corroborating pre-existing theories, simply replacing introspective data with something else. In studies of this kind, she maintains, corpus data that do not fit the researcher's hypotheses are often ignored. Tognini-Bonelli (2001:84ff) instead advocates the use of corpus-driven research, where the researcher starts out without pre-existing theories (i.e. an entirely inductive method). The corpus is then in focus from the start and the researcher is committed to the integrity of the data. If the data does not fit one's hypothesis, then the hypothesis must be changed. In practice, an entirely inductive corpus approach is virtually impossible, since each question one asks the corpus must originate in *some* previous ideas (Stubbs, 1996:46f). Most linguists, however, tend to use the term "corpus-based" with less negative connotations than Tognini-Bonelli does, regarding a study as corpus-based if corpus data are used to either corroborate or refute a hypothesis.

### 3.3 Corpora used for this Study

The corpora used in this study are the Ugandan English Corpus (UgE corpus) and the British National Corpus (BNC) World Edition (2000). The UgE corpus is forty thousand-word corpus comprising spoken and written English while the BNC is a 100-million-word general corpus. It consists of about 10% spoken and 90% written data.

The data in this study was drawn from a corpus that I constructed from spoken and written texts from Ugandan English media. The spoken component of the corpus was based on thirty hours of naturally-occurring conversations from radio and television talk-shows and phone-in programmes. The phone-in programmes entail some member of the public sending in a 'life story' ahead of the program, explaining the problem s/he is facing at the time. The program presenter reads the 'problem' on air and calls upon listeners to phone in and advise the person who has a problem. Some, indeed, phone in, while others post their responses on the radio station's Facebook page which are promptly read out on air by the program presenter. Both modes were captured in the data collection process.

The written sub-corpus has thirty four thousand four hundred thirty four words, while the spoken corpus stands at five thousand five hundred sixty six words. In addition, a reference corpus, the British National Corpus (hereafter, BNC) was used and serves as a control corpus to make a comparison between the two varieties of English. The BNC was chosen because just like my corpus, it comprises different text types of both spoken and written English. The BNC is naturally a much larger corpus (100 million words) while the corpus constructed for this study is just a tenth (one million words) of the BNC.

Thus, working with an existing corpus such as the BNC helps to increase our knowledge about other varieties of English. As far as this study is

concerned, the main reason why the BNC was used is because it is the assumed yardstick from which to measure English language usage and appropriateness, plus it is more appropriate in terms of size, balance, and convenience.

### **3.3.1 Structure and design**

Corpus construction and design is something that varies from person to person and according to the specific purpose for which the corpus is built. O’Keefe, McCarthy and Carter (2007:3) emphasise that “there is no corpus to suit all purposes”; it all depends on why you need to use the corpus, such as studying how lexical items or patterns are used; comparing usage of certain words in different varieties of English, etc. In planning the Ugandan English (UgE) corpus, the design features of earlier significant corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC XML Version, Burnard, 2007), the Nigerian English Corpus (ICE–Nigeria, Ulrike Gut et al. 2007–2013), ICE–East Africa (Hudson-Ettle and Schmied, 1999), and Corpus of Xhosa English (De Klerk, 2006) were evaluated in terms of their suitability for the framework of my corpus. Significant corpora in this regard have included mixed corpora of speech and writing such as the BNC. As a World English or New Variety of English, this study saw it fit to do a comparison of the UgE corpus with the BNC, so as to examine the characteristic features of this variety by observing similarities and contrasts with the larger and more representative reference corpus, the BNC. In most other cases, however, and in particular, when a corpus is created for the purpose of investigating a particular variety of language or linguistic event (e.g. British English vs. American English; the language of 19th century folklore; or the phraseology used in medical consultations; or teenage jargon), the contents of the corpus are important and issues such as size, representativeness, balance, and sampling are usually called into play.

### 3.3.2 Size of the corpus

Just as there is no one-size-fits-all corpus design (O’keefe, McCarthy and Carter, 2007: 3), there is no ideal corpus size. There is, rather, only an optimum corpus size, which is determined by the research needs and more pragmatic considerations such as the availability of resources. In terms of size, the corpus for this study is a mere 40,000 words in comparison with the mega corpora of hundreds of millions of words such as the BNC (100 million words), or the continually growing monitor corpora, Bank of English (450 million words) and Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA – currently standing at 450 million words).

As the research aim was to construct a corpus of radio and television talk-shows (for the spoken component of UgE), the International Corpus of English (ICE) specification for public, direct conversations was consulted for insights into corpus size. The conversational component of each variety of English in ICE is 180,000 words, made up of 90 texts of 2,000 words each (Nelson, 1996:29). For a small-scale research project like this one, I scaled down the composition specifications which ICE recommends. Thus, the spoken component for the corpus for this project comprising 5,566 words in total was considered to be adequate and representative of the Ugandan English user community since the written component is larger with 34,434 words. Of course this makes a minute fraction of the reference corpus, the BNC; but McCarthy (1998) quoted by De Klerk (2003:7), argues strongly in favour of “smaller, carefully constructed sample corpora of spoken material which contain authentic and reliable representative data, and can be analysed exhaustively in a variety of ways”. Moreover, Biber (1990) demonstrates that “just 1,000 words of data are able to produce results that are reliable” (Biber 1990, cited by O’Keeffe & McCarthy (2010: 123), while Tribble (1997) asserts that if a

register is very specialised, a smaller corpus will be adequate to provide insight into the features of that register.

With computers to handle the mechanical aspects of corpus analysis, it is tempting to accumulate vast quantities of data. However Kilgariff et al. (2004:106) caution that too much data makes even simple features such as word occurrence difficult and time-consuming to analyze and interpret. Similarly, O'keeffe et al. (2007:4) argue for a large written corpus and a smaller spoken corpus, depending on "what it is seeking to represent":

For corpora of spoken language, anything over a million words is considered to be large, while for the written corpus, anything below five million is quite small. In terms of suitability, however, it is often the design of a corpus as opposed to its size which is the determining factor.

On the other hand, McEnery & Wilson (2001) advocate for a large corpus. According to them, "the larger the corpus, the easier it is to retrieve a reasonable number of hits for infrequent or rare linguistic events". Furthermore, a very large corpus may also be required to understand the rationale behind grammatical or lexical forms even when they are highly frequent (Bianchi, 2012). Again, on the other hand, extremely frequent events, such as function words and auxiliaries, can be easily retrieved in a statistically significant number of hits even in smaller corpora.

The 1,000,000-word corpus of Uge is made up of thirty 'texts' or speech samples of varying sizes – anything between 1000 - 3000 running words or 'tokens'. A token is "any single, particular instance of an individual word in a text or corpus." (McEnery, 2012:6847). The number of running words or tokens is often an indicator of the size of the text. In ICE specifications, texts of 2,000 running words constitute the building blocks, as they provide reliable linguistic

samples for analysis, while at the same time being manageable in size. In fact, Biber and Finegan (1991:212 – 213) maintain that a component of even half that size (1,000 words) is adequate to deliver data that will reveal the main linguistic characteristics in a text. In the case of the spoken component of the UgE corpus, the text segments are occasionally slightly longer than 2,000 words, as it was important not to truncate a conversation in the middle of a speaker's comment or response, but also because it was important that the entire talk-show or phone-in was recorded. In some cases, however, they are shorter than 2,000 words.

### **3.4 Data collection**

The data were collected from six leading English newspapers, *The New Vision*, *The Daily Monitor*, *The Observer*, *The Kampala Sun*, *The RedPepper* and from a strictly on-line newspaper, *ChimpReports*. In addition, audio recordings were obtained from four television stations and two radio stations.

There are several reasons for using newspaper and radio and television data. First, I was interested in looking at the Ugandan variety of English and see how it compares with the British English. Secondly, I thought newspapers, being read by so many people, and the radio being listened to by a majority others, were likely to be influential language-wise. Indeed, as Bell (1991:1) writes: "Media are dominating presenters of language in society. Within the media, news is the primary language genre."

Biber et al (1999:16) point to the usefulness of newspaper corpora in the research into regional variation, since they "provide one of the best reflections of American English v. British English dialect differences in writing". They are therefore more suitable than, for instance, academic prose, which is "typically

written for an international audience with relatively little influence from the national dialect of the author”.

The British National Corpus was used for comparison between the written and spoken media: The spoken component of the BNC is divided in two different ways. First, the corpus contains one “demographic” part, which mainly consists of every-day conversation, and one “context-governed” part, which is comprised of more planned talk in the form of lectures, sermons, business meetings etc. Second, the corpus is divided into “dialogue” (both natural conversation and context-governed conversation) and “monologue” (Aston & Burnard 1998:31). I chose to use the dialogue part of the BNC, thus excluding monologue, rather than using the demographic part, which would have resulted in all context-governed conversation having been excluded.

### **3.4.1 The recordings**

The recordings were made at the respective radio and television stations, namely; Capital radio, and Kfm (for radio), NTV, WBS, and NBS (for television). I did not directly get involved in the recording process. However, I was allowed to make a choice from a wide selection of recordings in their archives. One important thing about sociolinguistic research is the awareness and consciousness of the dilemma of the “observer’s paradox” (Labov 1972:181). The observer’s paradox refers to phenomena where the observation of an event or experiment is influenced by the presence of the investigator, in this case; it would entail participants being self-conscious knowing that their conversation is being recorded, thus risking the naturalness and spontaneity that the research seeks to capture, and ultimately; failing to get the desired data to be collected. Labov underscores the importance of sociolinguistic research when he says that “the aim of linguistic research in the

community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation". Considering Labov's remarks, this study embarked on looking for longer tape recordings of one to three hours long, providing an average of between 2,000 to 3,000 words for each recording. In taking longer recordings, I was of the belief that all the talk-show participants would have relaxed by the half hour and so began talking normally.

### **3.4.2 Transcription and storage**

After receiving the recordings from the media houses, a back-up of the files was made and then the files were assigned a number. The audios were then transcribed orthographically, i.e. each word of speech was transcribed in its standard spelling, as opposed to being transcribed phonetically or phonemically. The thirty recordings used in the corpus were given file numbers which ranged from e.g. #Lifestyle 01 to #Lifestyle 38, or #News 01 to #News 47. Each file was prefaced by additional header information that presented details about the material in the file for easy identification and retrieval.

### **3.4.3 Transcribing and computerizing**

The decision to transcribe certain features of speech and not others involves taking a theoretical position on what is important or relevant to take into account. The complexity of oral language is not always evident to the participants themselves except when presented in close written transcriptions (Gumperz, 1990). Some of the elements that the researcher must decide whether to include in a transcription are paralinguistic features to indicate intonation, pauses, false starts, hesitations, self-corrections, overlapping, and ungrammatical or unfinished sentences. All of these elements may contribute

meanings not expressed by the lexical elements or the ordering of sentences used in conversation. There is no single method to make transcriptions. In most of the cases, an orthographic transcription was done, i.e. with no annotation that could bring out all those features mentioned above. However, in cases where non-English words were used, the transcribed data was marked up with signs <foreign>.

The transcription was done by the researcher plus an assistant who only did the recordings that were in English. The researcher would then go through the transcription and audio to check for correction and revision.

### **3.5 Procedure**

The corpus processes applied to my data are described in sections below.

#### **3.5.1 Corpus queries**

Searches were carried out by means of the concordance program *WordSmith 6.0*. Since the corpora used (except the BNC) are not syntactically tagged, the searches were made for lexical words.

#### **3.5.2 Data processing**

##### **3.5.2.1 The Software**

###### *WordSmith tools*

WordSmith Tools 6.0 is a corpus analysis suite of tools that was developed by Mike Scott (2012). It includes a concordance known as Concord. Its function is to display the occurrences of a user-specified search string (e.g. term, phrase, character string) in its immediate context in a display format

known as KWIC (key word in context). The program is famous for its ability to carry out lexical analysis, and its major aim is to study 'how words behave in texts'.

*Concord* offers a range of search functions and modes for organizing and displaying search results and statistical features for identifying collocations. The Concordancer has a capacity that can hold up to about 16,000 lines concordance lines. To create a concordance, a search word, e.g. *side dish*, is entered, and the texts defined, and then click 'ok'. Concord takes a search word or phrase, in this case; *side dish*, and searches through files which were pre-selected and then returns a list of 'hits' for the search word in the KWIC (key word in context) format, with one hit per line. The search string is centred and is in colour. The source of each occurrence of the search term is displayed to the right in the file column – in this case, the file name is UgE\_LfK 001 or any other number displayed. The results from a search also provide information about collocates of the search word; cluster analyses showing repeated clusters of words (phrases); dispersion plots showing and where in each file the search word occurs (Adel & Simpson-Vlach n.d.)

WordSmith works out and displays statistics for the text corpus in that it calculates the position of each occurrence in the sentence, paragraph, section and text, and expresses this information as both a raw value and a percentage. (For example, an occurrence that appears at the very end of a text should be in the position expressed as 100% in the sentence, paragraph, section and text, while an occurrence that came at the very beginning would be in position 0%.

**Figure 1: concordances of *side dish* in the Ugandan English corpus.**

The screenshot shows the Concord software window with a concordance search for the phrase "side dish". The results are displayed in a table with columns for line number (N), the concordance text, and word counts for the word "side dish" across various grammatical categories (Set, Tag, #, Ser, Par, Par, Hex).

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word	#	Ser	Par	Par	Hex
1	: Just run for your life. You are just a side dish; there is someone she loves			side dish	2,347	20	46	0	86
2	else and you are becoming a side dish instead. Open your eyes!			side dish	280	21	86	0	10
3	, men will almost always have a side dish, so a lot of women invariably			side dish	242	13	30	0	15
4	of emptying your sex drive with a side dish may cause a lot of damage			side dish	483	31	58	0	45
5	you married to him, would you want a side dish? You will only be a back-up			side dish	801	71	93	0	22
6	him. Good enough you that you are a side dish. Onauro Gabriel: why do you			side dish	1,506	15	90	0	41
7	: You are just a small house – a side dish Aruk: Time wasted is never			side dish	729	65	33	0	20
8	esoobola ogamba actually ebintu bya side dish. Kafi lwaki mba nkoola will?			side dish	1,186	80	94	0	73
9	it thought and are willing become his side dish, woman number.. I don't			side dish	2,264	23	91	0	62
10	nabantu tebamanyi nti bayinayo ka side dish. Woman: Mpozi nga side			side dish	1,250	87	93	0	77
11	nelabiddeyo ka side dish. Naye ka side dish ako bwekantwala mu kooti,			side dish	1,174	80	24	0	73
12	batwale kino. Kale nga nelabiddeyo ka side dish. Naye ka side dish ako			side dish	1,170	79	86	0	72
13	ka side dish. Woman: Mpozi nga side dish togiyina mu mwana, naye			side dish	1,255	88	12	0	78
14	Quit from the man or else the panadol/side dish. Frank: Are you crazy? You			side dish	821	73	91	0	23
15	is the use of the will now? Woman: Side dish yo eyo, nga ogilinamu			side dish	1,203	83	33	0	74

A comparison is made with British English in figure 2 below that brings out a totally different meaning from the regular usage of *side dish* in British English:

The screenshot shows the search results for "side dish" in the British National Corpus. The results are presented in a table with columns for the source text, the concordance text, and the frequency of the word "side dish" in different grammatical contexts (A, B, C).

Source	Concordance	A	B	C
W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_misc	probably accompanied by a soup, a curry, a fish dish, a <b>side dish</b> of a cooked vegetable, and an unco			
W_newsp_other_social	), always with pilau rice (2.85), and often with a <b>side dish</b> of mixed vegetables (3.90).' His wife Norma			
W_newsp_other_report	vegetables surrounded by creamy mustard sauce. Both dishes were served with an excellent <b>side dis</b>			
W_pop_lore	carefully with butter, orange juice and a little nutmeg and served as a <b>side dish</b> with 'sippets' of toast			
W_pop_lore	1,1992. # the proud POTATO # Delicious ways to transform new potatoes from a <b>side dish</b> into the :			
W_instructional	more flavour, they do require soaking. Red lentil dhal is a popular <b>side dish</b> for Indian meals, being ra			

Figure 2: concordances of *side dish* in the British National Corpus

Frequency lists and concordances form the crux of the corpus data processing (Rayson, 2008:520; Evison, 2004). Frequency counts, by means of wordlists, and concordance searches can be carried out on raw, unannotated corpora or on corpora that have some kind of annotation, for example, part-of-

speech tagging (POS-tagging). The analyses in this study were carried out on the unmarked/unannotated text corpus. Wordlists, keyword lists and concordances were generated with the latest version of *WordSmith Tools*, version 6.0 (Scott, 2012). The notion of keywords and the use of frequencies, in general as well as how they are deployed in this study, are described below. The use of concordances is also described.

### *Wordlists, frequencies and keywords*

#### *WordLists*

The main analytical tool is the 'WordList', whose main function is to create and maintain alphabetical and frequency lists of words. The user can choose to create an ordinary one-item-per-entry list, or the 'cluster' word list, in which the entries are made up of sequences of words as they appeared in the texts. The length of the clusters can be determined by the user. *WordList* clusters' are a very powerful tool for exploring the combinatorial properties of vocabulary.

Once the user has the list or lists that they need, it is often necessary to account for different word forms, for instance, considering if 'walk' and 'walks' should be combined as a single entry or remain separate. The *WordList* tool offers a lemmatisation feature for such cases, so the user has a choice to join word entries either manually or automatically. With or without lemmatisation, it is possible to view the word lists for characteristics such as frequency, presence (or absence) of words, the distribution of different words against the total words, and so on. In relation to the latter, sometimes referred to as 'lexical density', *WordList* offers two type-token ratios: the first is the traditional division of running words by different words, expressed as a percentage in

WordSmith rather than as a proportion. The second type-token option differs from the traditional method by first extracting a type-token ratio for individual blocks of text and then calculating the mean ratio for all blocks rather than considering the whole text at once. The type-token statistic is expressed by this average as a percentage. The size of the blocks is defined by the user. The default is 1000 words. However, texts which are shorter than the given block size [of 1000 words] can be reported as having a zero type-token ratio.

It can be interesting to discover whether words in one list are also present in another list. There are two main ways to do this. The first is by typing a list of words one is interested in and then using the ‘Match List’ facility. This will mark the words in the list (with a tilde) and will produce a ratio under the ‘Statistics’ menu. A useful application of the ‘Match List’ ratio is for obtaining the proportion of open-set words to the total of words in the text (e.g. Eggins, 1994) by specifying a match list that contains grammatical words. Of course, the difficulty here is to provide a list that is as comprehensive and unambiguous – something that is almost impossible, considering the homonymous words such as ‘like’ – which can be a verb (= to regard with favour), an adjective (= bearing resemblance), an adverb (= nearly/closely), a preposition (= similar to or comparable to) and a conjunction (= in the same way as / just as).

The second way two lists can be compared is through the ‘Compare versions’ function. The user specifies another *WordSmith* wordlist against which they want to compare the current wordlist, where all open lists will be compared. The output is a table showing the frequencies of all words of the various lists combined and their frequencies in each list.

Frequency lists provide a count of all the words (tokens) in a corpus. The results are displayed either alphabetically or according to frequency (Evison,

2010:124). The table below represents the ten most frequent words in the UgE Corpus according to a list generated by the WordList tool in *Wordsmith 6.0*. The word *the* is ranked first in the frequency list and occurs 10,903 times in the corpus. This means that 4.67 percent of the corpus consists of the word *the*. It occurs in 178 texts of the entire UgE corpus. The wordlist below also indicates the raw frequency, corpus percentage and frequency ranking of the article *the* (ranked 10th most frequent token).

Figure 3 showing a frequency-ordered WordList from the Ugandan English Corpus

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	% Lemmas	Set
1	THE	36,656	5.18	405	99.75	
2	TO	21,430	3.03	405	99.75	
3	AND	18,115	2.56	405	99.75	
4	OF	16,164	2.29	405	99.75	
5	A	14,632	2.07	405	99.75	
6	IN	12,818	1.81	405	99.75	
7	IS	10,327	1.46	403	99.26	
8	THAT	8,799	1.24	404	99.51	
9	FOR	7,222	1.02	401	98.77	
10	I	6,686	0.95	364	89.66	
11	YOU	6,670	0.94	344	84.73	
12	#	6,282	0.89	397	97.78	
13	IT	5,623	0.79	396	97.54	
14	HE	5,297	0.75	368	90.64	

frequency | Sort: lemmas | statistics | filenames | notes

32,675 entries | Row 1 | THE

In case one is interested in the number of times that the definite article *an* occurs, from a wide range of words beginning with ‘an’ one can view the

wordlist alphabetically. The table below shows the word *an* in its alphabetical ranking.

**Table 3.2 Excerpt from alphabetically-ordered WordList (UgE corpus)**

<b>N</b>	<b>Word</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Texts</b>	<b>%</b>
777	AN	502	0.21	148	83.15
778	ANAEMIA	2	2	1.12	
779	ANALOGY	1	1	0.56	
780	ANALYSIS	1	1	0.56	
781	ANALYSE	1	1	0.56	

The statistics tab in the wordlist generated by Wordsmith allows the user to distinguish between the number of running words (tokens) and the number of distinct words (types) and indicates the ratio between them, as can be seen from

Table 3.3 below:

*Table 3.3 Statistics tab in WordList (UgE corpus)*

<b>N</b>	<b>Overall</b>
tokens (running words) in text	703,609
tokens used for word list	697,344
types (distinct words)	32,709
type/token ratio (TTR)	4.69

Spelling errors and foreign words (like the words in Ugandan languages) add to the number of types and therefore affect type-token ratio. However, type-token ratio was not considered for this research, so the focus was on patterns of language use that are unique to the Ugandan English usage.

### *KeyWords*

The KeyWords function in Wordsmith Tools compares two wordlists to identify key words. Scott (2010:152) defines key words as “those whose frequency is unusually high according to some norm.” In the case of the current study, the British National Corpus (BNC) is taken as the norm, or the control corpus for determining which words in the Ugandan English (UgE) are key words. The list of key words is based on a comparison of the wordlists of the two corpora created with the WordList tool, and the two corpora as mentioned above are the UgE corpus and the BCN. Keyness is automatically calculated in the KeyWords function of WordSmith tools. Table 3.4 shows a KeyWord list generated from the UgE corpus WordList and BNC WordList showing the first 20 key words.

**Table 3.4: KeyWord List**

N	Key word	Freq.	%	Texts	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
1	UGANDA	577	0.25	122	326		5,810.85
2	DON'T	315	0.13	67	139		3,257.25
3	YOU	3,608	1.54	133	588,503	0.59	2,485.42
4	NGA	155	0.07	19	25		1,732.63
5	UGANDANS	136	0.06	62	9		1,579.99

6	KAMPALA	143	0.06	59	33		1,562.49
7	MUSEVENI	136	0.06	42	41		1,456.00
8	YOUR	1,136	0.49	106	134,393	0.14	1,266.99
9	NAYE	89	0.04	14	0		1,078.07
10	LOVE	429	0.18	65	22,224	0.02	1,048.06
11	MAN	643	0.28	94	54,967	0.06	1,033.41
12	NTI	79	0.03	8	1		946.18
13	CAN'T	104	0.04	42	131		937.71
14	UGANDAN	93	0.04	43	74		897.52
15	COZ	82	0.04	22	28		868.60
16	JAQ	117	0.05	19	400		866.17
17	MARRIAGE	254	0.11	48	7,687		864.37
18	THAT'S	91	0.04	32	89		853.2
19	NRM	76	0.03	25	22		816.32
20	UGANDA'S		61	0.03	32	0	738.89

*RC = Reference Corpus (i.e. the British National Corpus)*

The KeyWords utility provides a useful way to characterise a text or genre. The Keyword here is defined by frequency. Thus, a word will be 'key' if its frequency is either unusually high (positive keyword) or unusually low (negative keyword). Keyness is obtained by statistical comparison, thus, frequent and infrequent keywords will have occurred more or less often than expected by chance. *WordSmith Tools* allows the user to conduct the statistical

analysis that is required in order to generate a list of 'key' keywords. According to Mike Scott (2012: Help Menu), the developer of *WordSmith*, 'a word will get into the listing here if it is unusually frequent or unusually infrequent in comparison with what one would expect on the basis of the larger wordlist'

A 'keywords' analysis normally involves at least two WordList files. Typically, one will be the target text or texts (i.e. the text for the study), and the other the reference text or texts, but one can simply compare two individual texts. The WordLists for the Reference Corpus, the BNC, were obtained from the *WordSmith* tools website, <http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/>, on which the developer of the concordance software placed a huge 'single-word' list plus '2-5-word clusters' lists extracted from the British National Corpus. A key words analysis doesn't have to involve only two files, though. The program can also handle multiple comparisons, that is, many target files against a single reference file. This type of comparison is done through the program's 'batch processing'.

The frequency list compiled from the Uge corpus revealed 'side dish' ranking at 91, occurring 166 times or 0.16% of the 100,000 word corpus. In order to determine if this frequency was noteworthy, a keyword list was compiled on the corpus. Keywords in corpora are those words "whose frequency is unusually high in comparison with some norm" and therefore "characterize the text" (Scott, 2012:5) under investigation. The 'norm' used for the comparison is known as a reference corpus; for this study, the reference corpus used was text from the newspaper component of the BNC. This particular corpus was chosen due to both its size and content. At a total of 216,104 running words, it is approximately twice the size of the Uge corpus, providing a good basis for comparison in terms of quantity. Consisting of both written and spoken British English (in essence a native speaker variety of

English) the BNC represents a potentially different kind of language than that of the UgE corpus (being a second language variety of English), and thus significant keywords are more likely to be identified.

A keyword list compiled for the UgE identified a total of 477 keywords corresponding to approximately 5% of the total types in the corpus. Thus, a relatively high number of words in the corpus are key in that they occur unusually frequently when compared to the reference corpus, the BNC. Since keywords may not be among the most frequent words in the corpus, a keyword list makes them salient in ways that a frequency list might not.

'Side dish' ranked 40<sup>th</sup> in the keyword list, as shown in table 1 below. The majority of the words in Table 1 represent function words and discourse markers characteristic of speech, and thus figuring as 'key' when compared to written texts. The keyword list suggests that '*side dish*' is a significant member of the UgE lexicon, which contains slang, colloquial expressions, as well as words with a semantic extension.

Once the program has processed the comparison, which it does fairly quickly, it displays a table on the screen containing the words which are 'key' together with their frequencies in the two files and some statistical information. Although the key words list is useful, the key words plot is more exciting; producing a diagram showing the distribution of the keywords within the text (see figure 1 below).

**BYU-BNC: BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS \*** ACCESS: 1/5

RETURN TO SEARCH FORM Help / information / contact history | lists | profile | logout

ION: NO LIMITS  
 urn to search form | Back arrow for frequency list ]

K FOR MORE CONTEXT  [?] SAVE LIST CHOOSE LIST ----- CREATE NEW LIST [?]

6	W_newsp_brdsh_t_nat_misc	A	B	C	probably accompanied by a soup, a curry, a fish dish, a <b>side dish</b> of a cooked vegetable, and an unco
C	W_newsp_other_social	A	B	C	), always with pilau rice (2.85), and often with a <b>side dish</b> of mixed vegetables (3.90). <sup>1</sup> His wife Norma
7	W_newsp_other_report	A	B	C	vegetables surrounded by creamy mustard sauce. Both dishes were served with an excellent <b>side dis</b>
L	W_pop_lore	A	B	C	carefully with butter, orange juice and a little nutmeg and served as a <b>side dish</b> with 'sippets' of toast
V	W_pop_lore	A	B	C	1,1992. # the proud POTATO # Delicious ways to transform new potatoes from a <b>side dish</b> into the :
B	W_instructional	A	B	C	more flavour, they do require soaking. Red lentil dhal is a popular <b>side dish</b> for Indian meals, being ra

**Fig. 1**

Compared to the concordances of *side dish* in Ugandan English in figure 2 below:

N	Concordance	#	Ser	Ser	Par	Par	He:	He:	Ser	Ser
1	of emptying your sex drive with a side dish may cause a lot of damage	483	31	58	0	45			0	45 UgE_Lfs
2	else and you are becoming a side dish instead. Open your eyes!	280	21	86	0	10			0	10 UgE_Lfs
3	: Just run for your life. You are just a side dish; there is someone she loves	2,347	20	46	0	86			0	86 UgE_Lfs
4	him. Good enough you that you are a side dish. Onauro Gabriel: why do you	1,506	15	90	0	41			0	41 UgE_Lfs
5	: You are just a small house – a side dish Aruk: Time wasted is never	729	65	33	0	20			0	20 UgE_Lfs
6	you married to him, would you want a side dish? You will only be a back-up	801	71	93	0	22			0	22 UgE_Lfs
7	, men will almost always have a side dish, so a lot of women invariably	242	13	30	0	15			0	15 UgE_Lfs
8	it thought and are willing become his side dish, woman number.. I don't	2,264	23	91	0	62			0	62 UgE_Lfs
9	Quit from the man or else the panadol/side dish. Frank: Are you crazy? You	821	73	91	0	23			0	23 UgE_Lfs

9 entries | Row 1 | emptying your sex drive with a side dish may cause a lot of d

**Fig 2.** Concordances in *WordSmith* showing distribution of the word *side dish* within in the UgE corpus and the BNC (BNC retrieved from the BYU-BNC website).

The separate key word outputs lead naturally to the question, 'which is the most recurrent of these key words?' The KeyWords program can give a little extra help here because it can compute the number of files in which each key word was key. This is accomplished by means of the 'key keywords' option

which picks out those keywords which occurred at least twice and then lists the percentage of files in which they were key. Thus, a word which was key in at least two texts will be a key keyword.

### *Concordances and random sampling*

Concordances allow one to see all the instances of a given search word in the corpus in their context of usage. The Concord tool in WordSmith also allows one to classify these instances by assigning an alphanumeric code in the Set column. All the instances in both the concordances of *side dish* and other concordances will be dealt with in chapter 4.

### **3.5.2 Cross-Corpus Comparison**

Corpus linguists have made consistent attempts to validate their findings by drawing on data from more than one corpus for a single study. As pointed out by Stubbs (2001:224), it is preferable that in doing corpus research we try “not to rely on any single corpus, but to check results in independently designed corpora”. In fact, Stubbs suggests that it is “best to combine: large general corpora designed according to a sociolinguistic theory of text-type variation, small specialist corpora put together (possibly temporarily) for particular knowledge domains or text-types, and very large opportunistic text collections” (Stubbs, 2000). However, considering that it is not always easy for individual researchers to compile several corpora at the same time or gain access to already-constructed corpora, many researchers turn to the internet for additional corpus data.

In this research, I used a corpus website developed by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University (BYU)

(<http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/x.asp?r1=&w=819&h=614>) to gain access to the British National Corpus, as I was constrained in obtaining the BNC CD ROMs due to purchase and shipping constraints. The BYU website allows the researcher to quickly and easily search the 100 million-word British National Corpus (1970s-1993). The BNC was originally created by Oxford University Press in the 1980s - early 1990s, and now exists in various versions on the web. The website allows for one to search the BNC for words and phrases by exact word or phrase, by wildcard or by part of speech or a combination of these. You can also search for surrounding words (collocates) within a ten-word window (e.g. all adjectives appearing in close proximity with *woman*, the search would yield such varied examples as *beautiful woman*, *tall woman*, *cheeky woman*).

Typically, the user types a search term into the program, which will then produce concordances of that word in context. The user can trace the file source of each concordance, or even retrieve the whole document for further information about the context or genre.

There are two main reasons why I chose the BNC as a comparison corpus. First, it has a wide scope from which to do the corpus queries considering that it is a 100 million word corpus. In this study, the major findings from the search query results and concordances in the UgE corpus were crosschecked against the data from the BNC for corroboration.

However, there were some drawbacks of making a comparison of UgE corpus and the BNC for corroboration of findings. These included: (i) the UgE corpus was not annotated or even marked-up and it had an equal measure of words in each sub-corpus, i.e. 50% spoken English and 50% written English. The BNC has 10% spoken and 90% written. Secondly, the BNC is a more balanced corpus and took in issues of representativeness much more critically than the UgE corpus. Thirdly, whereas the BNC was compiled to represent contemporary British English, the UgE corpus was compiled to represent

indigenized varieties of English. Regardless of these problems, it will still be interesting to find out if results obtained from a British corpus will have some similarities or glaring differences with second varieties of English, particularly; the Ugandan English.

As such, linguists pursuing this line of research focus primarily on collocation in its own right, and their research is invariably corpus-based, partly because unlike intuition, corpora provide a massive amount of data to reveal how words actually co-occur, and partly because the concordancer – a corpus tool that lines up all instances of a search word in the centre of a computer screen – makes it much easier to notice any association between words which would otherwise remain obscure.

### **3.6 Summary**

This study is both corpus-driven and corpus-based and entails both quantitative and qualitative methods. The frequency lists (word lists and keyword lists) described in this chapter represent the more quantitative and corpus-driven aspects of the study, while the concordance analyses described represent the more qualitative and corpus-based aspects of the study. The concordances show the list of words in context. Additional detail on analysis categories is provided in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 4

### Data Analysis and Results

*The definition of a linguistic variable is the first and also the last step in the analysis of variation. It begins with the simple act of noticing a variation - that there are two alternative ways of saying the same thing.*

(Tagliamonte 2006: 839, citing Labov 2004)

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the study, 'The influence of indigenous languages on Ugandan English as used in the media'. In this study, corpus data is examined using corpus linguistic methodology with a view to identify innovative patterns in the grammar and other aspects of Ugandan English. The analysis is conducted by examining the features that influence Ugandan English in the lexical and grammatical aspects. This involves analysing the corpus texts for code-switching, lexical transfers as well as grammatical transfers. The focus is not on non-standard English per se, but on innovations that contribute to language variation and change. A cross-corpus comparison will be made between Ugandan English corpus (UgEC) the British National Corpus (BNC) as a control corpus.

The corpus-based approach to language analysis focuses on the real language used in naturally occurring texts rather than what is theoretically possible in a language. This study therefore presents an analysis of authentic language use in the Ugandan English Corpus, and then some aspects of it are

compared with the British National Corpus with a view to uncover differences in language patterns in the two varieties of English, as well as the common ones. This is underpinned by the methodology as explicated in Chapter 3 of this thesis. In sections that follow, I discuss the analysis.

## **4.1 Data Analysis**

The first analytical steps typically involve two related processes: (i) the production of frequency lists either in rank order or sorted alphabetically, and (ii) generating concordances. For this study, the process was kick-started by using the concordance software, *WordSmith tools 6.0* (Scott 2012) to carry out a quantitative analysis of the data by generating frequency lists. Frequency lists help to identify frequently occurring patterns in the corpus texts, as well as help in detecting over-use and under-use of words. The software is also used to generate concordances that show key words in their context (KWIC), hence also revealing collocational patterns. Considering that the texts in the UgE corpus were not grammatically annotated or marked up to show stress and intonation patterns, features that were selected for further analysis had to be investigated according to their individual contexts. Thus, features which seemed ‘strange’ or ‘out of the ordinary’ were identified and checked with those in the BNC. In order to qualify for in-depth analysis, these unusual features had to have occurred relatively repeatedly and the words expressed by at least more than one speaker or writer.

### *4.1.2 Corpus Analysis*

#### *4.1.2.1 Word Frequency*

*WordSmith* was used to generate a wordlist from the UgE corpus texts. A complete list of all the words in the corpus was automatically generated in both alphabetical and frequency order. A look at both the Ugandan English Corpus and the British National Corpus reveals that the most frequently-occurring word was the definite article ‘*The*’, with varying frequency in each corpus. For the UgE corpus, ‘*the*’ occurred 14,014 times, while it occurred 6,055,105 times in the much larger reference corpus, the BNC. A comparison of the top ten words on the list of both corpora was useful in laying out the distinctive features of each list (See word frequency lists of both corpora in the tables below).

**Table 1: WordList – Ugandan English Corpus**

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Lemmas	Set
1	THE	37,282	5.17	411	99.76		
2	TO	21,804	3.02	411	99.76		
3	AND	18,451	2.56	411	99.76		
4	OF	16,373	2.27	411	99.76		
5	A	14,933	2.07	411	99.76		
6	IN	13,010	1.80	411	99.76		
7	IS	10,533	1.46	409	99.27		
8	THAT	8,969	1.24	410	99.51		
9	FOR	7,368	1.02	407	98.79		
10	#	7,143	0.99	403	97.82		

**Table 2: WordList – British National Corpus**

N	Word	Freq.	%	Texts	%	Lemmas	Set
1	THE	6,055,105	6.09	4,050	99.90		
2	OF	3,049,564	3.07	4,040	99.65		
3	AND	2,624,341	2.64	4,050	99.90		
4	TO	2,599,505	2.61	4,049	99.88		
5	A	2,181,592	2.19	4,045	99.78		
6	IN	1,946,021	1.96	4,047	99.83		
7	#	1,604,421	1.61	3,167	78.12		
8	THAT	1,052,259	1.06	4,026	99.31		
9	IS	974,293	0.98	4,027	99.33		
10	IT	922,687	0.93	4,022	99.21		

The first two most frequently-occurring words in the UgE corpus make an interesting comparison with the BNC, and we will see them in more detailed analyses section 4.4.2 onwards.

The unique way in which the preposition *to* is used in UgE has its counterpart, the BNC use *of* instead, as exemplified in the following examples in both corpora. In some other cases, *to* is used where it should not be, as in the case below where it is used as an infinitive:

1. Why **to worry** about him?
2. Doing that can **make your husband to have** an excuse of outside sex and the same

This is a reflection of transfer of indigenous language structure to English. The insertion of the infinitive is allowed in the Bantu language structures of Uganda while it isn't allowed native English language structure. There are particular verbs in English that have the structure verb+infinitive.

These include hear, study, swim, and others. More realizations of ‘to-infinitive’ can be seen in the screenshot of the BNC below:

The screenshot shows the British National Corpus (BYU-BNC) interface. At the top, it displays 'MTN-UGANDA 3G', '12:15 AM', and 'corpus.byu.edu'. The main header reads 'BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS \*'. Below this, there is a search bar and a 'CH FORM' button. The search results are displayed in a table format with columns 'A', 'B', and 'C'. The search term is 'to', and the results show various contexts where 'to' is used as an infinitive marker. For example, 'took the occasional snippet from our fellow adapters. The French verse which Pamela recites to Mrs. Belville is from Voltaire's adaptation Nanine; the first dialogue is a translation of a Richardson scene between the Countess and Belville. Contrary to the view expressed by some critics, one of the dialogue was written by us. The picaresque vitality of Richardson's novel begins to wane early in the third volume (a frequent fate of follow-ups) and, as a theatre audience does not have the opportunity to plough through stodgy bits in their own time, we felt it made for better drama to kill Pamela (in the novel she comes near to death) before the dramatic conflict itself dies. We were particularly interested in the fact that he is disarmed that meets with too much ease; He languishes and does not care to please. And therefore 't is your golden fruit you guard With so much care to make possession hard. (Aureng-Zebe) refined by Mrs Delarivier Manley (whose works seems to have influenced Richardson's) in her 1720 collection of novels. The Power of Love: Of all those passions which may be said to tyrannize over the heart of man, love is not only the most violent, but us through storms, tempests, seas, mountains and precipices with as little terror to the mind and as much ease as though through beautiful gardens and when I adore you " feeling. That " say I'm all the world to you, you're out of your mind " " I know there's someone rotten " feelings, " Go away, I need you ", " Come to me, I'll kill you ", " Darling, I'll do anything to keep you with me till you Tell me that you love, me, oh never see him again. When, after his assaults on her, she begs to be allowed to leave, her instinctive feeling for him makes her provide him with some hope of or at least of their future communication. After marriage, she has no wish to leave him but, as his wife, can not accept her subservient role. compliance and argumentativeness which not only bores and irritates Belville but actually drives him back to his old pursuits -- drinking and lechery. Belv

#### 4.1.2.2 Concordances

What follows below was initially touched on in Chapter 3 and more detailed examples follow in order to see a number of examples in context. The ‘N’ in the examples stands for concordance number:

N	Concordance
2	a kwanjula by the husband plus the co-wife. Uno: how sure is she, about
3	, would you share a house with your co-wife? And, gentlemen, would you
4	to be buried next to her husband and co-wife. So, ladies, would you share a
5	treat each other like sisters and my co-wife's children treat me like their
6	brought her closer to her husband and co-wife. The two convinced me to
7	responsibilities in the home, until her co-wife got well. But the love and care
8	Uganda for burial and while here, her co-wife fell seriously sick and she
9	struck. I received a call from my co-wife, informing me that our husband
10	In the polygamy constitution, your co-wife should never see your
11	him she was as good dead because her co-wife had seen her nakedness! It was
12	regained consciousness, she found her co-wife was the only one present. She
13	this woman who was around when her co-wife collapsed unconscious. She
14	times. Since he had not yet visited my co-wife's home, I gave the kwanjula
15	. Sheena: Since when is a whore a co-wife to a lawfully wedded wife?

However, searching the British National Corpus (BNC) for the same word *co-wife* yields no results, as seen in the screenshot below:

The screenshot shows the 'BYU-BNC: BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS \*' search interface. The search string is 'co-wife'. The interface includes options for 'LIST', 'CHART', 'KWIC', and 'COMPARE'. Below the search string, there are sections for 'COLLOCATES', 'POS LIST', and 'SECTIONS'. The 'SECTIONS' section shows two lists of categories: '1' and '2', both with 'IGNORE' selected. The 'SORTING AND LIMITS' section shows 'SORTING' set to 'FREQUENCY' and 'MINIMUM' set to 'FREQUENCY' with a value of '5'. A message on the right states: 'NO MATCHES FOR THE FOLLOWING 'SLOTS'' with a table below it:

WORD #1	EXACT	co-wife

Below the table, it says: 'Please check the spellings or check the [syntax help page](#) and try again.'

However, a search for the word *wife* in the BNC yields pretty much the same results as you would get in the Ugandan English Corpus. See screenshot below:

BYU-BNC: BRITISH NATIONAL CORPUS *				ACCESS
RETURN TO SEARCH FORM		Help / information / contact		history   lists   prof
SECTION: NO LIMITS			PAGE: << < 1 / 163 > >>	
[ Return to search form   Back arrow for frequency list ]			SAMPLE: 100 200 500 1000	
CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT <input type="checkbox"/> [?] <input type="button" value="SAVE LIST"/> <input type="button" value="CHOOSE LIST"/> ----- <input type="button" value="CREATE NEW LIST"/> [?]				
1	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	. After marriage, she has no wish to leave him but, as his <b>wife</b> , can not accept her subservient role. It is this mixture of compliance and
2	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	him, his courage in deciding to make her ' openly and publicly ' his <b>wife</b> , are all testimonies to the power of his feeling for her. However,
3	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	behaviour and marry a servant, he is unable to alter his view of a <b>wife's</b> role. Thus, although the marriage crumbles, Belville's obsession with Pamela
4	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	, in Giffard's adaptabon, the part was played by Richard Yates while his <b>wife</b> played Mrs. Jervis. Jackey is the most colourful in a lengthy list of aristocratic
5	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	between us in the world's judgement, can I think of making you my <b>wife</b> ? Yet I must have you. Pamela, judge for me, tell me
6	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	defy all the censures of the world and to make you publicly and openly my <b>wife</b> . " " publicly and openly "... This wicked gipsy story is all forgery
7	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	quite astonished. I suppose you would have me conclude you are my brother's <b>wife</b> ? PAMELA does not answer. JACKEY: Silence gives consent.' T IS
8	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	me, thou bold wretch, that Pamela Andrews is really and truly thy lawful <b>wife</b> without sham, deceit or double meaning. BELVILLE: seriouslyAs I hope to be
9	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	's son married to a lady or a beggar's daughter made a gentleman's <b>wife</b> ? BELVILLE: The difference is a man ennobles the woman he takes and adopts
10	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	married there's no help for't and we must not make mischief between man and <b>wife</b> . Consider,' t is done. JACKEY exits. LADY DAVERS: Aye
11	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	small debate, I fancy, in a parliament of women. BELVILLE: A <b>wife</b> should draw a sort of veil over her husband's faults. PAMELA: smiling
12	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	: To conclude, a husband who expects all this ought not to abridge his <b>wife</b> of any privileges of her sex. PAMELA: delightedA generous man and a man
13	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	No, no, not much like such a one. But I fancy thy <b>wife</b> is the fair Quaker. A laugh from the CARDINAL and the FOX at some
14	FU4	W_fict_drama	A B C	and then to go down to her where they are to live as man and <b>wife</b> . MRS. JEWKES exits. PAMELA: alonet hope I shall not be deserted
15	FU6	W_fict_drama	A B C	cf. children of Israel, or retribution from above concerning me, cf. Lot's <b>wife</b> . Four. A spectacular vindication of the principle that each individual coin spun individually

The explanation for the use of the word *co-wife* as seen in the UgE corpus is because it is a cultural expression in most Ugandan indigenous languages that has been transferred to the English language probably out of an overgeneralization rule of prefix *co-* (as in the words, *co-driver*, *co-accused*, *co-pilot*) denoting the sense 'jointly', 'together', 'auxiliary', 'subsidiary' etc. In the Ugandan English sense, *co-wife* means the other wife of a woman's husband or a woman with whom you share a husband. But as can be seen in the data, it is not in the English culture to practice polygamy, hence; the British National Corpus couldn't find a match for *co-wife*.

What follows below are further examples of words that have been indigenized into Ugandan English. This again shows the prolific sociolinguistic nature of the relationship between Ugandan English and Ugandan society.

## 4.2 Lexical Transfer

### *Lexical transfer/Lexical innovations*

This section discusses indigenous language features in the Ugandan English lexicon found in the data.

The influence of the mother tongue extends not only to pronunciation, but also to vocabulary, grammar, and every other aspect of language. Since lexical innovations are an important part of the adaptation of English to different contexts and varieties, the goal was to identify lexical items that can potentially be seen as part of Ugandan English vocabulary. Lexical items specific to Ugandan English contexts were identified and cross-compared to the same words in the British National Corpus (BNC).

Most of the lexical transfer stems from aspects of life, culture, and the environment. Vocabulary is mostly transferred from indigenous languages to English.

Lexical transfer manifests in three ways, namely; (a) transfer of cultural lexical items, (b) loan transfer (c) coining stemming from L1

Ugandan English has borrowed cultural vocabulary from local indigenous languages, especially words that have to do with cultural ceremonies, kinship terms, local foods and socio-political structure. Examples from the corpus of Ugandan English that was specially constructed for this study include the following:

*Cultural, Religious, and kinship terms*

<i>Kabaka</i>	title for king of Buganda kingdom
<i>Ssabasajja</i>	endearment for the King of Buganda, meaning, 'greater than all men'
<i>Omukama</i>	title for king of Ankole, Tooro, and Bunyoro kingdoms
<i>Kyabazinga</i>	title for king of Busoga kingdom
<i>Katikkiro</i>	title for Prime Minister of Buganda kingdom
<i>Nnabagereka</i>	title for Queen mother in Buganda kingdom

<i>Ssenga</i>	paternal aunt. However, the title has had a semantic extension where its meaning was broadened to be a cover term for a relationship mentor or marriage counselor
<i>Mugole</i>	bride or groom. However, a distinction is always made regarding the proper reference by adding 'man' or 'woman'.
<i>Nnalongo</i>	Mother of twins
<i>Ssalongo</i>	Father of twins
<i>Kanzu</i>	traditional tunic worn by men
<i>Gomesi</i>	flowing traditional garb worn especially by women in Buganda
<i>Balokole</i>	born-again Christians

- (1) After prayers, the *Kabaka* cut a huge cake, designed in the form of the Kingdom emblem, which he served to his guests amid ululations.
- (2) *Ssabasajja* will officiate at this year's canoe regatta due at the end of this month.
- (3) At a supersonic speed, he led me up to the peak of the gently sloping Mpumudde Hill from where the *Omukama* of Bunyoro Chwa II Kabalega breathed his last in 1923.
- (4) "In 2007 I wrote to *Kyabazinga's* government asking them to develop the site, but nothing was done," says Warren, the LCI chairman for Kamuli Road Village Council.
- (5) The *Katikkiro* arrived at the church at around 11:00am in the company of his wife, Buganda ministers and other cultural leaders.
- (6) Bebe Cool says that he has learnt a lot. When he danced on top of *Nnabagereka* Sylvia Nagginda's table during a show, he did not know it was bad. And that is why, he says, the Club Ange Noir fracas where he was stabbed in the stomach was his last fight with a fellow musician.

- (7) Girls as young as 12 years are oriented into the practice with the help of a traditional ‘*ssenga*’ as she prepares them for sexual orientation and womanhood.
- (8) Deluded is the best word to describe today’s ceremonies and the TV shows in the name of entertainment. All the theatrics from dancing ‘doctors and nurses’ checking the *Bako*’s health to men dressed as women to come as the *Ssenga* for comedy... I am sorry, but which part of culture is this?
- (9) **Stella:** “I have moved on. I just don’t understand why I want to rip the *mugole*’s tiara off though”.
- (10) Among the first to adhere to the Nnaabagereka’s call was Mary Daisy Nabwato who introduced Edrisa Kitonsa to her parents, *Ssalongo* and *Nnalongo* Kalule in Ndejje, Namasuba last Sunday.
- (11) Paul Semakula, a brother of the bride, said Senyonjo had not even carried a cock and a *kanzu* (tunic) for him as the brother-in-law.
- (12) The *gomesi*, *kanzu* and blazers are the official Ugandan wear that the team will miss because of financial problems the trip has had.
- (13) ...then the *balokole* movement came knocking. Lighthouse Television gave us terrestrial broadcasts of Joyce Meyer preaching with makeup and above-the-knee skirts on.

#### *Cultural ceremonies*

<i>Kwanjula</i>	traditional marriage introduction ceremony for Baganda
<i>Kuhingira</i>	traditional marriage give-away ceremony for Banyankore and Bakiga
<i>Kukyala</i>	formal visit to future father-in-law’s home largely performed by Baganda

- (14) 600 guests for Prince Wasajja *kwanjula*
- (15) We had a colourful *kuhingira*. Although our relatives helped in the preparation, very few made financial contributions.
- (16) Two weeks later, the prince formally wrote to Nsubuga, through Nankya's *Ssenga*, in accordance with Buganda's culture, requesting for *kukyala* (formal visit) – the first step towards a Kiganda traditional marriage.

### *Cultural dishes and beverages*

<i>Matooke</i>	cooked or steamed green bananas
<i>Pilau</i>	fried rice mixed with meat
<i>Poshol/ugali</i>	bread-like maize meal
<i>Samosa</i>	fried triangle-shaped dough that is stuffed with either meat or vegetables
<i>Chapatti</i>	pan-fried flat unleavened bread that looks like a pancake
<i>Kalol/akaro</i>	bread-like millet meal
<i>Bushera</i>	a <i>type</i> of beverage made from millet or sorghum
<i>Eshabwe</i>	a special sauce made from cow ghee
<i>Nsenene</i>	grasshoppers
Luwombo	meat, chicken, or peanut sauce prepared in banana leaves

It is important to note that all the names/titles mentioned above are not translated into English. They keep the form they have in their particular indigenous language.

The third category of lexical transfer deals with terms that have been coined with political connotations. These include government programmes that politicians popularize using indigenous words such as the following:

<i>Entandikwa</i>	start-up capital for small scale business persons
<i>Bonna bagaggawale</i>	prosperity-for-all programme, a government initiative aimed at eradicating poverty in households

(17) Projects such as the Luwero War Veterans Association, Entandikwa, and a ministry in charge of Luwero Triangle were established, with the aim of resettling the affected people.

(18) Yesterday President Yoweri Museveni yesterday unveiled his *bonna bagaggawale programme* for every household to afford basic needs.

(19) Gen. Salim Saleh said more tractors would be given to farmers in other areas as the implementation of the *Bonna bagaggawale* programme progresses.

Other realisations of lexical transfer are in the form of loan transfers and coining. These are illustrated below:

- lexical innovations, e.g.

(20) *dry tea* (a direct transfer from the Luganda equivalent *chai omukalu* – literally, dry tea), where the equivalent term in British English is ‘black tea’. In the local sense, tea is perceived to contain milk, therefore it follows that without milk, it is dry.

(21) *detooth* (to fleece)

(22) *co-wife* (a woman who shares the same husband as you)

(23) *kyeyo/nkuba kyeyo* (odd jobs/people who work odd jobs in the diaspora)

(24) *side dish* (lover)

### 4.3 Grammatical Transfer

Morphology and syntax in the Ugandan English is difficult to be distinguished from Standard BrE, however, the following features stand out as typically Ugandan English:

#### **Omission of phrasal verb particle, 'up' in pick up**

- The ferry started making stop overs at Kaaya Landing Site on Misonzi to and from Kalangala **to pick passengers** who wait for the ferry to go either to Entebbe or Kalangala daily.
- We shall **pick you** here at 5:00 a.m., and you are advised to wake up early so that you have your breakfast before we set off.

#### **Verb hybridization**

One of the effects of language contact is that the languages in contact influence each other in diverse ways. In the case of Ugandan English, the linguistic and cultural environment of the indigenous languages has a great impact on the English language use. As a result of this, many hybrid creations in form of verbs and nouns have been, and continue to be created.

“Hybrid verbs” are those verbs that result from contact between English (or any other language) and indigenous languages, greatly impacting on the English language use b. Hybrid creations are formed by combining a root morpheme of the source language with a derivational affix morpheme of the native language.

In this case, the root morpheme of hybrid verbs is an indigenous language word and the derivational affix is the English past tense morpheme **-d**.

- *Kwanjulad* – verb coined to denote the action of *kwanjula* (to introduce), where a bride introduces her fiancé in a traditional marriage ceremony.

- *He koowad* (He got tired). Derived from the Luganda verb, *kukoowa* (to get tired). This reveals an interesting lexical-formation process.

### **Subject copying**

In many indigenous languages of Uganda, especially Bantu languages, a subject noun phrase must agree with the verb by means of an agreement prefix (see for instance Kamwangamalu & Moyo 2003: 8). This feature, which corresponds to a subject pronoun in English, is carried over into Ugandan English structure. The following sentences illustrate this point.

(1) God made it that way that any female is supposed to listen to her man; but these days **some women they think** they own the world.

### **Direct translation**

(2) A: How is there?

B: We are fine, how is there?

A form of greeting that is influenced by L1 structure. In Luganda it would be, *wagambaki eyo* (Lit. how is it there?); in Runyakore-Rukiga, it would be realized as *Nigaahe okwe* (Lit. how is there?). It is important to note that most indigenous languages of Uganda ask about the ‘health of a place’, rather than the health of a person. It would seem that if a place is serene and tranquil, then inhabitants, too, will be peaceful and free from strife; thus, the greeting “How is

there?" is fully understandable to a user of Ugandan English.

### **Article usage**

#### **Article insertion**

There were cases where there was an insertion of article in zero article environment, as in the following examples.

“A kitchen party is a combination of a Ssenga lecture, motherly lecture, memories of **the** single life and fun celebrating the last days of being a spinster.”

- substitution of the definite article with the indefinite article and vice versa, e.g.

You are a right person to go to Parliament

#### **article deletion**

- commentators say it's expensive for individuals to invest in security; it's duty of State to protect life and property.

- Minister Tumwebaze is quoted in [the] media asking districts not to reject RDCs.

- Price is put on a tradable commodity. If women are commodities to be purchased by men, then brideprice should remain.

- As a small kid, you are just compelled and herded like **a** cattle to take a particular direction.

-Sheila always brought smile to my face. I will miss her.

There were cases of innovations which didn't stem from the first language. It would appear that the coining of such words was simply following a natural word-building morphological process. This is illustrated in the word *boda boda*:

- *boda boda* (motorcycle taxi).

This appears to be a result of a morphological process called 'reduplication' in which the root or stem of a word or even the entire word is repeated.

Reduplication is used to create new words. It is often used in African languages to convey a grammatical function such as intensification. Thus, when one "eat-eats", (with or without a hyphen) they are said to eat more frequently than normal, or eat whatever they come across. Similarly, a 'boda boda is a bicycle taxi that not only takes a person from one point to another (originally from one border post to the other), but does so very fast. Perhaps more interesting is the fact that a motorcycle in nearly all Ugandan indigenous languages is named from its onomatopoeic sound "piki piki". It is possible that the same analogy was made in naming the motorcycle taxi "*boda boda*".

In fact the issue of reduplication is even extended to the English grammatical structure when conveying 'intensity'.

Sentences such as, "Her mother is very very kind" or "I'm really really tired" are commonplace in Ugandan English.

Other grammatical influences from the indigenous languages in the data include the following:

- continuous forms *be + verb + -ing* are overused, e.g. *Women always are having a lot of work to do.*

- the use of –s plural markers is overgeneralized, e.g. *peoples, informations, foods, furnitures*
- Omitting definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in native English (BrE), while going ahead to insert them where they do not occur in English Native Language (ENL), e.g. *Girl couldn't even say her name*, where the definite article “the” was omitted
- question tags tend to occur in invariant forms, the most commonly used being: ‘isn’t it?’, ‘not so?’, or ‘no?’, e.g. *You are going to give me money, isn't it?* (instead of *aren't you?*), *she is a highly influential woman, not so?* (instead of *isn't she?*), *I'm sure the father spanked his butt, no?* (instead of *didn't he?*)
- *never* as simple marker of sentence negations, e.g. *I never saw the Kabaka last week when he visited Kooki.*
- loan translations and adaptations of local usages, e.g. any elderly relative or close family friend is either referred to as ‘uncle’ or ‘aunt’.
- local extensions, e.g. *corner* means a bend in the road
- translation equivalents, e.g. *wash your mouth* means ‘brush your teeth’
- African peculiarities may influence a standard BrE construction, e.g. *A country where you have never been there* or *He is an important somebody*
- Lack of number concord – e.g. *This kind of MPs is the reason Museveni and NRM are in power for 28 years and still counting*
- Inserting ‘redundant’ prepositions, e.g. *The meeting discussed about corruption in the civil service*
- *accept* and *allow* plus *refuse* and *decline* are used in the same manner, e.g. *I will not accept you to tarnish my name*  
*He refused to*
- some words are formed by calquing some indigenous language expressions, e.g. *to eat money* or *to eat cash*, an expression that is calqued

from the Luganda and Runyankore/Rukiga phrase, “kulya sente” or “kurya sente”. Examples of this usage are given in the sentences below:

- (i) *Twino went to court to challenge Parliamentary “illegality” in accusing Museveni’s blue-eyed boys of **eating oil bribes***
- (ii) *Mukasa disappointed his parents; he **ate all the school fees***
- (iii) *Imagine I sent him to town to buy me new shoes but **he ate my money***
- (iv) *These freshly-graduated corporate girls know **how to eat cash!***

- Direct translation from indigenous language into English, e.g.

- (i) *(i) **It is wrong for one's wife to be with a lover outside***
- (ii) *traditionally married **as a second wife to another man**, says she didn't see a problem with that*
- (iii) *Prof Nsibambi as a prime minister, **he never went to radio to speak about the Speaker***
- (iv) *Slowly but surely, the dialogue evolves **from neighbour-neighbour to the entire village***

- Redundant use of to-infinitive, e.g.

- (i) *Thing is all about dotcom. Why **to worry** about him? I think it will fizzle out*
- (ii) *yet once someone accepts to get married, it **makes that person to accept** serving under the prevailing conditions*
- (iii) *Doing that can make your husband **to have** an excuse of outside sex*

Other peculiar Ugandan English expressions include:

- Overgeneralization of “opposites” e.g. *because that is trivial to base yourself on to start untrusting someone*

- Loan transfer e.g.

*With whatsapp you have to kuguma because your husband will not change.*

Peculiar constructions, e.g.

- (i) *My madam*, means the same as ‘my wife’, as in *My madam works for Bank of Uganda*
- (ii) *Put on*, means to ‘wear’, as in *She was putting a pretty floral dress*
- (iii) *Well be back*, means ‘welcome back’, as in *Well be back from Manafa*
  
- (iv) *Well done*, a pragmatic greeting, an aspect of a transfer feature that reflects the influence of indigenous languages on English

#### 4.4 Code-switching and indigenization

The following steps were taken to analyze the collected information in relation to code-switching data: The first was a general survey of the structures of code-switching and its distinct surface features. The second was making a data classification according to the different functions of code-switching. The third step was to analyze the data to verify whether every code-switching user is a ‘rational actor’, i.e.; for speakers, does code-switching reflect a goal to enhance interpersonal relations or gain material or psychological rewards to minimize costs? In this step, the naturally-occurring examples will be given with their settings specified; for fear that discussing language samples without placing them in the conversational structure from which they are drawn makes too many potentially informative features disappear. Additionally, the deep-

rooted reasons for code-switching are discussed based on the revised Markedness Model, i.e. rationality. The following example is a case in point.

The code-switching analysis done in this study, is based mainly on Myers-Scotton's revised Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001; Myers-Scotton 2002), attempting to prove that speakers are rational calculators when they switch codes. I will attempt to explain using evidence of code-switching from the Ugandan English Corpus what choice of code speakers make when they switch from English to their indigenous languages or vice versa, which begs the following questions: Do speakers usually consider which code offers them the greatest benefit by utilizing different functions of code-switching to realize what he thinks the best choice? What other choices do they make? What functions does the English-indigenous language code-switching bear in the communicative act? How do the code-switching users in the UgE corpus realize optimal rationality by utilizing the various code-switching functions, according to the revised Markedness Model? How does the revised Markedness Model play out in the code-switching instances in the UgE corpus? These questions speak to the model as described in the methodology chapter.

'Code' is widely regarded in the linguistic field as the synonym for language, and it can be used to refer to any kind of language system. So, in terms of Ugandan languages Luganda is a code. Rukiga is code, and so are all the 50+ indigenous languages in the country as discussed in Chapter 1. English, too, is a code. In this study, the term code mainly refers to the two linguistic systems: English and any of the local languages in Uganda. In the corpus, there are majorly four codes that are switched, viz: Luganda, Runyankole/Rukiga, a little Kiswahili, and English. Luganda is the majority language that is switched to or from, and is even used by speakers from other ethnic groups.

The Markedness Model, as indicated above, operates within Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame (MLF) theory, which is a production-based explanation for code-switching. It posits constraints on switches at the level of the mental lexicon (as opposed to that of the surface structure). The MLF theory holds that a code-switching speaker alternates between the Matrix Language (ML) and an Embedded Language (EL). The Matrix Language is the more active and more frequently-used language, which restricts the use of the Embedded Language. In the data, the frequently-used language or Matrix Language in the code-switches is the English Language. The Embedded Language was largely Luganda, but there few cases of Runyankole/Rukiga, and Kiswahili. Examples are given below and are also contained in Appendix B of this thesis.

#### *4.4.1 Analysis of Code-switching in the Corpus*

In order to classify the code-switching patterns found in the corpus data, I applied the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model (Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002) to all bilingual clauses contained in both the spoken and the written components of the Ugandan English corpus. The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model was selected as a means of classifying the data because it has been tested successfully in previous studies e.g. Welsh, English and Spanish data in previous studies (e.g. Deuchar, 2006; Deuchar & Davies, 2009; Davies & Deuchar, n.d.). For more on these studies, see Carter, Davies, Parafita Couto and Deuchar (2010). The Matrix Language Frame model posits that in code-switching, the status of the two languages being switched is not equal. There is a base or matrix language (ML), and an embedded language (EL). The matrix language supplies the morpho-syntactic frame for the clause and guides the morpho-syntactic construction of code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2003;

Carter et al. 2010; Parafita Couto et al. 2013), and the embedded language “provides a proposition to the content morphemes.” In view of this, the study sought to test the MLF model of code-switching with Ugandan English data to test if a matrix language could be clearly identified in bilingual clauses.

In this section, I analyse code-switched concordances in terms of their position in sentences, i.e. if they are inter-sentential or intra-sentential code-switches. I will also look at the function of the switched codes, and the motivation behind the occurrences of the code-switching and mixing in the conversations and radio/television talk-shows.

Code-switching analysis undertakes a quantitative analysis which gives an overview of code-switching in the entire Ugandan English corpus as suggested in this chapter. This part looks at how often the switches are made, into which languages the switches are made, and where in the corpus does that appear, how long the switches are, etc. The study will also do a qualitative analysis which will focus on the functions of code-switching in a part of the Ugandan English corpus.

The analysis was done in three major procedures:

1. Making a general survey of the structures of code-switching and a conclusion of its distinct surface features
2. Classification of the data according to their different functions of code-switching
3. Analysing the data to verify that every speaker that switches codes is a rational actor, that is to say; for speakers, code-switching reflects a goal to enhance interpersonal relations or gain material or psychological rewards and to minimize costs. In this step, examples from authentic texts in the corpus are hereby provided with their specified settings. The

following extract from NTV's programme, *Minibuzz* is a case in point. The code-switched expressions are in bold:

Kansiime: Where you talk about power, **tetuyina masanyalaze bill mpavu, amazi bannaye nga gali** expensive, **sukaali ng'eri** expensive, school fees. **Bannaye nga tubonyaabonye. Naye** as you complain, you are swallowing in a bar, leaving at 1:00 a.m. in the night. 1:00 a.m. or 6:00 a.m.? Even at 9:00 a.m., right now, you see someone staggering, have you been to Kabalagala. You see someone staggering out of a bar at 9:00 a.m. **gwe nga okedde** you are very early going to work. The guy is like, "peace *yooo...*" **naye** they are still complaining **nti** there is poverty. **Lwaki tukyakoola ebyo bannange?**

Man: **Ekiletedde ekyo** government.

Kansiime: Ehshhhh government **ekola omwenge?**

Man: First wait... Government... If we look at Rwanda, Rwanda is just a new country let me say a new country **yatandika wano mu 1995 okwekulakulanya.** 1996 around there 1995. **Naye** in Rwanda **tosobola kusanga muntu yenna nga anywa mwenge** during week days. **Omwenge gwa lwamukaga** and on Sunday, only. Bars, they are supposed to be open on weekends only. **Naye** Uganda **bakugamba buli lunnaku nti omuntu ayina eddembe lye kati ebiseela sente zafuna sente zanywa.** Imagine such a person **afanana bwatyo annajjawa sente ezo kwe kulakulanya?**

Woman: Mulimu bana mukadde nabo hmmm nabo abagunywa olwensonga nti **they have nagging wives.**

Brian: Nagging wives **nabo** they lead men to the bar.

(extract from Lifestyle 01 – see Appendix B)

The matrix language of the conversation above is English. But then speakers switched to Luganda several times. In the same conversation, there is a case when a speaker began in Luganda, but switched to English. And yet in another, it was all a mixture of inter-sentential code-switching all through. Obviously the speakers do not switch to index a new rights and obligations set as Myers-Scotton claims. Then why did he switch?

First, some of the switches here bear the function of quotation. Second, by employing code-switching here, the speakers successfully reached their goals for authenticity and vividness. They did this because their experiences and beliefs tell them that quotation is a good way to restore what happened vividly and at the same time to make listeners believe what happened. Therefore, the force behind code-switching is rationality, i.e. despite the objective constraints such as gender, social status and ethnic group, code-switching users in the extract above switched from English to Luganda or vice versa because they considered which code offered them the greatest benefit.

#### *4.4.2 Structural forms of English-Luganda/Rukiga/Swahili Code-switching*

There are usually three forms of code-switching as indicated in detail in Chapter 2, namely; code-switching as intra-sentential code-switching and inter-sentential code-switching. The number of both of these two kinds of code-switching is huge in the corpus (Thomason 2001; Gardner-Chloros 2009).

##### *4.4.2.1 Intra-sentential code-switching*

Three kinds of intra-sentential code-switching are found in the corpus: morpheme switching, word switching and phrase switching. The following are the examples of the first kind of intra-sentential code-switching, i.e. morpheme switching.

1. Bwoba ng'amaka oga controllinga bulungi, omukyala tayinza kuyomba buuli lwoddayo, aba akwetaga... (*if you control your home/family matters well, your wife cannot quarrel [with you] and each time you go back [home] she will be in need of you*)
2. Amaka, ekyyo kisinziila omuntu a controllinga atya amaaka ge (*the home, it [all] depends on how one is controlling his home*)
3. Buli lwoba omissinga, aba awulila bubu. (*each time you are missing, she is feeling bad*)

(extract from Lifestyle 01 – see Appendix B)

In examples (1–2), at morphological level, the suffix **-a** is used in a productive word-building process by attaching the English word *control* to the suffix **-a** to denote the action 'is controlling'. In example (3), the same principle is used on the word *missing*. However, in this very example, the word 'missing' is prefixed with **-o** and suffixed with **-a**. Thus, the structure for *omissinga* is you + miss + ing = you are missing. The morpheme switching and embedding of the indigenous language structure into the English words makes the conversation very innovative, which is the heart of this study – innovations in the Ugandan English.

The second kind of intra-sentential code-switching is word code-switching. In examples (4–7) the speakers directly insert some words in their sentences, including nouns, verbs, adverbs/intensifiers.

4. Kansiime: Is there one word for bride price? **Olaba**? (Is there one word for bride price? [Do] you see?).

Here the word that is code-switched is the verb phrase.

5. Woman: what I was saying is that if you have agreed and you have loved the girl and you feel like you have something to appreciate the parents,

why should the parents come and say, “no, **sasula** this amount”? (*sasula* = [you] pay).

The code-switched word is a verb.

6. Man: era mba nina obisasula kuba ye **culture** yaffe (Indeed I would be compelled to pay it [bride price] because it is [our] culture).

The code-switched word in (6) is a noun.

7. Woman: **Of course** aba ayina obisasula ne basanyusa abazadde bange kyokka ate nze okubisasula... kati bwe baba tebayina nte nga bava wala kati nga eno Buganda, basobola okwata sente ezibalilwa mu nte ezo ze baba basabye ne bagamba tuzitute. (*Of course he is required to pay it [bride price] so they can please my parents, but then for me to pay... now, if they don't have cattle and they are from far like here in Buganda, they can get convert the going price for cows and pay cash [instead]*).

In (7) the speaker began with an English word of course, which is an adverb intensifier but switched to Luganda language for the rest of the conversation.

The third kind of intra-sentential code-switching is phrase switching. Examples (8–9) show switching from English to Luganda and example (10) is from Luganda to English.

8. Brian: This morning we are going to talk about making a will.  
**Okukola ekilaamo.**

9. Woman: I come from a family **ey'abaana banji**, my parents see to it that we have everything that we want so no man comes out of the blue and just takes me for nothing, for free.

10. Kansiime: Akya ku studyinga **after two years**, muli kuki?

#### 4.4.2.2 *Intersentential code-switching*

In Intersentential code switching, the language switch is done at sentence boundaries or between the sentences. As a result one sentence or a part of a sentence can occur in one language and the part that follows in a different one as shown in the following examples in the corpus.

11. Kansiime: Mhmm you... you don't want your daughter to get married like that, **mbu maama ekyo kileke?**
12. Woman: Waliwo saying egamba, **never judge a book by its cover.** Nyinza okuba nga nfanana buubi naye nga munda ekilimu, malayika yenyini.

*(extract from Lifestyle 05 – see Appendix B)*

There were more intersentential code-switching cases in the corpus, compared to intra-sentential code-switching that was presented in the previous section. More examples can be found in Appendix B.

### 4.5 **Sociolinguistic Analysis of Code-switching**

In doing a structural analysis of code-switching, it is easy to notice that certain grammatical conditions can influence particular characteristics regarding where and how code-switching occurs. However, a pertinent question here is: why does anyone have to code-switch in the first place? A language user is faced with plenty of linguistic environments and linguistic situations, including numerous ways in which s/he can use language. Some studies have been done to investigate what influences speech patterns and what role those linguistic choices may play. In contrast to the structural analysis, the potential functions that monolingual discourse and code-switching can perform have proven to be

fundamentally the same (Curc6, 2005). However, code-switching brings with it an interesting dimension of the speaker's ability to alternate between different languages. As indicated above, these influences include a speaker's choice of words, particularly when that choice involves a switch in languages. A sociolinguistic analysis therefore aims to answer these questions.

Research with a sociolinguistic perspective also supports the fact that code-switching is not random; nor is it, in general, a sign of linguistic incompetence (see Poplack, 1980; Losey, 2009) or even a lazy way of using language. Whereas some speakers resort to code-switching to access vocabulary that they lack in the other language, there is no sufficient explanation as to why many people, including the most proficient bilinguals keep on switching codes.

The following section is dedicated to the influential literature on sociolinguistics of code-switching. It begins with the distinction between macro and micro perspectives, and is followed by a couple of examples that demonstrate extreme cases of either of those perspectives. Another model, the Markedness Model, is then discussed, and is representative of a macro/micro approach where both the society and individual play significant roles in the influences and functions of code-switching.

#### *4.5.1 Macro vs. Micro approaches to Code-switching*

Approaches to code-switching research fall on a continuum of macro (societal) vs. micro (individual communications). The macro-sociolinguistic approach views code-switching as a collective speech. Some scholars (e.g., Fishman, 1972) argue that the best way to study the factors that influence code-switching and the functions it serves is by looking at the larger societal context. Thus, a macro-view approach is more general and perceives society, societal

along with its norms and values as what gives meaning to the language choices made by individuals. However, other scholars (e.g., Auer, 1988; Blom & Gumperz, 1972/2000; Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz & Hymes, 1986), maintain that truly understanding the underpinnings of code-switching requires analysing the particular conversation and the individuals contributing to the discourse. A micro-view approach does not regard the external factors as of primary importance; instead, it focuses on the speakers themselves as being the source from which meaning in code-switching is derived. Both extremes downplay the significance of the other, but to fully understand code-switching, the individual (language user's choice) and the greater society must both be taken into account to some degree. Whereas macro-level approaches regard external, societal categories and norms as decisive factors that give meaning to individuals' language choices, micro-level approaches emphasize that the speakers themselves give meaning to their language choices since they attempt to realize particular communicative needs through code switching. In other words, researchers who employ a macro-level perspective regard code-switching within more general patterns of language choice in a bilingual or multilingual community whereas those who follow a micro-level approach describe the specific functions of switches within the discourse itself. Briefly speaking, both approaches place a different emphasis at exploring code switching (Nguyen 2009).

#### *4.5.2 Situational and Metaphorical Code-switching*

Blom and Gumperz (1972/2000), pioneers in the study of code-switching, observed that the selection of distinct codes was constrained by social events which are defined in terms of participants and setting. More particularly, they noted that code-switching was triggered in general by a "shift in topic and in

other extralinguistic context markers that characterize the situation” (Gumperz 1982: 98, cited in Nguyen 2009). Just like Fishman (1972), Blom and Gumperz (2000) observed that topics, interlocutors, and settings all play important roles in language choice. However, they significantly differ in the way they look at the relationship of those factors and how meaning is derived (Nguyen 2008). Blom and Gumperz’s (1972/2000) interactional theories take a micro-perspective; the language and interaction of the interlocutors create the social meaning. This is in contrast to Fishman’s theory (1972), which is macro, as the domains are responsible for determining the meaning behind code-switching.

Blom and Gumperz (1972/2000) coined the phrases *situational code switching* and *metaphorical code switching*. Much like Fishman’s (1972) theory, situational code switching is a pattern of code-switching in which the switches between languages are linked to the social situation – such that one could deem (though not necessarily consciously) a particular language as more appropriate than another for a certain activity according to societal norm. Unlike Fishman’s (1972) model, though, the interlocutors choose to switch in order to play an active role in “redefining each other’s rights and obligations” (Boztepe, 2003:11). The interlocutors, in effect, define the social situation (Gumperz & Hymes, 1986). Politicians from a minority group, for instance, may engage in situational code-switching when they are standing in front of their constituents giving a speech. First they may use the language of the majority to command the respect and prestige it affords, but then switch to the ethnic language in order to stimulate conversation, questions, and gain rapport. This type of code-switching usually is intersentential rather than intrasentential (Blom & Gumperz, 1972/2000). It marks a distinct shift of the social situation as opposed to a quick allusion to different relationships among the speakers.

Metaphorical switching takes place in one particular domain, which results in a language being used in a domain where it would not generally be

used. The switch often involves a change in topic, but it does not redefine the rights and obligations of the interlocutors. If classmates of Spanish origin are sitting around a table at a university in the US watching the World Cup, they are likely to banter about soccer in Spanish. When the conversation shifts to academia, they may engage in English instead though their domain of friendship has not changed. The shift in languages could be attributed to the availability of lexemes in a language for a specific topic (e.g., Bhatt & Chengappa, 2005). For example, the speakers' breadth and depth in soccer vocabulary may be more extensive in Spanish. Therefore, for the most effective communication, Spanish may be chosen. It could also be used to allude to various relationships the speakers possess (Blom & Gumperz, 1972). As in the previous soccer example, the switching may be to reflect solidarity among the group, as soccer often plays a role in national pride. In any case, the speaker seeks to "achieve a special communicative effect to convey meaning" (Nguyen, 2008:29) by switching within the same social situation.

#### 4.5.3 Gumperz: Conversational Code-switching: 'We-Code' and 'They-Code'

In later work, Gumperz (1982) advanced another term, *conversational code-switching*. Believing code-switching to be more complex, conscious, and deliberate than what situational and metaphorical patterns allow for, he notes six discourse functions of conversational code-switching:

1. Quotations
2. Addressee Specification
3. Interjections
4. Reiteration
5. Message Qualification
6. Personalization versus Objectivization

Boztepe (2005) provides working definitions of each of these discourse functions. The first function of quotations refers to the use of code-switching in

order to quote something that was originally stated in another language. Addressee specification in code-switching specifies to whom a message is directed among those present in a conversation. Interjections are not grammatically necessary, but are words or phrases a speaker inserts as sentence fillers, such as *like* or *um* in English. Reiteration, or the repeating of the message in another language, may be used as clarification or to perform a speech act including convincing or persuading someone. Message qualification expands upon a previous statement that might be better understood or emphasized in a different code. Personalization versus Objectivization refers to the use of one code for more subjective remarks (personalization) which reflects personal opinion and another for objective comments or observations (objectivization). Personalization versus Objectivization shows the speaker's closeness to and authority regarding the message.

According to Gumperz (1982), these language switches are frequently code for a deep-seated desire to identify with a specific community, often an ethnic group, and set themselves apart from the majority. Use of what he calls the "we code", typically the majority language, and "they code", the ethnic language, are reflective of this reality. This idea of the we/they code, solidarity, and power relations will be revisited in a later section.

A criticism of conversational code-switching's six functions is that they are too descriptive and have no significant social meaning. As in the case of addressee specification, one might argue that nothing is accomplished and therefore it is a weak case for a major function. Still, Gumperz (1982) demonstrates his emphasis on the interlocutors and their motivations for code-switching as opposed to a society-based, or macro-perspective (Nguyen, 2008).

Finally, Gumperz's (1982) most influential contributions on code-switching models is worth mentioning. The concept of code-switching serving as a *contextualization cue* is central to Gumperz's (1982:131) interactional

theories, where a contextualization cue is “any feature form that contributes to the signalling of contextual presuppositions.” In other words, Gumperz suggests that code-switching is used, along with other devices (i.e., tone, non-verbals), for deliberately marking speech “to activate and retrieve the necessary background knowledge base so that a contextually appropriate process of inference can take place” (Wilson, 2004:2). For example, someone may switch from English to a language in which verb forms delineate formal and informal relationships. The code switch then provides that context for those participating to make the proper inferences. The concept of contextualization cues has contributed to developments of other models for code-switching such as Peter Auer’s Conversational Analysis (Auer, 1988; Boztepe, 2005), which is discussed in the next section.

#### **4.5 Other Sociolinguistic Patterns/Forms and their Functions**

There are many studies in code-switching that draw from the previously mentioned research and, in turn, produce useful data from observing and examining specific factors such as situations and interlocutors. These help to paint a more detailed picture of why code-switching occurs than what is portrayed through a model/theory designed for universal application. The following is a sampling of reports that include these unique perspectives of the sociolinguistics of code-switching.

Valdés (1976, as cited in Davidiak, 2010) produced a list of patterns in code-switching along with their definitions. Table 4 presents these twelve patterns, which provide a unique look at some forms and functions of code-switching based on a case study – admittedly a limited sample – of a 24 year old Spanish/English bilingual. While some of them are descriptive and may not get

into the core motivations and influences, it is beneficial to note the complexity of code-switching that surfaces even through the speech of one individual.

**Table 4**

*Valdés principal code switching patterns* (Valdés, 1976, as cited in Davidiak, 2010)

<i>Pattern</i>	<i>Definition</i>
1. Situational switches	Relating to social role of speakers
2. Contextual switches	Situation, topic, etc. are linked to the other language
3. Triggered switches	Switches due to preceding or following item
4. Switching of isolated items	<i>Lexical need?</i>
5. Identity markers	Stress in-group membership
6. Preformulations	Linguistic routines
7. Discourse markers	<i>Filler words, for example: But, and, of course, etc.</i>
8. Metaphorical switches	Obvious stylistic device – used for emphasis or contrast
9. Proper nouns	
10. Quotations and paraphrases	(May be contextual or non-contextual)
11. Sequential responses	Speakers use language last used (following suit)
12. Symmetrical switches	Blend and proportion of language alternation is made to resemble that of other speakers

While in some cases one specific pattern adequately describes a switch, at times several pattern classifications are needed to classify a code-switch.

#### *4.5.1 Social and Pragmatic Aspects of Code Switching*

The following section deals with issues most relevant to this study: the social and pragmatic factors that motivate a trilingual speaker to produce mixed utterances. These have been discussed from different angles and at different times, thus the concept of code switching has developed gradually from being viewed as a sign of deficient acquisition in each language to being valued as a sign of language development and possibly even a sign of expressive and pragmatic abilities beyond those of monolingual speakers.

#### *4.6.3 Code-switching as a coping strategy*

MacSwan (1999) states that code-switching may be perceived as a coping strategy for dealing with certain communicative deficiencies in one or both languages involved. In earlier studies, these perceived deficiencies were referred to as *semilingualism* (Cummins and Miramonte, 1989, in MacSwan, 1999). *Semilingualism* was considered to be a state in which a bilingual may lack linguistic competence for some or all languages in his or her repertoire. This was often taken as the reason for the low academic achievement of many multilingual children (Milroy and Muysken, 1995, Tokuhama-Espinoza, 2003). This term was applied exclusively to ethnic minorities and never to the speakers of the mainstream language (Wei, 2000), and therefore had clear nationalistic overtones; however, it was a common view until about the 1980s when it received massive criticism (Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1985; Poplack 1980;)

for both the faulty terminology (implying that the speaker has less than one language at his/her disposal, when in fact it is two language systems that differed from either of the monolingual equivalents) and the stigmatized view it imposed on the speakers of minority languages. According to MacSwan (1999:249), "If teachers believe that code switching relates to an inherent disability in children which might be remedied with sufficient instruction, then the children's perceptions of their own "natural abilities" as severely limited, conveyed by classroom teachers, will impact upon their success in school." The lower academic level of the children in question was more likely attributable to a general lower social and educational level of the families from immigrant communities and other socioeconomic factors. The 1997 study by Valadez, MacSwan and Martínez which assessed the performance of three low-achieving children showed that they possessed a grammar that was virtually indistinguishable from the default grammar of the control group, providing evidence that code switching in these cases can be attributed to something other than a so-called grammatical incompleteness. This provides evidence for the fact that code switching in these cases can be attributed to something other than an incomplete grammar.

Poplack (1980), on the basis of her study of mixed utterances in the speech of English-Spanish bilinguals, was among the first to proclaim that this phenomenon is not a sign of language deficiencies, but rather signals normal development in a bilingual child: "Code switching, then, rather than representing deviant behavior, is actually a suggestive indicator of degree of bilingual competence" (p. 73). MacSwan (1999:22) shares this point of view, stating that "code switchers have the same grammatical competence as monolinguals for the language they use", and therefore, in cases when they mix elements of two languages, this cannot be attributed to an undeveloped system in either of them, nor is it caused by interlinguistic confusion (Goodz, 19894).

Wei (1998) makes a similar statement adding the issue of cultural identity expressed in each particular language: “code-switching, far from being caused by an insufficient competence in one of the two languages, and besides expressing a double cultural identity works as a communicative strategy used for a variety of purposes, related either to the negotiation of the language of interaction or to the organization of conversational activities” (p. 207). Bilingual children develop separate language systems from the beginning and are able to use the developing languages in ways appropriate to the context (Genesee, 1989). The current studies in child multilingualism, such as Cruz-Ferreira (2006), show that, given the opportunity for successful intellectual and linguistic development, multilingual children equal, if not exceed, their monolingual peers in academic achievement.

Another question is whether code switches are caused by lexical deficiencies. This may seem like a plausible explanation; even if bilingual speakers possess fully-fledged grammatical systems in each language, they may lack certain lexical units they need for expressing their ideas. However, studies dated as early as 1960s and 1970s (Clyne, 1967; Hasselmo, 1970, in Lipski, 1978; Lance, 1975,) show that code switching cannot be accounted for by a lack of lexical availability alone. Cruz-Ferreira (2006) and Rothman and Niño-Murcia (2008), among others, present data on trilingual siblings which show that the switches between languages were not necessarily caused by a lack of available synonyms in the children’s vocabulary; in fact, the children in Rothman and Niño-Murcia’s study often used the appropriate terms from two languages interchangeably within the same context. What still remains open is the question of whether these switches are caused by some type of language distribution where the children tend to assign the term in a specific language to a specific context or interlocutor.

Finally, it is important to mention that although code-switching per se is not a sign of a lack of fluency, it may in some cases be a sign of a decrease in competence, namely language attrition. Seliger (1996) states that mixing “can be considered a precursor sign of primary language attrition when mixing begins to occur in contexts that are not motivated by external factors such as interlocutor, topic, or cultural environment” (p. 613). Bolonyai (1998, 2009) found changes in both the amount and structure of code switching as her child participants gradually become English-dominant and their use of Hungarian decreased. They started to produce more intransentential switches than intersentential ones, and the grammatical structure of these utterances became increasingly English-based (c.f. *matrix language* above). Visits to Hungary, however, provoked a temporary reversal of these processes along with the temporary reversal of the process of language attrition.

#### **4.6 Summary**

In this chapter an extensive analysis of code-switching has been undertaken in order to show how Ugandan English has been transformed through various linguistic means. Although examples are given from various sociolinguistic studies, the emphasis is on data captured via the Ugandan media, though many of the indigenized examples mentioned may be taken as universally used in Uganda.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Concluding Remarks**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This study explored the effect of Uganda's indigenous language on the English language. It utilized corpus data to assist in the survey and took a sociolinguistic approach to language variation and change. It considered how contact between English language and the indigenous languages of Uganda have shaped the quality of current day English. The corpus that was constructed for analysis in this thesis comprised data that was collected and investigated using sociolinguistic approaches used to describe language variation and change.

#### **5.1 Findings**

The goals of this study was (i) to investigate some of the characteristic linguistic features prevalent in Ugandan English, (ii) to examine the role that the indigenous languages of Uganda have played in shaping the development of the Ugandan variety of English (iii) to document and analyse the features in the indigenous languages of Uganda that contribute to language variation and change (iv) to provide a language variation account of the use of words loaned from the indigenous languages of Uganda to Ugandan English (v) to find out the most dominant indigenous language features that are "imported" into Ugandan English and what types of transfer patterns occur (vi) to contribute to the body of knowledge of language research in the field of African Languages in general and Ugandan English in particular.

To address these goals, a corpus of Ugandan English was constructed comprising media texts to investigate peculiarities of Ugandan English, namely; the features of Ugandan English grammar which are influenced by the indigenous languages. The corpus texts were analysed to identify innovations in Ugandan English, where the BNC was used as a control corpus.

Evidence from the Corpus of Ugandan English showed that indigenous languages of Uganda have a significant influence on the English language variety spoken in the country, and that a large part of English bilingual speakers cannot speak English without transferring the features from their mother tongue, including switching and mixing codes.

Chapter one gave a synopsis of the study, 'The influence of indigenous language on Ugandan English as used in the media'.

Chapter 2 gave an overview of the major models and theoretical underpinnings of language in contact situations and how it behaves in those contact situations, resulting in language interference, variation and change. It also reviewed prominent models of World Englishes, and discussed the historical focus of postcolonial Englishes research and the focus on varieties of English.

Chapter 3 dealt with the techniques and methodology used in this study. Corpus Linguistics was introduced as the major methodology for analysis. A detailed description of the procedures followed in data collection and the techniques used to construct the corpus of Ugandan English were given. Data analysis procedures were then described.

Chapter 4 presented and discussed the results of the study, where corpus data was examined and innovative patterns in the grammar of Ugandan English uncovered. The analysis is conducted by analysing code-switched data, and language analysis on the lexical-semantic as well as grammatical levels.

## 5.2 Further summary of findings

The specific research questions that were addressed in this study are given here again, for easy reference:

1. What role do the indigenous languages of Uganda play in shaping the development of Ugandan English?
2. Which features of indigenous languages contribute to language variation and change?
3. Which words are borrowed from the indigenous languages of Uganda to the English language?
4. Which are the most dominant indigenous language features that are “imported” into Ugandan English? And which features are used as uniquely Ugandan English? What types of transfer patterns occur?

This study began by examining the distinctive features in Ugandan English as outcomes of a language contact situation. Bilingualism is the prime example of language contact. We also saw that contact and interaction between the English language and the indigenous languages of Uganda led to interference in all aspects of language, a phenomenon that has also led to code-switching.

An analysis of the English language usage in the Ugandan English corpus proved it was rooted in both global and local circumstances, including sociocultural perspectives common to New or World Englishes. I demonstrated how language in contact situations structurally impacts the overall shape of the new language product. Therefore, to understand language variation and change in a global variety of English, it is important to explore and analyse local language structures and how they shape both the patterns of language use as

well as the variability in the English language variety in Uganda. In addition, this study highlighted the complexity of bilingual speech communities in terms of patterns of language use.

The data for this study also revealed that Ugandan speakers of English make frequent use of discourse markers such as ‘eeh’, ‘oh/ooh’, ‘eish’, ‘wooh’, for various functions. Concerning the use of English articles, the findings revealed that the speakers apply the standard rules erratically, sometimes using the indefinite article instead of the definite, and sometimes applying zero article.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that speakers of Ugandan English code-mix and code-switch, embedding from their indigenous languages for various conversational purposes. The data also suggest that marked UgE word orders are a frequent occurrence as well as sometimes being idiosyncratic. In the code-switching, the changes were more explicit at the lexical level, where incorporation of mainly Luganda lexical items into the English language discourse and vice versa, were prevalent. Results revealed more intersentential code-switching than intra- and tag-switching. The most frequent tag switches were “eeh” and “oh”. The reasons for which speakers switched or mixed codes were varied, ranging from a show of solidarity with the listener, to situational, i.e. in cases where the addressee or the conversational topic played an important role concerning language choice, to filling a lexical gap. Accordingly, because of the increasing cultural diversity associated to the Language Contact phenomenon and the resultant new varieties of English, contact phenomena such as code-switching are no longer considered as “deficient language use, but as independent discourse modes which require high linguistic proficiency and which serve as discourse markers to express a multiple ethnic identity” (Pronold: 19).

### 5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen that languages change when they are in contact and that in the course of this interaction, the particular languages in contact influence one another and bring about a number of linguistic outcomes which include creating a richer lexicon through borrowing and loaning; and a more dynamic speech code through code-switching and code-mixing. It also brings about a restructured English language [the Ugandan English] that has been largely influenced by the pronunciation patterns and grammar of the indigenous languages (cf. Winford 2005, 2007; Schneider 2000).

By and large, Ugandan English has adopted many features from the indigenous languages of Uganda, particularly Luganda language. The transferred features are most prominent in the phonological and lexical aspects. This study presented an account of some of the innovative ways in which Ugandan English is used and the influences that indigenous languages of Uganda bring into that English variety. The thesis discussed distinctive features of Ugandan English. Further it showed a somewhat different usage of some prepositions to convey certain meanings, where in Standard English it would be seen as incorrect, however, a taking a closer look at the Indigenous language system explains such treatment of the prepositions. In addition, the thesis clarified the overuse of the definite article, the substitution of the definite article with the indefinite article, and the article deletion. The thesis then exposed how Ugandan bilingual speakers of English talk using a lot of code-switching and code-mixing and also made a case for acceptability of Ugandan English as a

variety of English in its own right, rather than being referred to as ‘non-standard’ or ‘sub-standard’ English. In sum, indigenous languages of Uganda have had a lasting influence on Ugandan English.

The results of the study highlight the dominance of some of the indigenous language structures in the English language variety in Uganda. It can be concluded that English as it is realised in Uganda qualifies to be regarded as a global, indigenised variety, independent in its own right. In referring to the models of World Englishes, Ugandan English as a postcolonial English joins a host of other World Englishes whose numbers nor out-number the native English speakers by leaps and bounds. David Crystal (2003: 3204) in writing about the future of English as a global language had this to say:

...it is just as likely that the course of the English language is going to be influenced by those who speak it as a second or foreign language as by those who speak it as a mother-tongue. Fashions count, in language, as anywhere else. And fashions are a function of numbers.

More importantly, evidence from the data suggests that language dominance plays an important role in language variation and change. In the case of this study, Luganda is the dominant indigenous language. The data exhibited a large percentage of Luganda use in most of the code-switches and mixes, as well as lexical and grammatical transfers, as evidenced in the appendices.

## APPENDIX ONE

### Lexical Transfer

Sample of concordances showing patterns of language use taken from the Uganda English corpus.

#### **Kwanjula [Traditional marriage introduction ceremony]**

##### **N Concordance**

- 1 whatever ... and how dare be second in line to **kwanjula**...perhaps the gomesi will be
- 2 catch is better. Please call off the wedding and **kwanjula**. You S.O.B (son of a bitch)
- 3 plus the co-wife. Uno: how sure is she, about the **kwanjula** promise. It could turn into
- 4 only wanted a gomesi but was promised a **kwanjula** by the husband plus the co-wife.
- 5 you are going to introduce come aware of this, your **kwanjula** will be in a mess and
- 6 your heart, Get your mind straight and focus on **kwanjula**. Manchester: Moses you
- 7 etely in a woman. But at least she made it to the **kwanjula** and wished her wife well.
- 8 had not yet visited my co-wife's home, I gave the **kwanjula** proposal a go-ahead.

9 was conceived. Although we have not yet held a **kwanjula**, he has been to my parents'

10 him to her parents. That is how the idea of the **kwanjula** was conceived. Although we

11 kibuuka's too, next year. I am now waiting for my **kwanjula**, says Nakibuuka I have no

12 Gomesi which would not embarrass her at Nambassa's **kwanjula**. My only problem

13 other owns. We reached a decision to hold a **kwanjula** for Nambassa after a discussion

14 to choose any month next year for them to hold a **kwanjula** and a wedding. What

15 fore he was identified by his in-laws. After the **kwanjula**, Mpiima and Nambassa were

16 is uncommon for a man's wife to go with him for a **kwanjula** of her co-wife,

17 he banker, who is 28 years old, about my upcoming **kwanjula** and wedding. She said I

18 the younger one. This year, he decided to have a **kwanjula** ceremony. Many thought

19 one of the ministries in Uganda and I'm set for **kwanjula** next month and the wedding

20 How a man made it with two wives at his **kwanjula** He has been married for 12 years.

### **Gomesi [traditional garb for women]**

#### **N Concordance**

1 dare be second in line to kwanjula...perhaps the **gomesi** will be her consolation for

2 vital assets. CK: Yes, she not wanted only wanted a **gomesi** but was promised a  
by

3 se, whether, how and when ...all she wanted was a **gomesi** which is a vital  
asset. CK,

4 only condition she put for me was to provide her a **gomesi** which would not  
embarrass

### **Mbu [that/so I hear]**

#### **N Concordance**

1 crazy world with crazy people like this 35yrs **mbu** young and not even a teen.  
Arrrghh

2 and asked me to abort, citing financial challenges **mbu** his friends have  
investments to

3 abolition of the death penalty? This fellow **mbu** kikaawa or kawa or kakawa  
deserves

4 continue wasting peoples' time with silly games **mbu** trials, witnesses etc. and  
yet it's

5 come back, you know men never get satisfied. Hmmm **mbu** they have a high  
libido.

6 malaya coz she is used to telling people to hurry **mbu** their money is over so  
brother it's

7 for you. Okollong: Naye gwe? You already know **mbu** the guy is married. Just  
distance

8 cause you aren't meant to be with that guy. Kubo: **mbu** need help! You got  
arms, legs,

9 to help you when it comes to sex. Halimah: Lol! **mbu** try to be quick! Anyway  
sorry

10 And remember not to keep it on your mouth **mbu** you need it, It is possible that  
he is

11 everything; stop fooling people Ssalongo: **Mbu** I know my mother! Sempa:  
Gwe don't

12 don't you want your daughter to get married like that **mbu** maama ekyo kileke.

**Kabaka** [King of Buganda Kingdom]

## **N Concordance**

1 Andrew Cohen sent him into exile, returning in 1955. **Kabaka** Mutesa II raised  
the

2 Kiwanuka power. The marriage did not last long. All **Kabaka** Yekka Members  
of

3 riots that broke out after government blocked **Kabaka** Ronald Mutebi from  
travelling

4 end of 19th Century. He ended up being deported. **Kabaka** Daudi Chwa did  
likewise

5 for supper otherwise Museveni scored on ebyaffe, **Kabaka** action humiliated  
Semujju

6 Government, Buganda went into Plan B - that is, **Kabaka** Yekka party whose  
sole aim

7 is the king of the most populous kingdom, **Kabaka** Mutebi will stay influential  
both in

8 Before she was a queen, before she even met **Kabaka** Mutebi who would be  
her

9 Last Saturday at the 58th birthday celebration of **Kabaka** Ronald Muwenda  
Mutebi II,

10 David Kintu Wasajja, the younger brother of **Kabaka** Ronald Muwenda  
Mutebi II

11 attendance of the 20th coronation anniversary of **Kabaka** Ronald Muwenda  
Mutebi. Mr

## **BODA BODA [Motorcycle taxi]**

### **N Concordance**

- 1 looks too new to have been standing in the 70s. A **boda boda** rider nearby confirms it
- 2 places on the continent. The other night a **boda boda** operator lay dead along Kiira
- 3 mess, starting with the state of roads, garbage, boda boda and taxi chaos. The central s
- 4 boda boda? Ka business ko katini nyo. Oyina ka **boda boda** ko, it brings in at least 700
- 5 by onlookers, and a couple of policemen. Other **boda boda** riders continued with
- 6 elyo kye kintu ekikukulu. Kansiime: What if oyina **boda boda**? Ka business ko katini
- 7 were still searching for the body of an unknown **boda boda** cyclist who is said to have
- 8 it is. I mean I and you, Professors, MPs, Voters, **boda boda** riders, a village woman

## APPENDIX TWO

### Code-switching

#### *Minibuzz Topic – Making a will*

**Brian:** This morning we are going to talk about making a will. *Okukola ekilamo. Okukola eddame.*

**Kansiime:** Me I fear those things

**Brian:** Otya okukola eddame?

**Kansiime:** It be's as if I am old.

**Brian:** Eh, it be's as if you are old? Okay, *twagala kubuuza abantu be Luzira, mumanyi okoola eddame, ani yali alikoze ko? Balikola batya bwoba wali olikoze ko.* What is involved in making a will?

**Kansiime:** Do you think it is necessary to make a will?

**Brian:** In Uganda, do you think its necessary to make a will? *Njagala mbabuzze*, yes?

**Woman:** it is, yes its necessary.

**Brian:** Why?

**Woman:** actually it depends on what are you? If you have a family oba you have a lot of properties there its necessary naye for me, I can't make a will, now for what?

**Brian:** Why do you say you can't make a will?

**Woman:** Now for what?

**Another woman:** You find a lot of people have properties and their kids are young so uuhm again maybe they have a lot of relatives if you don't make a will like you leave your things to the children, you find that these other big people take your properties and then leave your children to suffer.

**Brian:** Ani yali akoze ekilamo, muzeeyi wali okoze will? Oba wali olabyeko kukilamo?

**Man:** Oyinza okoola ekilamo nga toyina kyolina? Era okoola ekilaamo when you have something.

**Woman:** In case *oyinza okuba nga oyina abaana, ate nga abaana mubutuufu olabila ddala nti wakili obalekelayo akapale na kasati*. Then you say I have left this kapale for child A... and a shirt to child B... *Naye kilungi okukola ekilamo*. It's good.

**Man:** Bwemba nina ebintu nga siyina baana nkoola ekilamo *so that I don't...* sikoola kilamo...

**Woman:** Kilungi okoola ekilamo kubanga kumwe abasajja abakazzi babasiba abaana nokitegera no lama notekamu nti *child so and so in not mine*, so waliyo abaana abafuna ebyo bwelele nga simwana wo.

**Brian:** Boss...do you think a will is important in Uganda, really?

### ***Minibuzz Topic – Bride Price***

**Brian:** Now today, we are going to talk about something very interesting, *abe Kiwatule, ndaba mu abasajja abaato, abawala abaato. Twabadde wali kuu stage nga tulaba actually boyfriend we amuganye okujja mu taxi*. But the question is really, you have found her, you love her, you want to marry her. *Ng'omuwala omumatidde, naye waliwo ka step kamu koyina okubuuka* bride price

**Kansiime:** Enjugano

**Brian:** Enjugano..*eh that bride price...*

**Kansiime:** Bride price *mu Luganda bagiyita batya?* Is there one word for bride price? Olaba?

**Woman:** Bo tebayina *bride price*, bawaayo omuchere, simanya bawaayo nyama, nyanya

**Kansiime:** Babiyita ki?

**Male:** Ate omutwalo kye kiki? *Isn't it bride price?*

**Brian:** bakusasulilako ebilabo? ...tebanaba

**Woman:** tebanaba...

**Brian and Kansiime:** tebanaba naye bajja bisasula. Do you want them paid?

**Woman:** They must! *Batekwa obisasula;*

**Brian:** First wait, *njagala eyali asasudde kubalabo atubulile biki bye ya sasula.*

**Male:** era mba nina obisasula kuba ye *culture* yaffe

**Brian:** kati mukwano lwaki ogamba nti ayina obisasula.

**Woman:** Of course *aba ayina obisasula ne basanyusa abazadde bange kyokka ate nze okubisasula, kati bwe baba tebayina nte nga baava waala kati nga eno Buganda*, they can convert it into money.

**Brian:** Naye mbadde ndowooza bakusanyusa, basanyusa bazadde bo nga bakutute..

**Woman:** Of course *basanyusa bazadde bange nabo bwe baba basanyusa, bayina okungula.*

**Another woman:** tebasooka neba kutwalila bwelele?

**Woman:** They can't take me for free, *baba bagamba nti ate kati tuyina okumusanyusa netuwelezayo abazadde be ekilabo, nga basimye nga bagamba nti yii bambi ne bwemba nkutwalila bwelele* nomanya nti kati mbela ne mwami wange agamba nti omukyala wange bambi ansanyusiza muzaddemu abaana

**Kansiime:** Ab'asiimye....

**Woman:** Eh ab'asiimye nagamba nti tugende ko e Mbarara tutwaleyo akasiimo...

**Brian:** Okiwankanya mu seebo

**Man:** Nze ngamba kyandibadde kilungi, okusasula omukazi nga omazze omwetegereza ebanga lwobela omazze naye

**Woman:** Anti kyekyo kyembadde ngamba...

**Brian:** Oyagala banga ki elwomwetegereza?

**Man:** Abakazi...

**Kansiime:** Akya ku *studyinga after two years*, muli kuki?

**Woman:** I have a right to change my mind...

**Woman:** Yeahhhh, hello!

**Man:** Nze kyenjogera kwekyo, mubisela byetulimu, okuva edda, olaba omulenzi omunyankore nga awasa munyankore. Naye kati omunyankore agenda nawaasa omuteeso, kati osanga nti sikyangu okukiliziganya ne bali mu bintu byebagenda. What I am saying is....

**Brian:** An important point...

**Woman:** I come from a family of very many kids, my parents see to it that we have everything that we want so no man comes out of the blue and just takes me for nothing, for free...

**Kansiime:** uhhmmm after your parents have hustled...

**Woman:** That is not fair.

**Brian:** why do you say it's not fair?

**Woman:** No you have to show some kind of appreciation.

**Woman:** banaye kambabulile waliwo nabazadde abagamba nti oyo mutwale...munyambe buyambi, mutwale...

**Woman:** it depends...*yadde n'ekikumi oli nayimilila awo nagamba nti oyo mutwale*

**Another woman:** But they don't want you to stay at home obviously...

**Man:** the parent should just say that you have been a great kid go....

**Woman:** what I was saying is that if you have agreed and you have loved the girl and you feel like you have something to appreciate the parents, why should the parents come and say, no you pay this?

**Kansiime:** It should be up to you to decide...

**Brian:** Let's hold on to that thought, we are going to come back and dissect this show...

**Voice on phone:** it is conditional in the sense that it should be paid and it is also conditional in the sense that if a marriage that has been contracted has to end, it has to be refunded. Consenting adults, once you are above 18, you are free to marry and contract a marriage out of your free will we believe that the fact that you put a condition to this process making someone pay, and even that free will at the point of dissolving the marriage, the fact that you make it conditional that you have to refund means that that free will has been interfered with and in that sense it becomes unconstitutional also on the principle of equality between men and women bride price definitely affects that condition, it creates a condition of

inequality because it is paid by the man to the woman, it doesn't go the other way round....

**Voice on phone:** and as long as you are married like bride price has been paid, not the appreciation but the real payment where haggling takes place you find that you become a wife to the clan. For example we had cases whereby a widow can't leave even 30 years after the death of the husband, she cannot leave on condition that the man paid cows, so if she wants to leave that family she has to go back to her people and they refund bride price, she cannot re-marry in case she felt so. And then if a woman owned property, it's not her personal property. For me I believe it's high time something is done.

**Kansiime:** It's high time something is done.

**Brian:** It's high time something is done. Would you pay bride price for your wife to be? Are you dating?

**Man:** No I am not dating...

**Kansiime:** Yiii yiii

## APPENDIX THREE

### Grammatical Transfer

#### N      **Concordance**

1      because that is trivial to base yourself on **to start untrusting someone**. So you  
are

2      Doing that can **make your husband to have** an excuse of outside sex and the  
same

**to [used as possessive]**

#### N      **Concordance**

1      haggling takes place you find that you become a **wife to** the clan. For  
example we

2      her house to ashes. Kyomuhangi who is a **first wife to** Levi Turyakira, 35,  
and is

3      Ndimurungi, 27, traditinally married as a **second wife to** another man, says  
she did

4      wife NOT YOURS. Sheena: Since when is a whore a **co-wife to** a lawfully  
wedded wi?

5      statement was Komuntale's, the misguided and troubled **wife to** Thomas, not a  
King

6      her parents together as a child. Enter the elder **brother to** Nagginda's father,  
Engineer

7 mystery, that has pitted Brig. Kasirye Ggwanga, a **brother to** the tycoon,  
against the

8 in northern Uganda. Salim Saleh He is the younger **brother to** the President  
and a

9 to win honour in his home as a good husband and **father to** his children. He  
reckons

10 Nankya at Rubaga Cathedral. Nankya, 27, is the **daughter to** Hon. Mathias  
Nsubuga

11 contributed about 90% towards his burial as **an in-law to** the family. In the  
clan

12 Butaleja Woman MP Cerinah Nebanda. Kalungi, a **boyfriend to** the late  
Nebanda, is

13 Henry Kyemba) and Daphine Zinunula, **widow to** the late playwright Robert

#### Articles [the, an]

#### N Concordance

1 Park etc. That was the origin of the decision to create **the Centenary Park**. It  
was

2 show her the outcomes. Trust: If you have **no a baby** yet, try a different user,

3 f all you said the banker more good **in a bed** meaning the wife-to-be is not  
good your

4 whistle-blower. This was Bigirimana's whistle, and **in a professional**  
**investigation,**

5 you want to become a maid. Thanks. Tom: you are **in a entering** into a life  
time and

6 act like a layman by considering one article **in a constitution** without interpreting it

7 Her daughters were educated abroad **on the money meant to benefit** the real orpha

8 top of the sh400,000 they would pay sh60,000 and **on the sh2m** they would add

9 that those who favour change differ from Besigye **on the means**: Some believe that

10 opposition presidential candidate Kiiza Besigye **on the grounds** that he was facing

11 Those who hope that freedom will come **on the silver** plate are doomed. We need to

12 When I see and hear him contemplating **on a run for presidency** of Uganda; I can't

13 Police had secured the scene of crime. **On the December 14**, at around 19.30 hours,

14 even though religion and science differ **on the aspects of Judgment** day and.

15 with China and Sri-lank. The West is focused **on the terrorism** and Arab spring. DP

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AM (I am)

N Concordance

1 bara: I am looking for marriage, a honest man 40+ am in USA Barbara: I need a trustworthy mature man  
2 . Melissa: mr Moses, go on bukedde tv. abanoonya am sure you will get a pretty woman oooooooooohh or  
3 I was also detoothed for papers by a Ugandan and am a Ugandan too. So it is not that you are light  
4 man, as a muganda. Hashaka: Nick, its complex and am also now confused. Am a mufumbira and I have yo  
5 a teacher too and decided to think otherwise and am better off and do not blame the Government anym  
6 nes above, we are used to that time and again and am developing nausea. Karl: @ Bonny It is possible  
7 peace in Life" Its a new book in the country and am distributing it for the Author. Mr. Pritis C Ma  
8 ot wished for me as I come from poor country, and am just worth to be a prostitute or toilet cleaner  
9 rned money doesn't mean Jabez' angry feeling. And am sorry helping my loved ones has nothing to do w  
10 ne, you keep them happy. At 65, I cook, clean and am still very handy around the house. I love to sp  
11 istake. You need time to settle down, though, and am sure you are gonna get [a] fresh babe and funky  
12 o Thomas is to put a stop to the social media and am sure the good Lord will comfort him and life co  
13 a time for Moses to start moving out with her and am sure the fact that she didn't mind having sex w  
14 yours, leave it to go. Orsula: Am a girl too and am telling you this dear, don't pressure him. Just  
15 k too. Just saying; freedom is not free. Anthony: Am a new guy on the line, moreover a Ugandan. The  
16 and transparency, but I do not give up as long as am doing the truth."His lesson- Let those who ar  
17 nd that's what matters. Busoga will reap. Asiiwa: Am surprised by the action of the president giving  
18 w sleep happy now I know that am loved. God bless am still with you until you end the show. Luda: Ar  
19 my clan is a Muhira. I can't marry a muhira. But am a muhira because of my father, not my mother. W  
20 byakyuuka just that akusse! Kiro: Sara sorry but am here to tell you that you are wasting your time  
21 : hmmm!! Molly, you're comprising with Moses but am really thinking otherwise though I don't want t  
22 . Mine also just surprised me that it's over, but am strong now. Just relax, I know it pains [it hur  
23 nations! Hopefully, time will prove me wrong but am sure in my lifetime; I will leave this world no  
24 ell, they even conceive to force the bondage, but am telling you if that man is not your Adam you wi  
25 an's right to make decisions about her body e.t.c Am saying this mpiima fellow could be a croak. Any  
26 er. And you were chauffeured in a government car? Am I not a national figure? But don't get scared,  
27 ne of us deserves a chance. Try it out carefully, am sure it will work, you are attracted to him, th  
28 haka: Nick, its complex and am also now confused. Am a Mufumbira and I have your scenario with my un  
29 e both emotions n hotel work is more tiresome coz am chef so I know this Amos: That wife has a side  
30 e: Well, Raymond, just take heart and move on coz am experiencing something similar. But don't think  
31 kyamuzi: Guys, who goes around by the name David? Am trying to find words to describe his thinking  
32 urselves in good shape and I still have a desire. Am capable of making love 3 - 4 times a week but  
33 nds. Stop ashaming yourselves. Good night! Diana: Am beginning to think sex has great impact on a m  
34 usa by Mun G feat. Naava David: hi Jackie Diweyi, am in the class please play for me because I love  
35 than a doc in M7's hospitals which have no drugs. Am no miracle worker to heal patients with words!  
36 d my back, yet he was promising me life on earth, am now married to an Italian for 12years with two  
36 tym appreciating themselves! God forbid! Ebiachu: Am so sure that nt even tracking devices will stop  
37 her. Jaq could you play me 'love will never end'. Am in Mukono. Omule: Oh, my dear! This so-called w  
38 s a lot of potential in sports and entertainment. Am quite a big fan of Moses and I am working on a  
39 lly to get status and then move on so if you find am psycho man like kikaawa he can kill you because  
40 yer will open a new life in you. Odeke: Hi, first am sorry things turned out this way and you can't  
41 othered...I am not concerned because all the food am eating is local. Mr Museveni's 1990s break with

ASKARI [Security guard]

N  
1 Concordance  
2 se would you describe a man who once worked as an askari at Kyambogo University, and has now risen t  
3 d books herself into a separate room and posts an askari at her door, good for you for being so vagu  
4 At the gate, I am welcomed by a ramshackle of an askari's cabin. A thick cloud of dark smoke is bil  
5 Beatrice Anywar also testified that she found an askari giving drugs to patients in Parabek Ogili s  
6 r, Emmanuel Kajjumba's home. Kajjumba works as an askari in Kampala. However, Nagginda lost her way  
7 mates. When we reached there, we were handed to an askari on guard in that section. He was a somewhat  
8 ess the security needs and tell whether a dog, an askari or an alarm system is good depending on the  
9 to Buhinga hospital. The hospital had to give an askari protective gear so that he could restrain t  
10 he house has been unused for over a year. Only an askari sleeps in it. Kitaka lives in another mansi  
11 onth. Alternatively, Nsereko says one can hire an askari to keep the materials. Also deal directly w  
12 nd started sleeping on the Nairobi streets and an askari used to keep my bag during the day. When I  
13 and tightly held it in my hands. Good enough, an askari was around and I surrendered my bags to him  
14 the site in contention near Busoga University, an askari was guarding the roofed half-complete house  
15 an elderly Ugandan man. This man inquired from an askari where the toilets were. To the amazement of  
16 n. However, my contract to live was renewed by an askari who, after failing to identify any theft ex  
17 his or her job in the civil service? Think of an askari who, rather than patrolling the master?s ho  
18 security systems, for instance? My family had an askari who was our evening joke. At a given time e  
19 . I said okay, I am here. He handed me over to an askari who grabbed me by the waist, took me in the  
20 nario where a terrorist gives Shs 1 million to an askari who earns around Shs 100,000 per month to a  
21 security systems, for instance? My family had an askari who was our evening joke. At a given time e  
22 back of the school. There was a gate manned by an askari who would open for all to enter, lock and o  
23 On another occasion he beat up his house boy and askari for allegedly stealing his gold. That beati  
24 batudde banywa. Saawa 12 batudde. Kati abo nga ba askari abakoola ekiro, obasanga batudde nga banywa  
25 rts scene that rose from working as a shamba boy, askari to being the greatest marketer of kickboxin  
26 ory. The Ugandan always kicks off with his broken askari Kiswahili while the Kenyan discusses Muse  
27 , however, he got a telephone call from the chief askari, one Magolo, that the factory had been brok  
28 th the village chief (mutongole) and a sub-county askari, they would visit and inspect every home in  
29 Dilemma in choosing between a dog, askari for home Home security, as we have come to k  
30 studies. Man of the week Geoffrey Ogwal, a former askari at Kyambogo University is now an accountant  
31 Ogwall's journey from askari to accountant FICTION, they say, makes sense  
32 ption to beat burglars at home?" Hiring a 24-hour askari (professional security guard), installing s  
33 e, and a mug. Then the O/C ordered a nice Musamia askari to take us to a dormitory in the prison's c  
34 at they are alert? Anyway, I was talking about my askari and his abandoned gun. I then carried the g  
35 seen in a Ugandan soldier and something which no askari had seen either," a British colonial office  
36 almost the cost of our lives. It is then that one askari mentioned that the fleeing occupants of the  
37 wall and a jacket on the floor. The Security Plus askari had taken a French leave! I tried searching  
38 and the woman left her rich husband for the poor askari", Ssempla adds that while men formerly conce  
39 st in England. But the trouble was that no single askari (read Northerner) had the qualifications re  
40 ehicles. "Casual labourers come and go away", the askari alerted me that someone was trying to steal  
41 on fire, I almost call out for help. But then the askari appears at the cabin door, smiling. "I am s  
42 can wear? "Do you see him wearing anything?" the askari asks, pointing at Dr Ssemanda who is wearin  
43 walked out disappointed and shook hands with the askari. Fellow ATM users, be alert. I urge Centena  
44 , but I was helpless. Under the protection of the askari, it took over 10 minutes before I could sto

BALOKOLE/MULOKOLE [Born-again Christian(s)]

N Concordance  
1 school would be ready. Susan Nsibirwa's beef with Balokole Susan Nsibirwa, the affable marketing dir  
2 sexuality, extortion, blind magic, or witchcraft? Balokole at this time consider themselves endanger  
3 HE ethics minister, James Nsaba Buturo, has urged Balokole (Born-Again Christians) to join politics  
4 vitably disturbing the religious zealots. Today's Balokole are the educated, trendsetting, exposed,  
5 le fast growth of new churches. By tolerating the Balokole, a nation creates a reformative attitude.  
6 r called him omusumba w'abalokole (pastor for the balokole). A pastor is a spiritual leader who has  
7 ayers. This has already created a row between the Balokole and the traditionalists who wish to prese  
8 at the Archbishop's residence. Tough Serwadda The Balokole are one tough lot who will not be shaken  
9 of the world."It was typical then to despise the Balokole because their focus was not on worldly ri  
10 even if Ebola found its way to Kampala, they -the Balokole - believe in the power of prayer and it wo  
11 n clerics of the Anglican Church and those of the Balokole (Born-again) faith traded blows over a bo  
12 s been said about the state of the church for the Balokole (born-again Christians) in Uganda. A born  
13 in that unless a law is made to the fact that the Balokole (born again) believers are a recognised f  
14 as contemptuous. The retreat was akin to what the Balokole (born-again Christians) used to term as a  
15 It plays on most Christian Radio stations and the Balokole (born again Christians) enjoy dancing to  
16 ounded by a solid path, apparently created by the Balokole (born-again Christians) who use the place  
17 hould not be treated like NGOs YOU have heard the Balokole (Born-again) being accused of everything  
18 l, insurgency, insurrection, mutiny and riot! The Balokole (Born Again ) family is taking the world  
19 reatment if the doctors recommend so. He said the Balokole brothers were taking good care of the Pas  
20 used to share cups and gourds and milk pots. The Balokole de-campaigned that practice of sharing dr  
21 s have done "many miracles" for him. But even the Balokole had a point in holding overnight prayers  
22 ng else. I would, therefore, appeal to you as the Balokole Movement, to help us enlighten people to  
23 aking of hands it is not necessary jambo tuu. The Balokole Movement was part of the enlightenment Mo  
24 s who preached burning in hell, name it. Then the balokole movement came knocking. Lighthouse Televi  
25 ed to drink milk without boiling it; but when the Balokole Movement came in, it taught us how to be  
26 a wife. When I became a Muslim six years ago, the Balokole (Pentecostals) started baiting me with pr  
27 verty and generally make their flocks guilty, the balokole preach prosperity and feel good ideologie  
28 f Ndeeba. It is alleged that Muslims attacked the Balokole, saying Kikomeko had insulted them. Coupl  
29 eserve the "Kabalega's spirits" on the hill. The Balokole want to chase away our leopard and other  
30 member the article I wrote after my research that Balokole live longer because of their lifestyle,  
31 ing to tears. Rose\_M7 diehard: I didnot know that balokole (savedeez) dress so indecently more so the  
32 Join politics, Buturo tells Balokole THE ethics minister, James Nsaba Buturo,  
33 on a flight as he moved to preach. Kulubya seeks Balokole blessings to win election KAMPALA mayoral  
34 nd to a letter published in Sunday Vision, saying Balokole must not demean others... He said he was  
35 re presented a proposal to Parliament to register Balokole churches. But Ibrahim Mukiibi, his succes  
36 . Balokole leaders found themselves out of place. Balokole leaders are not directors, managers, trus  
37 He said he was disturbed by the conflict pitting Balokole against Muslims in Masaka, his home distr  
38 gedly' the brewing conflicts, particularly pitting Balokole (Born-again Christians) against Muslims a  
39 rly gates will not be interested in the tables of Balokole, Bazukufu, Savedee blah blah blah :-) :-)  
40 lliterate, degenerate, riffraff, society misfits, Balokole have spearheaded a revolution and the cha

41 itable, unmovable, intellectual, decision makers. Balokole have nothing to lose and everything to gain  
 42 ld be the best ally in an investigation involving Balokole churches. But that is if they are not muz  
 43 ers of making noise. Some of the culprits include Balokole churches and bars. How can LCs help stop  
 44 went to pastor Lule of Nakulabye to pray for him. Balokole aid Mbuya slum Dominion Church internatio  
 45 te John Kulubya Senseko has sought blessings from balokole (born-again churches) to defeat his oppon  
 46 ration of the Ten Commandments of God stems from. Balokole, Seventh Day Adventists, Catholics and An  
 47 , much to the chagrin and jealousy of the former! Balokole, despite their internal squabbles, thrive  
 48 he Government released them from the NGO enclave. Balokole would be the best ally in an investigatio  
 49 hful role models to make Uganda a better country. Balokole boss slams pastors THE head of the Nation  
 50 g a coffee break, puffed on pipes and cigarettes. Balokole leaders found themselves out of place. Ba  
 51 in terror regime through meetings in house cells. Balokole protest MP Alaso wedding LEADERS of born  
 52 ught him a bar of soap and clothes. News in brief Balokole pray for Land Bill KAMPALA - Thousands of  
 53 r. The marriage between Robinah and Kiyingi, both balokole, hit the rocks in 2003 when the husband f  
 54 r, churches especially those often referred to as Balokole churches, espouse the "wealth and prosper  
 55 - Let him take a stand on the sale of alcohol and Balokole churches. It is disheartening. If we cont  
 56 statement said the youth made the resolution at a balokole (born-again Christians) function at Capit  
 57 s endless. Uganda brags of 1,340 NGOs, the 20,000 Balokole churches not included! These NGOs on seve

58 He was also a very religious person, who became a mulokole, recalls Dr Edward Kayondo, consultant of  
 59 c and going to church, but I would not call him a mulokole. Kiyingi is son to Azalia Ssebowa, a peas  
 60 he headline made people think that this man was a mulokole church minister! On reading the story, it  
 61 It is not clear whether he was still a committed mulokole at the time of his arrest. In May 2002, h  
 62 th blood on his hands," Nkangi, a self-confessed Mulokole said. The former minister telephoned The  
 63 e wondering, how can Mr. Museveni, son of a super mulokole Esteri Kokundeka that postures as "modern

BAMBI [P]lease/Oh, dear/Poor you]

N Concordance  
1 eyes by shagy n costi sorry for that madam. Amos: bambi sorry but u have done good thing to not sleep  
2 This one will cost sh10,000. Save for Eriiso and Bambi Kiriza, her two singles released in April la  
3 abakyala, released in 2003. Apart from Eriiso and Bambi Kiriza, Malaika wange also includes two Swah  
4 etic since you really love her daughter. Anguria: Bambi! Imagine the time wasted! Just move on, you  
5 become the hunted. what goes around comes around. Bambi! The Northern nightmare agent is getting his  
6 become the hunted. what goes around comes around. Bambi! The Terror of the Northerner is getting his  
7 So be strong, pray and God will make a way. Bats: Bambi dear, you sound like you are still very inte  
8 thetic since you really love her daughter. Chris: Bambi! Imagine the time wasted! Just move on, you  
9 and stop washing his dirty linen in public. Joan: Bambi nga it is so nice that all of you here are j  
10 l. Kawuma: Hi, man, go and find your type. Kachb: bambi sorry that's all! Original: commit suicide,  
11 relax and get marks for free eeeeeeeeee makerere bambi hv mercy on us boys plz Magara: Masiga, not  
12 e since you are the problem in this story. Meble: Bambi Aggie, but it's better you tell her earlier  
13 you have someone who terribly loves you so much. Bambi nga olabye. Elizabeth: Chuck her. Bruce: Kil  
14 ana kimu tebasobola kutemagana kwekyo. Woman: Nze bambi kankubulile oyinza okuba nga ozadde abaana b  
15 the right way and talk about it. Tahia: Ng'olabye bambi! Sincerely, I have no advice for you. Byamug  
16 t two hours earlier? Oh, no, it can't be. Sandra: bambi sweetie, I'm so sorry but you need to forgiv  
17 ux: I saw that come, ain't shocked. Evelyn: Sorry bambi. Ocox: mscheew they were not marriage mater  
18 ti mbela ne mwami wange agamba nti omukyala wange bambi ansanyusiza muzaddemu abaana Kansiime: Ab'as  
19 zadde be ekilabo, nga basimye nga bagamba nti yii bambi ne bwemba nkutwalila bwelelele nomanya nti kat

BANANGE [Folks]

N Concordance  
1 I be worried? Linda Listeners' comments: Barbie: Banange what business is that? Kamau: Trust really  
2 Kampala. How can Jeniffer sit in Lukwago's chair banange..... Kaka John I think that for the sa  
3 downfall and they will learn a hardway Anna W: Eh Banange @ Tusubira ! U don't even know if the all  
4 lier, Like the fate of Gaddafi and Sadam Hussein, Banange!!!, there is truth in the myth. They shoul  
5 ears. Are you intending on piercing other parts? Banange, what is wrong with you? I'm not answering  
6 yet the autumn winds are in full flow. Sebugwawo: Banange, but we were talking about Ssimbwa can we  
7 rome and thinks I am the only thing in the world. Banange a girl at campus? She has no friends, no h  
8 is mine alone. So a written will is good. Brian: Bannange abantu ba commentinze ahhhh! Samuel I thi  
9 ining nti there is poverty. Lwaki tukyakoola ebyo bannange? Man: It's what has caused government to j  
10 Ugandans. Mateo: That is not our concern Matovu: Bannange did Komuntale look like a full woman who  
11 ner]. Thanks; wish you quick healing. Sandra: Oh, bannange, some women have given us such a bad name  
12 for a long time. At the moment she can say words bannange and kale. She has grown very weak and at  
13 by asking for trips outside with children. Kiggs: munange olinakuguma bugumi. It's always through en  
14 Eeh! Johnny: Hmm? where is she stationed? Steve: Munange, she says she is a third year student doing

BAYAAYE/MUYAAYE [Hoodlum(s)/delinquent/lumpen(s)]

N Concordance  
1 people say those who wear jeans and T-shirts are bayaye (thugs). Are you one? Much as I believe tha  
2 ctors of the emerging daily had described them as bayaye (lumpens). He even sponsored adverts on the  
3 of the real estate developers describing them as bayaye (lumpens) and "so full of themselves? that  
4 hem that dreadlocks and nappy African hair is for bayaye - a preserve for rogues and losers and forb  
5 her valuables from his customers.. There are many bayaye (hustlers) here; they grab people?s items a  
6 ng dreadlocks, noted that they would all turn out bayaye because they were missing their childhood.  
7 If we had kiyongas and not besigyees, njubas(RIP) Bayaye like Lukwago. this country would be far. Wa  
8 le to tap Muslims, section of Baganda and all the Bayaye!!! Nothing to do with ability!! So wait!!!  
9 low culture.. He analyses his popularity with the bayaye of which he was once one. I remember in N  
10 g and fighting to the death. This appealed to the bayaye of Uganda and the manual workers of Kenya a  
11 here would be a special squad for arresting those bayaye who harass women. Sheba: My friend harassed  
12 WOULD ANNOUNCE AND POSTPONE 2011 ELECTION DUE TO BAYAYE INSURGENY AND INSTABILTY IN THE COUNTRY AND  
13 ed to play our music because they thought we were bayaye [lumpens] and they wanted Lingala so life w  
14 thugs or idlers. Taxi touts are considered to be bayayaaye because of the nature of their job. They w  
15 rted skating: "How could you play those games for bayayaaye (hoodlums)? If you continue with it, do no  
16 a et al could co-ordinate with his Kisekka Market bayayaaye who're high on substances like marijuana,  
17 . It is easy to pass off these guys as a bunch of bayayaaye until you get to know them. when you first  
18 the queen's land and mobilising the oppositionist bayayaaye to wreck havoc during his yet to be announ  
19 r live in harmony. God did not create me to raise bayayaaye. If you were in a clever land, you would r  
20 ls, whom rather Besigye ditches as he prefers the bayayaaye to do havoc and hence provoke the ire of t  
21 lls me mummy. The other two also do [At least the bayayaaye - to borrow Nandujja's term - agree on som  
22 s] Those are both my sons. In fact, all the three bayayaaye ['hoodlums' here said with such fondness]  
23 n I joined music which most people associate with bayayaaye," a teary Cidy said. .

24 ode. Wearing T-shirts and jeans doesn't make me a muyaaye (thug). I am actually comfortable with my d  
25 rd. And that being stylish does not equal being a muyaaye. Mercy's mother in particular reasons that  
26 Wamma follow your heart but wisely. Lyn: He is a muyaaye! Don't dare! Modi: Let the sleeping dog lie  
27 Do everything But will be a disaster putting That MUYAYE In any responsible position, (M7 can do any  
28 eads. But what defines a muyaaye? For starters, a muyaaye is a negative connotation that means you a  
29 ..The qualities, symptoms or characteristics of a muyaaye are mostly stereotypical. It is your hairs  
30 mally have clean-shaven heads. But what defines a muyaaye? For starters, a muyaaye is a negative con  
31 e and care about our appearances. Pablo: Who is a muyaaye? The first time my father saw me with a Fr  
32 rench cut hairstyle, he immediately declared me a muyaaye. It did not help that he found me listenin

BODA BODA [Motorcycle taxi]

N Concordance  
1 0 impounded. The Police have impounded over 2,000 boda bodas in and around Kampala, according to Said  
2 y director Judith Tumusiime, they are over 54,000 boda bodas operating in the city and in 2012, a to  
3 troduced by Ugandans. Mr Walusimbi said out of 10 boda bodas in Juba, seven are owned by Ugandans. T  
4 s 10m), Nakavule Roundabout Iganga Town Youth (15 boda bodas), Iganga NRM women's league (Shs 30m),  
5 V) will attract a fine of Shs40, 000 and riding a boda boda in a dangerous mechanical condition will  
6 lights at Jinja Road near Kampala Nissan, when a boda boda cyclist tried to squeeze between my car  
7 er until they reached the city. Today, there is a boda boda transport service for both hire bicycles  
8 anger you? Well I have tales of my own. I stop a boda boda cyclist one day. The guy asks me; where  
9 ya argued. Kabakumba who confessed to have used a boda boda and reached on time argued that boda bod  
10 ivable places on the continent. The other night a boda boda operator lay dead along Kiira Road, surr  
11 looks too new to have been standing in the 70s. A boda boda rider nearby confirms it is was built a  
12 we have to politicise every issue? The death of a boda-boda cyclist served to inform the leaders tha  
13 The New Vision PREVIOUSLY, they have been against boda boda (commercial cyclists) in the city centre  
14 systems, the on-going war between the Police and boda bodas is nothing, but a revolving door exerci  
15 people and what appears to be a million cars and boda bodas must rank among the most unlivable plac  
16 sses said the tragedy began when Pte Amanyire and boda-boda riders developed a quarrel over a woman  
17 the 3,000 lives lost in road accidents annually, boda bodas account for quarter the number. For exa  
18 ys. It seems they are under orders to arrest any boda boda irrespective of whether you have all the  
19 are innocent, we were only transporting people as boda boda was the most convenient means available  
20 people started referring to the hire bicycles as boda bodas, although now it is motorcycles that be  
21 s organized a free good bye party for her fans at Boda Boda Lounge tomorrow where she will perform a  
22 I did all this to make ends meet, using a bicycle boda boda! The bicycle owners would shout out boda  
23 d villages. Technology However, while the bicycle boda bodas are still spreading to other areas, esp  
24 thers lost lives due to irresponsible boda bodas. Boda boda clampdown: cyclists claim extortion. Pol  
25 li youth (15 acres of land and Shs 52.5m), Bugiri Boda Boda Riders (Shs 20m), Buyende Youth (Shs 10.  
26 in 2012, a total of 8743 accidents were caused by boda bodas. These high numbers have been associatia  
28 estrians, motorists and their esteemed customers. Boda bodas have negatively touched many Ugandans l  
29 at to get to Kampala, the wave of the pedal cycle boda bodas followed one district after the other u  
30 in 2010, rising to 3,279 in 2011 and 570 deaths. Boda bodas are the most unorganized, unsafe and u  
31 shot dead a tractor turn man in Moroto District. Boda bodas take over roads - New Vision To mark 50  
32 id Kirumira, chairman of Kampala Central Division Boda Boda Riders Association (KUBOCA). All major P  
33 s pitiful stories have been told at almost every boda boda stage in Kampala in the wake of a Police  
34 ter the number. For example, 512 people died from boda boda-related accidents while 2,642 escaped wi  
35 mess, starting with the state of roads, garbage, boda boda and taxi chaos. The central government s  
36 Naanka: Where is my comment? BODA BODAS MUST GO! BODA BODAS MUST BE BANNED. PERIOD!!! Cece: why is  
37 Jackson Mayanja (Mia Mia) Robert Aloro and Hakim Boda Boda Magumba, was the last of that golden g  
38 at Mulago hospital has been dedicated to handling boda boda-related accidents. what is your say? Sim  
39 #103 News Kampala Police Boss Declares Immediate Boda Boda Clampdown By Simon Mukama, ChimpReports  
40 The Monitor At least 1,600 Ugandans involved in boda-boda business in South Sudan are jobless afte  
41 , jaws and others lost lives due to irresponsible boda bodas. Boda boda clampdown: cyclists claim ex

44 ive transport. Presently, there are over 50 loose boda boda associations in Uganda, according to Pol  
45 a, to decongest city traffic. This would put many boda bodas out of business and improve the quality  
46 spector General of Police (IGP) Kale Kayihura met boda boda cyclists on October 19 at Kibuli Police  
47 ney are Iganga Unique group (Mini bus), Namayingo Boda Boda SACCO (Shs 20m), Buyende Youth (Truck),  
48 a Boda Association Namutumba (Shs 10m), Namutumba Boda Boda Association (Shs 10m), Iganga Road Boda  
49 t means may not. Grace Basonze, a teacher we need boda bodas, especially with the heavy traffic jam  
50 em. Didas Nsabimana, production assistant we need boda bodas. They ease mobility, especially in the  
51 t in Kampala streets, no vuvuzela being blown, no boda bodas riding crazy, not even a traffic jam..  
52 s quagmire in the first place. Believe it or not, boda boda customers actually think they are a fast  
53 (Hatchery, poultry inputs worth 10m), Ntafungilwa Boda Boda Group in Mayuge (Shs 20m); Mayuge-Igului  
54 as development in transportation. The genesis of boda boda in our towns gives me flashbacks to Idi  
55 te zones for taxis, shall we manage the zoning of boda bodas? she asked. Readers' Comments Cos: Yes  
56 an or remove them from our lives. The history of boda bodas The boda bodas are part of the African  
57 ons, electronic and print media, the emergency of boda-bodas that was initially a tool for cross-bor  
59 vember 15. On the heavy fines being unleashed on boda boda cyclists, Nabakooba said: Boda bodas are  
60 form: mass transport system. By clamping down on boda bodas, the Police are fighting the symptoms o  
61 ards Katwe Police Station and CPS. MPs divided on boda bodas in the city By Mary Karugaba - The New  
62 ed by onlookers, and a couple of policemen. Other boda boda riders continued with their usual reckle  
63 le boda boda! The bicycle owners would shout out boda boda, a Kiswahili version of the English word  
64 e high that all may have used or are using or own boda bodas (bicycles or motorcycles). Such is thei  
65 elyo kye kintu ekikukulu. Kansiime: what if oyina boda boda? Ka business ko katini nyo. Oyina ka bod  
66 e have learned that terrorists plan to either pay boda boda to throw bombs or transport them to stri  
67 Central African cities and villages, professional boda boda taxi-drivers are common. In Nigeria, the  
68 d accidents in Kampala city is caused by reckless boda boda riders. Hundreds have sustained broke li  
69 ly Monitor that there are about 20,000 registered boda bodas in South Sudan with about 1,600 Ugandan  
70 re aware that they do not want our people to ride boda bodas, he said. He said they had asked the g  
71 s. So many Ugandans just want quick money to ride boda bodas or drive Hummers. If people in deserts  
72 , barber shops, food kiosks, boutiques and riding boda boda. This is not sustainable, considering th  
73 ens. The male youth are simply dreaming of riding boda bodas. We need a change of attitude towards w  
74 since started cracking down on foreigners riding boda bodas, majority of whom are Ugandans. The cha  
77 uth (Pick-up truck to be delivered), Bulange Road Boda Boda Association Namutumba (Shs 10m), Mbale R  
78 unleashed on boda boda cyclists, Nabakooba said: Boda bodas are arrested and fined like any other  
79 y are a necessary evil. Hildah Butta, a secretary Boda bodas are more of a problem than a solution t  
80 whom are Ugandans. The chairperson of South Sudan Boda boda Association, Mr Abraham Jok, told the Da  
81 nts. What is your say? Simon Wasswa, a technician Boda bodas are so dear to commuters and are most h  
82 sts to have been referring to the perception that boda boda cyclists transported rioters and fuel to  
83 irumira has repeatedly dismissed allegations that boda boda cyclists participated actively in the ri  
84 used a boda boda and reached on time argued that boda bodas were here because of the high demands.  
85 developed a quarrel over a woman in the bar. The boda boda riders attacked Pte Amanyire and grabbed  
86 another way of creating unemployment. Look at the Boda boda proliferation! There are now more bodas  
87 ns of how to accommodate them. The MPs argued the boda boda riders were the biggest contributor to t  
88 deduce that as the Police try to crackdown on the boda boda menace, recklessness and total disregard  
89 t. You are earning from the government and so the boda boda are also earning from their work. u have  
90 raps The absence of operating laws has turned the boda boda industry into a hub for unemployed youth

91 em from our lives. The history of boda bodas The boda bodas are part of the African bicycle culture  
92 coming car, narrowly avoiding being run over. The boda bodas masterly control of his bike and the de  
93 ior management yesterday on the operations of the boda bodas in the city, MPs were rather divided on  
94 gdes during his 2001 presidential campaigns! They boda bodas are now part of our culture, says Grace  
95 boss, Andrew Sorowen, had given similar advice to boda boda cyclists in an earlier meeting shortly a  
96 come a statistic to the daily vagaries and trauma boda-bodas cause to pedestrians, motorists and the  
97 kono etc . 1,600 jobless as S. Sudan bans Ugandan boda bodas By Ismail Musa Ladu - The Monitor At le  
98 e were still searching for the body of an unknown boda boda cyclist who is said to have drowned in R  
99 says the battle against insubordinate and unruly boda boda riders is aimed at increasing public saf  
100 e four years in jail, Black will go back to using boda bodas. Jailed Bad Black vows to fight for wom  
102 it is. i mean I and you, Professors, MPs, Voters, boda boda riders, a village woman with her exchang  
103 dier went on a shooting spree after fighting with boda-boda riders over a woman at a drinking joint  
104 throws money at every problem MPs, voters, women, boda boda cyclists, etc, rather than address the f  
105 because these are means of survival Dominic: Yes boda boda should stay in the city. The MPs who sup  
106 erything needed, they still arrest you, take your boda boda and come up with any traffic offences ag

BONNA BAGAGGAWALE [Poverty alleviation programme dubbed, 'Prosperity for all']

N Concordance

1 s. As leaders, you must integrate the Gospel with Bonna Bagaggawale so you can be accountable before  
2 living deep in the villages do not understand what Bonna Bagaggawale is all about. This is because th  
3 is the UPDF spokesman VP asks W. Nile to speed up Bonna Bagaggawale Vice-President Prof. Gilbert Buk  
4 nding to the Kony terrorists. Museveni said under Bonna Bagaggawale, the Government will create a co  
5 e vision, because it will take long to come true. Bonna Bagaggawale is just a vision. By the time, e  
6 ernment's plans of eradication of poverty through Bonna Bagaggawale(prosperity for all), delayed bec  
7 he Government is transforming the country through Bonna Bagaggawale (the Prosperity for All) program  
8 isation of Agriculture that will pave way for the Bonna Bagaggawale (Enrich All) programme, targetin  
9 funds at 9% POSTBANK was selected to disburse the Bonna Bagaggawale funds (Prosperity for all scheme  
10 tive Society protested the delay in releasing the Bonna Bagaggawale funds, writes Patrick Okino. The  
11 es of land, stood bigger chances of accessing the Bonna Bagaggawale funds. The Government hopes that  
12 t yesterday. He explained that the success of the Bonna bagaggawale initiative hinges on the cordial  
13 ee. The minister said the public misconceived the Bonna Bagaggawale programme by thinking that it wa  
14 ousehold incomes and living conditions. Under the Bonna Bagaggawale programme, we don't want you to  
15 in the region to join SACCos to benefit from the Bonna Bagaggawale programme. Saleh urged SACCos to  
16 o improve their lives. They expect a lot from the Bonna Bagaggawale programme. They think that throu  
17 ttacked NRM detractors who unfairly criticise the Bonna Bagaggawale programme. No country has ever a  
18 rmers in other areas as the implementation of the Bonna bagaggawale programme progresses. The move,  
19 Nakitto, the sub-county chief of Kasawo about the bonna bagaggawale programme. As we celebrate with  
20 oya was addressing residents at the launch of the Bonna Bagaggawale programme in Nagojje sub-county  
21 e gains that have been realised so far. Under the Bonna Bagaggawale programme, Government is facilit  
22 homesteads the Government is using to promote the Bonna Bagaggawale programme in Kiruhura, Mbarara a  
23 undi yesterday said: The President identified the Bonna Bagaggawale programme as one of the top prio  
24 Janet (wearing hats), handing over goats for the Bonna Bagaggawale project in Kirasi village in Gom  
25 o access information about markets, otherwise the Bonna Bagaggawale project may fail to achieve its  
26 fficials were active in the implementation of the Bonna Bagaggawale project, there would have been b  
27 nya, has said people should take advantage of the Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity-for-All) programme t  
28 n. He was on a tour to assess the progress of the Bonna bagaggawale (Prosperity-for-All) activities  
29 public against over-relying on technocrats in the Bonna Bagaggawale (prosperity-for-all) poverty era  
30 ut, has asked MPs to sensitise communities on the Bonna Bagaggawale (prosperity for all) programme.  
31 working with the government to operationalise the Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity-for-All) scheme. NAR  
32 Yoweri Museveni has vowed to closely monitor the Bonna Bagaggawale (prosperity for all) scheme, to  
33 s to partner with the Government to implement the Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity-For-All) scheme rath  
34 cabinet has sat in January 2007 and approved the Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity-For-All) scheme rath  
35 household incomes. NRM cadres should champion the Bonna Bagaggawale scheme, we shall be able to advi  
36 youth were the most affected by unemployment, the Bonna Bagaggawale scheme to strengthen party suppo  
37 chemes, these poor souls are still excited by the bonna bagaggawale should benefit them, Mrs. Museve  
38 Co-operatives should register in order to get the Bonna Bagaggawale thing," he said. He added that t  
39 agaggawale OVER sh260b has been earmarked for the Bonna Bagaggawale (wealth for all) funds. Patrick  
40 illages. The writer is an engineer Museveni takes Bonna Bagaggawale (wealth for all) programme. Stat  
41 ide, micro-finance minister Salim Saleh has said. Bonna Bagaggawale to Lango By Vision Reporter Pres  
42 y DP member of Parliament Issa Kikungwe, she said Bonna Bagaggawale, a government initiative aimed a  
43 district leaders in Arua on Tuesday, Bukenya said Bonna Bagaggawale was based on helping every house

44 nk deeper into poverty. At Bulange, Museveni said Bonna Bagaggawale was a revolution geared towards  
 45 Atubo cautions on wealth scheme THE Government's Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity-for-All) programme w  
 46 poverty and insecurity of a person and property. Bonna Bagaggawale is a Government vision to improv  
 47 ainable basis. The Government is mainly promoting Bonna Bagaggawale through savings and credit coope  
 48 th the Government's Prosperity for All programme- Bonna Bagaggawale. NAADS is one of the state agen  
 49 hed The long-debated Prosperity for All scheme or Bonna bagaggawale was finally launched yesterday a  
 50 adership Institute on how to sensitise farmers on Bonna Bagaggawale but they had not taken up their  
 51 ferences at whatever level. Farmers' body tips on Bonna Bagaggawale By Rashid Muzungyo The President  
 52 riated. This time we are going to be very keen on Bonna Bagaggawale funding. We sent entandikwa (sta  
 53 o produce Vaseline and food. Government policy on Bonna bagaggawale should consider planting avocodo  
 54 t Semakula, expressed concern over the absence of Bonna Bagaggawale funds in the microfinance, which  
 55 production expansion, he explained. The basis of Bonna Bagaggawale is NAADS because our wealth is i  
 56 dans in all aspects. The most important pillar of Bonna Bagaggawale is improving incomes of the poor  
 57 sh produce to the European Union. The illusion of Bonna Bagaggawale Justus Masa THE vast majority of  
 58 an be rich. You need to comprehend this gospel of Bonna Bagaggawale. Museveni said the people had ca  
 59 RO is central in the successful implementation of Bonna Bagaggawale. We have to keep developing new  
 60 aunched yesterday at the Boma grounds in Masindi. Bonna bagaggawale is a government rural financial  
 61 s could motivate work, creativity and innovation. Bonna Bagaggawale may lead people to sit back in a  
 62 -county chiefs, have been trained in implementing Bonna Bagaggawale but citizens are yet to benefit  
 63 of the sh1.7b released by government to implement Bonna bagaggawale. Francis Lukooya, Mukono LC5 cha  
 64 in the case of the much popularised yet illusive Bonna Bagaggawale scheme. The Government is only s  
 65 iation Programme, and now it is the so much hyped Bonna Bagaggawale, where the NAADS programme falls  
 66 s in Eastern Uganda. It is apparently part of his Bonna bagaggawale initiative, which he has promise  
 67 a Buganda region may miss out on the Government's Bonna Bagaggawale programme if its leaders still c  
 68 i and Sembabule. Savings and Credit Co-ops to get Bonna Bagaggawale funds at 9% POSTBANK was selecte  
 69 r parties to the NRM. Cooperatives given tips for Bonna Bagaggawale By Patrick Opio APAC Savings and  
 70 e a good is road needed, Bukenya said. sh260b for Bonna Bagaggawale OVER sh260b has been earmarked f  
 71 agged a never-to-be-developed nation. Police eyes Bonna Bagaggawale cash THE Police are to form a sa  
 72 wealthy as top investor Mukwano if they embraced Bonna Bagaggawale through commercial farming. The  
 73 tions. Post Bank has 20 branches in 12 districts. Bonna Bagaggawale is deeply rooted in government's  
 74 it is through them that it intends to distribute Bonna Bagaggawale funds. Museveni praises Bamwoze  
 75 , sh12m in shares and sh10m in members' deposits. Bonna Bagaggawale to help people out of poverty TH  
 76 ts in Kabale yesterday at the end of his five-day Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity for All) sensitisati  
 77 f Agriculture, Entandikwa scheme, and the current Bonna Bagaggawale (Prosperity for All), which is n  
 78 getting rid of low-yielding and low-value crops." Bonna Bagaggawale long overdue LAST week, Presiden  
 79 ome and community infrastructure in sub-counties. Bonna Bagaggawale requires hard work By Felix Kula  
 80 the banks to give affordadble loans. Govt boosts Bonna Bagaggawale THIRTY homes in every sub-county  
 81 h fund and Prosperity for All, popularly known as Bonna bagaggawale. He said unless Government injec

Bu/Ka [diminutive prefix]

N Concordance  
1 Brian: before we finish, I want to read some of.. bu comments that have been posted on Facebook.  
2 name? Good thing is that I am popular here. These bu chicks like me so much; I have decided to throw  
3 what can't you see dear? He is busy flirting with bu babes. Wanyama, don't be worried; nude pictures

N Concordance  
1 mall gate; after the greenish building there is a ka-business centre there. I am amused. Lusaka sud  
2 siime: What if, what if you have a boda and your Ka business is so small? what would you do with  
3 of Kampala - with one major difference. Familiar ka-City, walking down Independence avenue, I am imp  
4 ale that. And then I have a ka side dish. But the ka side dish when she takes me to court, the court  
5 e you are calling the 'man' you claim to love the ka innocent boy! Ketty: Oli mbuzi! That guy is lik  
6 ometimes I wish I could give him a baby. Jaq this ka innocent boy likes me but I don't know what to  
7 marry her; nga you really like her, but there's a ka step that you need to jump: bride price, Kansiime  
8 the collapse of someone's marriage? Mawejeje: You ka Berina, you are such an evil girl, how could you?

BUVEERA [Plastic bag]

N Concordance

1 Vendors sell water, herbal medicine and juice in buveera or plastic bottles. Nancy, a resident of K  
2 the silt, sewage and plastic materials, including buveera (plastic bags) drop down and settle at the  
3 t. NEMA is mostly concerned about the disposal of buveera and plastic bottles because they rob the s  
4 gh the Government has in effect banned the use of buveera, implementation of the ban is still pending.  
5 micro-bacteria, Byarugaba said. On the dangers of buveera, the minister said using them to cover foo  
6 e used mainly in roofing is imported. The type of buveera we find in gutters and those that retailer  
7 Bumba, the finance minister, maintained a ban on buveera and imposed a 120% tax on plastic items of  
8 allows vendors to sell food in plastic bottles or buveera. Those people should watch out because the  
9 erous for human consumption. Some vendors recycle buveera and mineral water bottles, increasing infe  
10 ational Environmental Management Authority, says: Buveera and plastic bottles are dangerous to the e  
11 as that they had sunk a lot of money creating the buveera making factories. They also complained tha  
12 are toxic. These bottles must be banned like the buveera - polythene bags - because they are a big  
13 e nearby Nakivubo Channel. However, sometimes the buveera block the drains, pushing the filth back t  
14 ies of making eco-friendly packing materials, the buveera investors sat back making dirty money from  
15 he plastic industries. They have even reduced the buveera measures putting those for export at 10 mi  
16 the investors. Two years after coming up with the buveera measures, the plastic bags are still all o  
17 ags. After two decades of making dirty money, the buveera investors could no longer advance the reas  
18 is still pending. Environmental activists take up buveera fight Kenneth Kakuru, an environmental law  
19 January 2010 By Gerald Tenywa PEOPLE caught using buveera (plastic bags) when the ban takes effect i

KAVEERA [Plastic bag]

20 as handy and substitutes for paper bags. By 2000 kaveera was even used as food container. Today, it  
21 Uganda clinic, says juice should not be kept in a kaveera for more than six hours if it is refrigera  
22 r costs between sh500 to sh1,500. Juice sold in a kaveera goes for between sh100 and sh200, while pl  
23 it should not be kept for more than an hour in a kaveera. Betty Kasanka of the Health control unit  
24 st hit Kampala, food was often served to you in a kaveera you had to pay for. Nobody really minded,  
25 on. You people of Soroti, let us open war against kaveera. Stop using them because they are dangerou  
26 is concluded we are going to ensure that the anti-kaveera law is enforced. Previous failed bans on  
27 the presence of plastic bags, otherwise known as kaveera. Buried under the ground, the plastic bags  
28 nd importation of plastic bags, commonly known as kaveera to December. The Minister of Finance, Ezra  
29 are not regulated. Paper bag makers shift base as kaveera ghost hits with vengeance HE came, he saw  
30 the manufacture and importation of plastic bags (kaveera) and impose a hefty levy on thicker ones,  
31 ey had made recommendations to the Cabinet to ban kaveera about five years ago. The United Nations E  
32 bove. However, the ministry's proposal was to ban kaveera of 100 microns and above. Unfortunately at  
33 environment abuse. Rwanda, next door, has banned kaveera and is doing very well. Uganda is better a  
34 he dangers of the plastic bags are well-known but kaveera proponents have been arguing that a total  
35 Nancy, a resident of Kampala, says: I always buy kaveera water because it is cheaper than mineral w  
36 not afford longer lasting carriers. In many cases kaveera has been used for waste disposal, this is  
37 y city dwellers cannot afford. But as you consume kaveera food, or juice sold in mineral water bottl  
38 for environment. She does not know how dangerous kaveera is to our environment, she said. Anywar ad

39 ended the deadline from September to December for  
 40 Ugandans throw away banana leaves, khaki bags for  
 41 imary School where we separate other rubbish from  
 42 r will they listen to Badagaw's proposal and give  
 43 and recover their money. Some traders still have  
 44 he urge to push the baby, so she quickly laid her  
 45 im that they had resorted to easing themselves in  
 46 ll, most of these items come packed or wrapped in  
 47 kaveera. When you try to dig, all you pull out is  
 48 eady for export to Rwanda in paper bags. There is  
 49 age them. The writer is environmental journalist.  
 50 into chasing mirages? The writer is a journalist  
 51 kaveera manufacturers the green light? FDC lauds  
 52 ouncil passes a by-law on the use of all types of  
 53 areas were impoverished after the introduction of  
 54 saijja. She said improvisation with alternatives of  
 55 circulars to parents informing them of the ban of  
 56 eed among the member states. The disadvantages of  
 57 enforcement agencies will deal with smugglers of  
 58 mainly due to lack of awareness on which kind of  
 59 are trying to fight," Saula says. Alternatives of  
 60 ay many tourists and visitors. Gases burnt out of  
 61 id Uganda was committed to solving the problem of  
 62 ut has remained on the shelf. Careless dumping of  
 63 d old days- the 50s and 60s when land was free of  
 64 Business council calls for review of  
 65 of locally produced biodegradable bags. A ban on  
 66 r interested groups in Kenya and abroad. A ban on  
 67 men and the local community who greatly depend on  
 68 do you expect Mutagamba to give the President on  
 69 e 2011 elections. Government should be serious on  
 70 erful lobby pushing for the lifting of the ban on  
 71 from the initial deadline of January. The ban on  
 72 f kaveera had been banned. We can't retract ban on  
 73 an companies. Paper investors want a total ban on  
 74 i and when I go shopping I either use a kikapu or  
 75 s will be more beneficial to us and to posterity.  
 76 out is kaveera. She says that whenever it rains,  
 77 ya and last year's Nobel Peace Prize winner, said  
 78 pping?" says Nakibuule Mukasa, a regular shopper.  
 79 ecause he could have easily slid off the slippery  
 80 Kampala has upheld the view by Green Watch, that  
 81 e why they are not implementing provisions of the  
 82 goga to poor sanitation. "After defecating in the  
 83 . It was noted that many schools disposed off the  
 84 onal Environment Management Authority (NEMA). The  
 85 resign or be sacked because her objection to the

kaveera traders to recover their money. The reason  
 kaveera To mark 50 years of Uganda's independence,  
 kaveera before burning it, said the headmistress o  
 kaveera manufacturers the green light? FDC lauds k  
 kaveera worth billions of shillings, but the deadl  
 kaveera (polythene bag) on the floor. Three pushed  
 kaveera (polythene bags) due to lack of a function  
 Kaveera or plastic container. Ugandans are obsesse  
 kaveera. She says that whenever it rains, Kaveera  
 kaveera which is even given free to the shoppers,  
 Kaveera makers secure injunction on 120% tax MANUF  
 Kaveera faces ban, high taxes UGANDA will soon ban  
 kaveera ban The Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)  
 kaveera. All the selected nine schools should sent  
 kaveera in our community. These women used to make  
 kaveera is a must if the campaign of zero toleranc  
 kaveera in their premises. The same group came up  
 kaveera far outweigh its benefits. Yearning for sh  
 kaveera the same way they have handled contraband  
 kaveera had been banned. We can't retract ban on ka  
 Kaveera as plastic bags continue to become a menace  
 Kaveera cause global warming. arming.  
 kaveera. The findings in the report were based on  
 kaveera remains rampant largely because of lack of  
 kaveera. "We used to pack all our groceries in kak  
 kaveera law The East African Community business cou  
 kaveera of 30-micron and below was agreed upon by  
 kaveera is among proposals aimed at reducing the u  
 kaveera for local packaging. Once these children a  
 kaveera? whose agenda does the minister articulate  
 kaveera ban The Government is behaving like a toot  
 kaveera, but he insists this will take the country  
 kaveera of 30-micron and below was agreed upon by  
 kaveera Recently, President Museveni met the board  
 kaveera Although Jaco Agencies are exporting paper  
 kaveera. Merry Christmas and a happy new year. Kwa  
 Kaveera ban fails; minister proposes review UGANDA  
 Kaveera is washed down the ground, including the g  
 kaveera litter was linked to malaria. Wangari said  
 Kaveera also serves as school bag for many pupils  
 kaveera. with her baby cradled in her arms, Nakaka  
 kaveera use violates the right for Ugandans to a  
 kaveera ban. I know the anti-ban lobby is strong,  
 kaveera, people throw it on roofs, from where some  
 kaveera in their compounds by burning it together  
 kaveera however, has been a contentious issue. War  
 kaveera ban is a clear indicator that she is not f

86 to produce any crops. All this she attributes to kaveera. When you try to dig, all you pull out is  
87 s do at their school. The public should say no to kaveera. Personally I resist the practice of shop  
88 g that the use of paper bags as an alternative to kaveera saves the environment. Luswaata says that  
89 ht. So when people find it closed, they resort to kaveera. David Mukama, the sanitation coordinator  
90 Maama W'abana, Bada and Kikomando. From Kaguta to kaveera Did you know that the letter 'K' is never  
91 nment, she warned. She advised women never to use kaveera for covering food and urged them to bury r  
92 users' side, says Badagawa. It is possible to use kaveera in a responsible manner. We need to educat  
93 ned the people of Soroti against buying and using kaveera (polythene bags). Ssebagereka, who was add  
94 nge to the production of paper bags. Traders want kaveera ban deadline extended KAMPALA city traders  
95 s choke Ugandan soils ABOUT 3,000 tonnes of waste kaveera (plastic bags) find their way into Ugandan  
96 poor engaged in collection of the plastic waste. Kaveera ban to be revived The ban is still there,  
97 a water because it is cheaper than mineral water. Kaveera water costs between sh100 to sh300, while  
98 sident Museveni at State House Entebbe last week. Kaveera makers want ban lifted THEY are like chame  
99 plementation was hampered by confusion over which kaveera were below or above 30 microns. We have be  
100 strategy and the time for playing ping pong with kaveera ran out yesterday. Ban it and then work on

COUSIN SISTER [Female first cousin]

N Concordance  
1 he loss of his father, another from the loss of a cousin sister, while the third lost a sister, who  
2 needs psyching up because he too has just lost a cousin sister. But even with that, warriors have a  
3 s. Nanseera Edward, 24, Teacher If she is a close cousin sister or my auntie, then it is automatic I  
4 had come to support Bakka, who happens to be his cousin sister. Rachel Kay then ushered in simply  
5 Dear K -zone, My cousin sister finds me attractive, I'm in love with  
6 Please help me what to do now. I so much love my cousin sister and wish to love her as my sister on  
7 e round, unlike the usual gizmos they send me, my cousin sister Joha sent me a brown towel as a gift  
8 always wanted to have a baby boy. Worst: When my cousin sister was killed by thugs who strangled he  
9 me emotional when Joyce Rugazoora, the MP's older cousin sister, sobbed in front of the President, a  
10 aid. Silivaria Ayugi lost a husband, son, sister, cousin sister, grandfather and brother-in-law. I

CO-WIFE [A woman who shares a husband]

N Concordance  
1 hing. Nakkazi's story Nakkazi, 68, says getting a co-wife did not bother her. She says her husband m  
2 attacking a Co-wife gives her an opportunity to insult you Ruth  
3 semble. What advice would you give a woman with a co-wife? Never fight or quarrel with your co-wife.  
4 r life NOT YOURS. Sheena: Since when is a whore a co-wife to a lawfully wedded wife? Hebrews 13:4 Ma  
5 dish here is Gold digger. Elir: Life is hard as a co-wife ... all the accusations, counter-accusatio  
6 this time, brought her closer to her husband and co-wife. The two convinced me to stay," Amina says  
7 Her wish is to be buried next to her husband and co-wife. So, ladies, would you share a house with  
8 Chandiru drags Co-wife to Police The war of affection between loca  
9 ce to other women According to Nakkazi, not every co-wife is bad. One's behaviour largely depends on  
10 a man's wife to go with him for a kwanjula of her co-wife. However, tension was eased when they saw  
11 ngry mob accusing her of staging a fight with her co-wife that led to the death of a 14 year old gir  
12 did not bother her. She says her husband met her co-wife, Amina Elias, in 1984, when they were in e  
13 one day, about this woman who was around when her co-wife collapsed unconscious. She mobilised a veh  
14 ss. She told him she was as good dead because her co-wife had seen her nakedness! It was a sort of G  
15 the patient regained consciousness, she found her co-wife was the only one present. She asked what h  
16 the couple applauded Nakibuuka for attending her co-wife's ceremony. Mpiima had been with Nakibuuka  
17 led back to Uganda for burial and while here, her co-wife fell seriously sick and she stayed behind  
18 Nakkazi's responsibilities in the home, until her co-wife got well. But the love and care she exhibi  
19 n they have been able to live in harmony with her co-wife, even after their husband's death, is the  
20 ion told Chimpreports that this started after her co-wife's goats destroyed her gardens. Upon return  
21 me several times. Since he had not yet visited my co-wife's home, I gave the kwanjula proposal a go-  
22 s death. "We treat each other like sisters and my co-wife's children treat me like their mother. Am  
23 mise, calamity struck. "I received a call from my co-wife, informing me that our husband was involve  
24 I was delighted, though not surprised, to see my co-wife. We have always been on good terms. My hus  
25 ey join hands to fight her. I was happy to see my co-wife - Nambassa I was delighted, though not sur  
26 In my co-wife, I found a true sister You would think they  
27 er men treat their wives. As a result, I treat my co-wife as my younger sister. Our husband built a  
28 wanjula, says Nakibuuka I have no problem with my co-wife. I am lucky to be Mpiima's wife because he  
29 t was promised a kwanjula by the husband plus the co-wife. I am lucky to be Mpiima's wife because he  
30 fe. So, ladies, would you share a house with your co-wife? Uno: how sure is she, about the kwanjula  
31 with a co-wife? Never fight or quarrel with your co-wife? And, gentlemen, would you dare keep two w  
32 ola knock-out! In the polygamy constitution, your co-wife. If you quarrel, you give her attention an  
33 llabus. who doesn't know the story and song about co-wife should never see your nakedness! If she di  
34 sed. Lubs: wow, that's a very good example to all co-wives rolling each other in thorns? Or step mot  
35 Harmony among co-wives. Please take that example. Moni: In my ea  
36 Kanungu Girl killed as co-wives is possible, but... It must be on the prim  
37 omen need to tight mark their husband as Mpiima's co-wives Fight Police in Kanungu district have resc  
38 her. To any outsider, these are real sisters, not co-wives are doing. DK: Un-believable!! CK: I salu  
39 in managing enmity. However, in specific cases of co-wives. Actually, many residents of Naguru call  
40 ves whom she says tried to make her a friend. The co-wives, it takes a special effort of the first w  
41 women with co-wives to respect themselves, their co-wives ran to her with complaints about one anot  
42 was involved in the murder. Masanda said the two co-wives and husbands. "If you respect yourself, o  
43 s, we sit and talk it over". She urges women with co-wives have been at war ever since their husband  
co-wives to respect themselves, their co-wives and

CULTURAL DISHES & BEVERAGES

BUSHERA/OBUSHERA [a type of beverage made from millet or Sorghum]

N Concordance  
1 iew takes place as she is having her breakfast of bushera (millet porridge) and two sweet potatoes.  
2 friend. And thanks for the Omo, beans, Royco and bushera (brown porridge). My biggest thanks is for  
3 errycan or a jar and store it in a fridge. Canned bushera hits market An innovative young entreprene  
4 enty of simsim, roasted groundnuts and drink cold bushera. 0772 563396 You seem to be under false as  
5 h that. Back then, sodas were scarce and we drank bushera. The worst bit is the accidents! Because a  
6 out experiments on having either a ready to drink bushera or instant flour that can be prepared inst  
7 er cultures in Uganda give diluted cold fermented bushera, fermented sorghum porridge, ghee, glucose  
8 s the owner of Multiline International, the first bushera processing factory in Uganda. anda.  
9 p for her porridge. "For me, I use a big dish for bushera", she chides the person serving her and th  
10 uld the buyer who wants to use it for cooking his bushera be blamed? The admirably respected Matthew  
11 uld the buyer who wants to use it for cooking his bushera be blamed? The admirably respected Matthew  
12 months. To verify a product after its inception. Bushera shelf-life improved OBUSHERA, the brown po  
13 tent poisonous. Kampala vendors sell fruit juice, bushera (millet porridge), medicinal herbs and loc  
14 e the church. Food was aplenty but the Kinyankole bushera was the crowd puller. Meals done, the coup  
17 we also make it a point to stock local foods like bushera, lapena and beans from home whenever frien  
18 itors had a chance to taste a variety drinks like bushera and enturire. There were endless queues fo  
19 Make kinyankole bushera at home MANY people love bushera but do not realise how easy it is to make.  
20 well to avoid falling sick. I love posho, millet, bushera (millet porridge) and milk. I do not eat c  
21 rusaniya - full of food, drank one-litre mugs of Bushera after a starter of roast maize and some ma  
22 t. A kid wakes up to fresh potatoes with a mug of bushera. Three sips and the cup is done. There is  
24 vegetables for a side dish and either a glass of bushera, milk or juice. Peace Kahima, the propriet  
25 ne of the Bakiga. He told me how you can make one bushera and potato meal for breakfast and have no  
26 treats with his people like luwombo, malakwang or bushera; things that don't seem that dear until yo  
27 wherever demand for their mandazis, saucepans or bushera can find a market. A business can only gro  
28 goat, a bunch of banana, a crate of beer, soda or bushera, name it. Our MPs and ministers have nothi  
29 treats with his people like luwombo, malakwang or bushera; things that don't seem that dear until yo  
30 ich corporate woman are you going to tell to pack bushera (millet porridge) daily, in the name of le  
31 long menu comprising pilao, yams, kikomando, tea, bushera, roast sausages, fish and chips. The negot  
32 rest of the day, this after assuring me that the bushera I had taken in Kampala that I thought I lo  
33 this beverage which is south-western Uganda, the bushera is fermented for one to two days. The proc  
34 is, this demand has put a lot of pressure on the bushera makers to produce the product haphazardly.  
35 meal of millet and boiled beans washed down with bushera (porridge made from sorghum or millet) at  
36 re says the technology should be ready next year. Bushera is a whole industry that should be develop  
37 pectable gentleman parked an expensive car to buy obushera packed in used plastic mineral bottles fr  
38 covered that people from all walks of life enjoy obushera. However, most of them were concerned abo  
39 e quality of the product", Kyamuhangire explains. Obushera is one of the most consumed beverages in  
40 after its inception. Bushera shelf-life improved OBUSHERA, the brown porridge that is synonymous wi

41 n did you get the idea to start a factory to make obushera soft drink? Since the mid-1990s, I have b  
 42 of the departing sun's rays. He nurses a gourd of obushera, a non-alcoholic beverage from sorghum, w  
 43 h5000, you are served a plate of food, a glass of obushera, juice, milk or two bananas as dessert. P  
 44 soft drink processing factory which makes packed obushera, a local soft drink. Marketed under the B  
 45 e University has come up with a way of preserving obushera. The beverage, they say, is able to last  
 46 ts. What were you doing before venturing into the obushera making business? I had many businesses. P  
 47 even others are on temporary basis terms. Is your obushera certified by the Uganda National Bureau o

CHAPATTI [pan-fried flat unleavened bread resembling a pancake]

N Concordance  
 1 eraton Gardens, but if they do, take her there. A chapatti and an Ofwono soda bottle worth sh1,000 c  
 2 he hard way (like a commando) on a combination of chapatti and beans for lunch or supper. He called  
 3 t local food at an affordable price. I like their chapatti and beans also known as kikomando or the  
 4 t concerned. They even came and bought kikomando (chapatti and beans) from us for lunch," says a cha  
 5 hapatti, rolex (chapatti and eggs) and kikomando (chapatti and beans) stalls. Chapatti, fries, rolex  
 6 I am exhausted and hungry. I only eat kikomando, (chapatti and beans) for lunch. But his problems do  
 7 he hard way (like a commando) on a combination of chapatti and beans for lunch or supper. He called  
 8 ns like Chips chicken or Sim Sim balls and Safi? Chapatti and byenda or molokoni and posho? These  
 9 s in Uganda. You find a Chinese dealing in rolex (chapatti and egg roll), nsenene or small phones. R  
 10 the day and music at night. Do you eat kikomando? Chapatti and eggs is cheapest meal for campusers i  
 11 re only rivalled by those at the chapatti, rolex (chapatti and eggs) and kikomando (chapatti and bea  
 12 at tackles a delicacy in Kampala, that is, Rolex (chapatti and eggs). So the MP (Zizinga) not wantin  
 13 a brand of Swiss watches, is as a combination of chapatti and fried eggs. We approach two young men  
 14 ect to discussion. Why should you continue eating chapatti and samosas when teachers don't have sala  
 15 he eye, insert the straw in the soda and with the chapatti between you, reach out for her hand. Expl  
 16 d, he says. One rolex goes for sh600 (an egg and chapatti), but the higher side is sh3,000 when min  
 18 use butterflies in her tummy. As the soda and the chapatti diminish, you can lead her to the floor f  
 19 e-cooked meal to settle for cocktails of roadside chapatti, dust, and beans, otherwise known as kiko  
 20 ] What is your favourite food? Beans, cabbage and chapatti. Eh, you love kikomando! No matooke for y  
 21 eggs) and kikomando (chapatti and beans) stalls. Chapatti, fries, rolex, sausage, chicken. Mouth-wa  
 22 d off. When someone saw Okiria trying to hide the chapatti he alerted Gonza who was still dozing on  
 23 omotion by Bukedde FM. Anderson Lubega, who sells chapatti in Zirobwe, and Nalwanga Sylvia, a housew  
 24 ntinda Ministers Village mansion and hooks up a chapatti maker from the gutters of Kifumbira slum  
 25 t, with over sh7m still waiting to be won. When a chapatti maker ignores you By Cecilia Okoth HAVE y  
 26 with water. We watch impatiently as he rolls the chapatti on his sooty pan, which he keeps cleaning  
 27 ove with their most recent fry, a small, steaming chapatti. One of the young men stares at us with a  
 28 take a sip. Follow suit. Tear off a piece of the chapatti or doughnut and feed her a bit and then n  
 29 ot make the sauce watery. Serve with posho, rice, chapatti or millet. You can also add the bean powd  
 30 at Makerere University and the city at large. One chapatti outlet is called 'Obama' after the US pre

31 he chips joints are only rivalled by those at the chapatti, rolex (chapatti and eggs) and kikomando  
 32 ? No one can give an accurate account of why this chapatti roll is called a rolex, but one thing is  
 33 hape of a ship. The titanic rolex is made up of a chapatti rolled up with four fried eggs and the us  
 34 eya to grab a rolex," he says. A basic rolex is a chapatti rolled up with two fried eggs and some ve  
 35 His orders are in a lingua only known to him and chapatti sellers. Your best skit will be determine  
 36 to what other restaurants like Mr Johns and Obama Chapatti serve. But for Mr Kikungwe, the brain beh  
 37 in the park? I have a desire to build a rolex and chapatti stand in the Queen Elizabeth National Par  
 38 t as serene as Celine Dion's voice. Can I build a chapatti stand in the park? I have a desire to bui  
 39 uick snack? How about a more creative way to make chapatti than your regular kikomando (chapatti wit  
 40 make sure you roll the eggs on both sides of the chapatti. Tony takes offence. He is apparently in  
 41 seat. Gonza followed Okiria and caught him. Ends. Chapatti vendor wins in Bukedde FM promotion By Ga  
 42 ur regular kikomando (chapatti with beans)? Try a chapatti which has avocado garlic, parsley and lem  
 43 . fried food like chips, chicken, white meal like chapatti white bread etc.I have a deal, if u are l  
 44 a plate of matooke, rice and beef costs sh1,000. Chapatti with beans, popularly known as kikomando,  
 45 way to make chapatti than your regular kikomando (chapatti with beans)? Try a chapatti which has avo  
 46 vious night she or he had to do with a kikomando (chapatti with beans) for supper?, he asks. Lack of  
 47 o (chapatti and beans) from us for lunch, says a chapati vendor, who operates a kiosk near the fami  
 48 wins in Bukedde FM promotion By Ganzi Muhanguzi A CHAPATI vendor and a housewife were on Monday hand  
 49 vacuum in a holy matrimonial relationship, even a chapati seller, driver or neighbour can fill it! H  
 50 tors who take their christian followers for cheap chapati! How can a whole pastor have four wives an  
 51 fined sh10,000 by the LC1 court for stealing one chapati worth sh100. The court presided over by Mu  
 52 nd Karim Gongga asleep in his chair and picked one chapati and walked off. when someone saw Okiria tr

ESHABWE [Sauce made from cow ghee]

N Concordance  
 1 reasons, it might be hard to justify building an eshabwe factory in west Nile. That is why we trade  
 2 a, just as it might not be a good idea to have an eshabwe (whipped cream) factory in northern Uganda  
 3 llet bread you could swallow without chewing, and eshabwe, a sauce only the Banyankole know how to c  
 4 ering the house, they were served with millet and eshabwe (an appetiser made out of ghee). In the no  
 5 rice garnish, milk spinach beans, fish fillet and eshabwe (ghee sauce). And for salad, I went for cu  
 7 ilao was exemplary and they also serve 'akalo and eshabwe', items that are popular in Western Uganda  
 8 , the boiled ghee does not make good enuniira and eshabwe. Kyamweru, who has been dealing in ghee fo  
 9 ewed beef, to fried greens, fried peas, beans and eshabwe. The matooke was well preserved and despit  
 10 aterial for some popular meals in Ankole, such as eshabwe and enuniira(light white-milky sauce). How  
 11 efore it is suitable enough to be eaten either as eshabwe, enuniira, applied in cooked food or used  
 12 resented to him. Mbu to him, I looked as thick as eshabwe. He was only refrained by one of his bodyg  
 13 How to make Eshabwe GHEE sauce, commonly known as eshabwe, is a traditional dish prepared in Ankole.  
 14 that it was the reason a local milk dish known as eshabwe was disappearing. He warned that drought w  
 15 in a while, a kind of thick cream variety called eshabwe which they ate with steamed bananas. In hi

16 hat came to life in our rich soil, and the creamy  
 17 oat, beef, mutton and a Kinyankore dish delicacy,  
 18 e Malakwang from the north, Malewa from the east,  
 19 monies or occasions. However, for those who enjoy  
 20 up, takes tea at 10:00am and works till evening.  
 21 t from the north and northerners with a taste for  
 22 ld, boiled water and pour into the already formed  
 23 this. "There is no reason as to why I cannot have  
 24 gh the procedure of how you can convert ghee into  
 25 conserving its favourite traditional dishes like  
 27 remove any impurities before it is ready to make  
 28 e into eshabwe. Rwabungundu explains that to make  
 29 This is not the case with the butter used to make  
 30 s. Mbarara loses treasured grass and quality milk  
 31 ituals. However, this has changed with modernity.  
 32 far outweigh the challenges. Returning to the Odi-  
 33 example the rock salt used in the preparation of  
 35 and is the main ingredient in the preparation of  
 36 he preparation may be different. Preparation of  
 37 However, they do have a specialty in the form of  
 38 s slaughtered. My husband and I fed each other on  
 39 s slaughtered. My husband and I fed each other on  
 40 e. when deep-fried, the larvae looks like popcorn  
 41 lunch because he is sure of finding well prepared  
 42 lunch because he is sure of finding well prepared  
 43 tables". Enid Rwabungundu, an expert in preparing  
 44 f ghee to satisfy her clients. "I start preparing  
 45 urant on Kampala Road and specialist in preparing  
 46 k and food with nary a care in the world! RECIPE:  
 47 rom northern region, luwombo from Buganda region,  
 48 dnut sauce luwombo and beef luwombo, boiled rice,  
 49 ld Made from unprocessed matured butter and salt,  
 50 eshabwe into a white porcelain bowl or sauceboat.  
 51 itionist working with Dama Medicinal Herbs, says:  
 52 the consistency of whipped cream. Finally, sieve  
 53 weet potatoes or posho. Rwabungundu explains that  
 54 Mugisha says her place is popular because of the  
 55 of his clients ask him where to they can find the  
 56 silent in the belief that talking would make the  
 57 tourists. Some eat on site while others carry the  
 58 This is the only place where the quality of the  
 59 specialist in preparing eshabwe, says to make the  
 60 k salt is used to break down the fats so that the  
 61 meeting at the restaurant. They have come for the

eshabwe made from milk got from our finest cows. T  
 eshabwe and ended up vomiting before guests and hi  
 Eshabwe from the west and Luwombo from the central  
 eshabwe, you do not have to wait to attend Kinyank  
 ESHABWE: A dish from Ankole's long-horned cattle I  
 eshabwe can buy it from the west. Trade means that  
 eshabwe. Stir until you get the desired thickness.  
 eshabwe in my home when I go back to the village b  
 eshabwe. Rwabungundu explains that to make eshabwe  
 eshabwe and ghee, it needs to replant emburara gra  
 eshabwe. Ingredients 250g clean, mature butter 1 l  
 eshabwe that is enough for a family of about 10 pe  
 eshabwe, which as a rule is never heated. Traditio  
 ESHABWE, a highly treasured local dish made out of  
 Eshabwe is served with both hot and cold foods but  
 eshabwe analogy with freer markets the respective  
 eshabwe and Dek Ngor Lapena, a West Nile dish help  
 eshabwe. The quality of milk is reducing because o  
 Eshabwe The dish is easy to prepare but to maintai  
 eshabwe, which is a relish that is made from ghee.  
 Eshabwe and millet. Today, weddings are lavish, pu  
 Eshabwe and millet. Today, weddings are lavish, pu  
 Eshabwe It is made from ghee, rock salt and cold w  
 eshabwe (ghee sauce), a traditional delicacy. For  
 eshabwe (ghee sauce), a traditional delicacy. For  
 eshabwe at Upstairs Club and Restaurant, Kiyembe L  
 eshabwe at 10am in preparation for my customers wh  
 eshabwe, says to make the eshabwe more delicious,  
 Eshabwe : The Bahima's culinary gift to the world  
 eshabwe from the western region, and so many other  
 eshabwe and so much more, all for a mere tenner? W  
 eshabwe, is a delicious creamy-rich, thick, white  
 Eshabwe is served cold and never heated. It can be  
 Eshabwe is very nutritious and a good source of f  
 eshabwe into a white porcelain bowl or sauceboat.  
 eshabwe should not be warmed; it is eaten cold. Sh  
 eshabwe. As she gives me this interview, two ladie  
 eshabwe. At times I ring Mugisha to check whether  
 eshabwe come out poor. They would use eshisha (pap  
 eshabwe home. She also does deliveries. Mugisha sa  
 eshabwe is guaranteed. The dish has become popula  
 eshabwe more delicious, you can spice it up by add  
 eshabwe remains absorbable. The East African marke  
 eshabwe to carry home. You know this place also!

62 until you get the desired thickness. - Sieve the eshabwe to remove particles or impurities that cou  
 63 Nyinarimi) of the bride on the wedding day. Then, eshabwe was served in orwabya (clay bowl with lid)  
 64 as served in orwabya (clay bowl with lid). Today, eshabwe is served like any other dish to everyone.  
 65 e It is made from ghee, rock salt and cold water. Eshabwe is a delicacy in western Uganda, especiall  
 66 ar place is Friends Corner on Buremba Road. While eshabwe is a delicacy in some parts, it is a norma  
 67 g into the delicious Ankole cuisine flavored with eshabwe. Along everybody's journey in life, our pa  
 68 ore. It is also their culinary gift to the world. Eshabwe is made from mature butter and not ghee, a  
 69 o prepare the food. Some foods including yoghurt, eshabwe and cake icing can cause food poisoning if

KALO (AKARO) - [Millet bread]

N Concordance  
 1 in tomatoes, onions, greens, matooke, cassava and kalo (millet). School-going children on Saturdays  
 2 have been feeding on a diet of offal's, beans and kalo at a secret high altitude camp for the past t  
 3 usemate and I made supper - our favorite fish and kalo. When we called her to eat, she informed us t  
 4 entre after eating local bread popularly known as kalo which was prepared by their mother. The mothe  
 5 ter trying crude methods like swallowing bananas, kalo, posho or irish potatoes. The idea here is to  
 6 include traditional favourites like millet bread (kalo), matooke, posho, sweet and Irish potatoes an  
 7 George Muteso, served him a meal of millet bread (kalo) and beef. "My son's stomach was bulging ever  
 8 Apart from using millet to prepare millet bread (kalo) a main course meal or porridge, millet makes  
 9 s had capacity to only avail their members bread (Kalo, atap, matooke), but were unable to buy meat  
 10 t she was not hungry and her visitor does not eat kalo. We went ahead and ate. Interestingly, when h  
 11 solid brown millet meal. When you sit down to eat kalo (millet bread), can you still see the water o  
 12 . When he is in Bushenyi-Mbarara, he will ask for kalo and chicken, when he goes to Soroti, Muhumuza  
 13 r buffet offers a tremendous variety ranging from kalo, steamed matooke, braised katogo with offals,  
 14 ough her father never approved of it. 4. She hates kalo (millet paste) so much she would rather starv  
 15 nts, here the bigenderako (accompaniment) include kalo (millet), served in a small, decorated basket  
 16 Our local dishes normally begin with 'K.' katogo, kalo, kikomando, katunkuma, and kamulali. Just so  
 17 t. The hands do all the work. Amala which is like kalo (millet bread) is also available. Other items  
 18 em, maybe because he grew up in Buganda. He likes kalo (millet bread) and I like matooke, but I alwa  
 19 y 23, the UTC area LC I chairman, Okello Lukwajja kalo, wrote to the tenants summoning them for a me  
 20 u pick what you want off the menu: rice, matooke, kalo, balugu etc and a heavilyladen plate shall be  
 21 gna, pastas) and the African delicacies: matooke, kalo, peanut sauce, luwombo and sweet potatoes). L  
 22 ahead of the next competition. And your meals... Kalo or posho and beans. Doctors refused me from t  
 23 itionally ate cassava, sweet potatoes and millet kalo and shunned matooke as a staple food for sou  
 24 n with her timeless beads, the Luo woman mingling kalo (one of the most nutritious foods on planet e  
 25 hen this method failed, I gave him a big chunk of kalo (millet bread) to swallow, as is commonly don  
 26 ating, say, a fish bone, they are given a lump of kalo (millet bread) to swallow, in the hope that t  
 27 If you prefer to go western or Northern (Uganda), kalo, a millet bread you could swallow without che

KATOGO [Dish containing a mixture of different foods]

N Concordance  
1 others. Our local dishes normally begin with 'K.' katogo, kalo, kikomando, katunkuma, and kamulali.  
2 how angrily I swiftly devoured the kikomando and katogo. It was not until my last swallow that I re  
4 ady has its problems, I say. And most of us love katogo but I have never understood how people eat  
5 eople. Often, doughnuts and chapattis - sometimes katogo, are purchased from the nearby shops. So, y

KIKOMANDO [Chapatti stuffed with boiled beans]

N Concordance  
1 t loaded but still he is not poor he won't have a kikomando for supper. He meets my expectations. Wa  
2 hen the previous night she or he had to do with a Kikomando (chapatti with beans) for supper?, he as  
3 se at the chapatti, rolex (chapatti and eggs) and kikomando (chapatti and beans) stalls. Chapatti, f  
4 rs with tunes like Wendi, Maama W'abana, Bada and Kikomando. From Kaguta to kaveera Did you know tha  
5 ide chapatti, dust, and beans, otherwise known as kikomando in Ugandan lingo, you wonder what could  
6 sh1,000. Chapatti with beans, popularly known as kikomando, goes for sh500. Most of the houses are  
7 ce. I like their chapatti and beans also known as kikomando or the luwombo of g-nuts and mushrooms (k  
8 we were not concerned. They even came and bought kikomando (chapatti and beans) from us for lunch,-  
9 rolled with beans to make a cheaper rolex called kikomando, sold for sh300. The urban youth say aft  
10 d hurts and I am exhausted and hungry. I only eat kikomando, (chapatti and beans) for lunch. But his  
11 oks during the day and music at night. Do you eat kikomando? Chapatti and eggs is cheapest meal for  
12 sold for sh300. The urban youth say after eating kikomando, they can take an entire day without foo  
13 mpala, sings about hard work in his song entitled Kikomando while assuring the less fortunate city f  
14 ket. Politicians who tell them to make and export kikomando: that will make them rich, blah, blah. Q  
15 cal dishes normally begin with 'K'. katogo, kalo, kikomando, katunkuma, and kamulali. Just so you kn  
16 e food? Beans, cabbage and chapatti. Eh, you love kikomando! No matooke for you? Hahaha, when prepar  
17 nd beans for lunch or supper. He called this meal kikomando. Another word that is currently doing th  
18 nd beans for lunch or supper. He called this meal kikomando. Another word that is currently doing th  
19 for you? Hahaha, when prepared at home, it is not kikomando. [said with such feeling, you get the im  
20 ed by politicians. I have carried out research on Kikomando (mixed chapattis and beans) and the role  
21 e creative way to make chapatti than your regular kikomando (chapatti with beans)? Try a chapatti wh  
22 will have a hearty laughter from the first skit, Kikomando Special, that tackles a delicacy in Kamp  
23 e pay Shs 800. Below are the different types: The Kikomando Named after the tough commandoes, you wi  
24 ation. Picture how angrily I swiftly devoured the kikomando and katogo. It was not until my last swa  
25 users, it is time to leave home and return to the kikomando or perhaps kikumi kikumi meals. No wonde

26 layed Jose Chameleone's Bomboclat and Bobi Wine's Kikomando. The singers must have swelled with pride  
27 vendors) have a long menu comprising pilao, yams, kikomando, tea, bushera, roast sausages, fish and

LUWOMBO [Dish prepared in banana leaves]

N Concordance  
1 I usually help in the preparation of matooke and luwombo. Talking to my parents also reminds me of  
2 es for are the simple treats with his people like luwombo, malakwang or bushera; things that don't s  
3 cravings for unlikely things like sweet potatoes, luwombo and millet bread! So, to minimise the mono  
4 rthern region. Nalongo Restaurant in Katwe serves Luwombo of chicken, beef or groundnut, a popular d  
5 chapatti and beans also known as kikomando or the luwombo of g-nuts and mushrooms (obutiko). As I se  
6

MANDAZI [A kind of confectionary/doughnut]

N Concordance  
1 Mukiga not a Muhororo will buy over ten pieces of mandazi and they will chew as some oil drills out  
2 ahead with your girl, all that is trash tanyumya mandazi. Saviva: Jackie, let the man and lady just  
3 d be seen escaping in the air. Besides, after the Mandazi, he will also find Nyama-choma around Sang  
4 e businesses span from real estate development to mandazi making, earning hundreds of millions a yea  
5 ng more and more people wherever demand for their mandazis, saucepans or bushera can find a market.

MATOOKE [Green bananas/dish of steamed green bananas]

N Concordance  
1 vestments. The President also visited the 20-acre matooke and cattle farm of Mr and Mrs Yassin Ntand  
2 ribu, a Ugandan restaurant serving up cassava and matooke (green bananas), to Sisters, a hair salon  
3 ali's shop which sells everything from Nile Beer, matooke and Ugandan soda to Mwana Mugimu. Ebyangwe  
4 enyan discusses Museveni and how he can even cook matooke. And the pan-Africanists, the Zimbabweans,  
5 ED A PIT LATRINE, NONSENSE!! Sit and learn to eat matooke NOT POSHO YOUR STAPLE FOOD, HUUUUU!! but r  
6 sive or hard to find, people wrap food especially matooke in polythene (kaveera) bags, while some ve  
7 them a run for their money. Go try it out. Forget matooke; you haven't tasted true Ugandan cuisine i  
8 p my mother prepare tonto, a local brew made from matooke and sorghum. Up to now, when my family gat  
9 nt out to the garden and tilled the land, growing matooke (central Uganda), millet (eastern, parts o  
10 shes, especially my husband's favourite, which is matooke and groundnut sauce. Then there was the la  
11 it] I like it with watermelon juice. I don't like matooke. You must eat little food, then. Yes. Some

12 cabbage and chapatti. Eh, you love kikomando! No matooke for you? Hahaha, when prepared at home, it  
14 for their return journey to the city where, now, matooke is going for 30k a bunch; and we are talki  
15 ood is also sold cheaply. For example, a plate of matooke, rice and beef costs sh1,000. Chapatti wit  
16 used by both students and staff. After a lunch of matooke, boiled Irish potatoes and cowpeas, we hea  
17 After mass, I usually help in the preparation of matooke and luwombo. Talking to my parents also re  
19 themselves two spoonfuls of sauce and a slice of matooke yet their village counterparts ate rusaniy  
20 y. Oil is, therefore, not comparable to coffee or matooke and must as such be given special treatmen  
21 r choice. Such a mixture can be served with yams, matooke, cassava, potatoes because it contains ani

#### MCHOMO/NYAMA-CHOMA [Barbecue (n)]

N Concordance  
1 las mime Paul Kafeero and Red Banton songs. Their mchomo is also not bad. The odd Acholi boy is most  
2 t apart from M7s would you throw a party and eat "muchomo" for every government soldier killed by Al  
3 atter is this guy has not disowned his Al Shabaab Muchomo remarks. He is inconsequential to M7, that  
4 ir. Besides, after the Mandazi, he will also find Nyama-choma around Sanga towards Mbarara, believe  
5 to refuel. The major stop was at Mubende for some nyama choma and a couple of beers enjoyed over Rol

#### MUKENE [Some kind of silver-coloured fish]

N Concordance  
1 powder and cook until ready. Powdered mukene: Buy mukene (small white fish) from any market place. R  
2 such as green vegetables, eggplants, silver fish (mukene) and others because of the common belief th  
3 n powder, powdered milk, powdered dried fish like mukene and groundnut paste. How to prepare bean po  
4 y be rinsed, pounded or chopped in a blender. Mix mukene paste or ponder with groundnut paste and an  
5 lop a rather unpleasant smell. Drying is optional mukene can simply be rinsed, pounded or chopped in  
6 er to maize powder and cook until ready. Powdered mukene: Buy mukene (small white fish) from any mar  
7 ava, potatoes because it contains animal protein (mukene). Powdered milk: Dry skimmed milk can be mi

#### NSENE [Pan-fried Grasshoppers]

N Concordance  
1 been destroyed by grasshoppers, locally known as nsenene, which invaded the district last month. Th

2 water and roasted grasshoppers, commonly known as nsenene. Addressing reporters at the City Hall, Dr  
3 expected an explosion to rival that detonated by nsenene to rock my mouth, if only to justify the e  
4 he children can easily be abducted while catching nsenene. They can also be abused either physically  
5 them. CRIME WATCH with John Kamya - Our Delicious nsenene can easily lead to grief SINCE mid-Novembe  
6 it to degrade or spoil, though not unsafe to eat. Nsenene business booms The appetite for the crispy  
7 che, composure and the fact that he enjoys eating nsenene. Unfortunately, the simple fact of the mat  
8 danger that people are going to be electrocuted. Nsenene harvesters have been given the liberty of  
9 n: Eggs, milk and all dairy products, meat, fish, nsenene, white ants (nswa), esami and other animal  
10 rasshoppers. Almost everyone in Nyendo earns from nsenene, says Kiyimba. But even with the nsenene  
11 are one of the best-selling items in any grocery. Nsenene excite Kampala Local business people in Na  
12 and bootlegged copies of the DVD are selling like nsenene. In the west, it has created a renewed int  
13 ested areas as they move. Butterflies swarm like nsenene (grasshoppers) at a given time of the year  
14 cially in the evening hours during this season of nsenene. So many dangers can befall the young ones  
15 on Thursday made brisk business from the sale of nsenene (grasshoppers), a causing traffic jam and  
16 mostly by women and children, the grasshopper or nsenene business, has evolved into a booming aspec  
17 Chinese dealing in rolex (chapatti and egg roll), nsenene or small phones. Retail business should be  
18 irman of the Nyendo Grasshopper Association, says nsenene money accounts for up to 90% of the reside  
19 en destroyed or lost during the smoking, he says. Nsenene also contain appreciable amounts of omega  
20 they were free. Even the mobile vendors who sell nsenene don't charge for the containers, so why sh  
21 sides. Over 50% of victims told us they had taken nsenene or other food items at stalls. It is there  
22 r 5.6 grammes. People in Uganda already know that nsenene (grasshoppers) are a seasonal delicacy. No  
23 icipality, were excited. The storm signalled that nsenene (grasshoppers) would swarm the town that e  
24 ns from nsenene," says Kiyimba. But even with the nsenene income, Nyendo is still like other slums i  
25 fresh tree branches while trying to hit down the nsenene flying around the street light. A fresh tr  
26 mid-November, the country has been locked in the nsenene craze. The season of grasshoppers is chara  
27 rence numbers without any remedy. Ironically, the nsenene investors always get power to catch the in  
28 f these children that send them over to catch the nsenene. However, parents in urban areas need to b  
29 and gambling and the Police doing their job, the nsenene week was busy. Charles Kiyimba, the chairm  
30 the nearby landing sites eager to cash in on the nsenene money, defilement and rape cases, to assau  
31 of the whereabouts of their children during this nsenene season. Apart from the other dangers we ha

POSHO [A maize meal also known in East Africa as Ugali]

N Concordance  
1 lls and Safi? Chapatti and byenda or molokoni and posho? These decisions will affect the general co  
2 under-funded. It is an average meal, very basic; posho and beans, dry tea and may be porridge. The  
3 boys. He would also use some of the money to buy posho and beans to feed the members. THE BAND GET  
4 a mattress. We continued to have one meal a day, posho and beans, being kept indoors for several mo  
5 u says, "I eat well to avoid falling sick. I love posho, millet, bushera (millet porridge) and milk.  
6 RINE, NONSENSE!! Sit and learn to eat matooke NOT POSHO YOUR STAPLE FOOD, HUUUUU!! but remember to s  
7 s in Luzira are extreme. An average meal a day of posho and beans, a cup of dry (black) tea with ver

8 heir own meals. Forget the high school routine of posho - sometimes rice and beans. Or home, where  
9 en paid for months they are being paid in form of posho and beans in 2013, I hope they dont resort t  
10 wounds. On Mondays and Wednesdays they are fed on posho, beans plus groundnut/simsim paste (odi). Th  
11 ontribute food like sweet potatoes, groundnuts or posho to feed the children. It is quite amazing ho  
12 plete protein. (That is why schools tend to serve posho or rice + beans, peas and groundnuts to thei  
13 ngi's room because somebody might have placed the posho there. I [also] want to get a satisfactory e  
14 gossiping, singing religious songs, expecting the posho and beans, and the beatings by the soldiers.  
15 toilet. Our big problem was just getting used to posho. Harry Sagara: Cheating is cool, if not caug  
17 difficult. We were given one meal a day: ugali, (posho) and beans. When one wanted to go to the toi  
18 istency. Do not make the sauce watery. Serve with posho, rice, chapatti or millet. You can also add

#### ROLEX [Egg and chapatti roll]

#### N Concordance

1 Ugandan cuisine if you don't know the taste of a rolex. In time we will have another type I am sure  
2 ate account of why this chapatti roll is called a rolex, but one thing is for sure: there is no conn  
3 I still don't remember the first time I tasted a rolex, but one thing I know is that I am not about  
4 sity vividly remembers the first time he tasted a rolex. With every bite he wanted more and more;  
5 tti stand in the park? I have a desire to build a rolex and chapatti stand in the Queen Elizabeth Na  
6 a week without going down to Wandegeya to grab a rolex, he says. A basic rolex is a chapatti rolle  
7 dwiches of chapattis and eggs, commonly known as rolex, for people to stuff their tummies. Amos Mul  
8 n to Wandegeya to grab a rolex," he says. A basic rolex is a chapatti rolled up with two fried eggs  
9 oints are only rivalled by those at the chapatti, rolex (chapatti and eggs) and kikomando (chapatti  
10 ttis are also rolled with beans to make a cheaper rolex called kikomando, sold for sh300. The urban  
11 gwa, a Makerere University student who discovered rolex when he moved to Kikoni three years ago says  
12 ndo (chapatti and beans) stalls. Chapatti, fries, rolex, sausage, chicken. Mouth-watering diet, huh?  
13 the world renowned brand name for watches. Here, rolex serves a different purpose to help universit  
14 business in Uganda. You find a Chinese dealing in rolex (chapatti and egg roll), nsenene or small ph  
15 ial, that tackles a delicacy in Kampala, that is, Rolex (chapatti and eggs). So the MP (Zizinga) not  
16 the timeless luxury watch, the Rolex. The Kampala rolex ranges from shs 800 to shs1,500 depending on  
17 young men stares at us with an indifferent look. Rolex! Daphne says impatiently. The young men ig  
18 kidney. But when broke, it is nothing for lunch, rolex for supper. For some reason, lunch is not a  
19 as found and beaten very badly. The guy who makes rolex at that turn will show you the hostel. tel.  
20 resident of Kikoni, earns his living from making rolex. He adds water to wheat flour and kneads the  
21 any Ugandans, including renowned local musicians. Rolex, initially associated with a brand of Swiss  
22 inutes. I don't labour to find food, he says. One rolex goes for sh600 (an egg and chapatti), but th  
23 d peer pressure finally drove him to the roadside rolex and he has never looked back. "I can't go a  
24 and carrots are added. Girls who formerly shunned rolex as a low status symbol have now made their w  
25 nie Natenza, a student. rolex and Kampala's slums Rolex is getting an open invitation to Kampala's d

26 ts of customers', says Winnie Natenza, a student. rolex and Kampala's slums Rolex is getting an open  
27 . However, unknown to the city survivors, is that rolex has hidden costs that come with poor hygiene  
28 s. Health implications A few metres away from the rolex outlet at Kikoni, passersby cough and spit w  
29 rcy of roadside food vendors", says Mwesigwa. The rolex revolution signifies the changing times at M  
30 about to stop. How else would I know how much the rolex has evolved and taken different more tasty t  
31 before he got to university, he had detested the rolex, looking at it like a meal for the not so we  
32 on Kikomando (mixed chapattis and beans) and the rolex you eat. The results indicate that your toxi  
33 e Italians may have invented the pizza but in the rolex, we have given them a run for their money. G  
34 no connection with the timeless luxury watch, the Rolex. The Kampala rolex ranges from Shs 800 to Sh  
35 een its share of wars to clear two of these. This rolex comes with not just two eggs and the vegetab  
36 g stomachs, prevention is better than cure. Thus, rolex must be eaten hot to avoid disease causing o  
37 but it is not in the shape of a ship. The titanic rolex is made up of a chapatti rolled up with four  
38 been fading. This has condemned more students to rolex and left many at the mercy of roadside food  
39 dly yet I'll pay for the purchase. Hygiene Watch- Rolex: Fast and tasty, but how safe is it? CELINE  
40 iversity students keep with the pace of life. why rolex is popular Michael Mwesigwa, a Makerere Univ

DETOOTH [Fleece someone]; DETOOTHER ['Gold-digger']

N  
1           Concordance  
2           h him. Duh! And when she doesn't, he labels her a detoother. Someone who took his money and bolted.  
3           to be a custom now. But you know what I was also detoothered for papers by a Ugandan and am a Ugandan  
4           ything. But you girls! You hear them saying, I am detoothing him, yet the biggest thing is being tak  
5           on me]. By the way, people say today's girls are detootherers, but we were the true detootherers. For u  
6           could sympathise with her but I won't having been detoothered by a mzungu woman. I got her at her lowe  
7           for Uganda," he said. Quick Talk: We were better detootherers than today's girls Nandujja Annette N  
8           girls" as you are calling them Mwaami Byekwaso. "Detootherers", "Liars" etc. But still they seem to b  
9           you cannot be a gold-digger for life. You cannot detooth a person you are living with for the rest  
10          child. My God! Knowing what he is, I knew he had detoothered the white woman. I said no, my daughter no  
11          the guys on board. We were talking about what is detoothing and what is not, and by the time we doc  
12          'Mzungu' detoothered by her Mukiga love (Real-life Story) Am w  
13          ext time try and find out the background of these detootherers! Byekwaso: Baganda women are a curse!!!  
14          t find that he wasted them now he wants u back to detooth you more. My dear heart breaks happen but  
15          oday's girls are detootherers, but we were the true detootherers. For us, men bought us things and we wo  
            you take a lady out and pick the tab, it is utter detoothing for her to walk away at the end of the

DRY TEA [Black tea]

N Concordance

1 is an average meal, very basic; posho and beans, dry tea and may be porridge. The law doesn't allow  
2 ating in the dormitory every evening and enjoying dry tea alone. Tired of his selfishness, his roomm  
3 ed some women in Arua to add groundnut paste into dry tea, making it drinkable, since the paste gave  
4 for the father while the child gets a big cup of dry tea. The children steal because they are hungr  
5 an thank heavens if their wives can whip up tepid dry tea and a morsel of bread. Something happened  
6 arby communal tap and prepare breakfast - usually dry tea - for mummy. Breakfast will be cooked only  
7 menu. The boxers have to brave the breakfast with dry tea and hard French bread, which team doctor N  
8 ly, his grandmother fed him on cold potatoes with dry tea, claiming his condition could not allow hi

ENTANDIKWA [Business Start-up Capital]

N Concordance

1 stries (Shs 30m), Nawantumbi Bamusamba (Shs 10m), Entandikwa for youth (Shs 10m). The donations that  
2 nclude the Plan for Modernisation of Agriculture, Entandikwa scheme, and the current Bonna Bagaggawa  
3 erventions, such as the rural farmers' scheme and Entandikwa have also been tried. In recent years,  
4 mmes in the past, including the Rural Farmers and Entandikwa schemes, these poor souls are still exc  
5 but ended up offering little. Programmes such as Entandikwa and Bonna Bagagawale were similarly tai  
6 price and retain a net of 10 cows in his kraal as entandikwa for his new home. According to Pokot tr  
7 ction former band mate machines worth Shs 100m as entandikwa. Not bad. Bushoke rocks Jinja Jinja is  
8 ects such as the Luwero War Veterans Association, Entandikwa, and a ministry in charge of Luwero Tri  
9 ases. Prominent among these was the Shs 9 billion Entandikwa project launched in 1997, which like Bo  
10 is case? According to scripture, the ten cows for entandikwa including all the ensuing calves - mu  
11 g this money. So it is going to be different from entandikwa. Is giving credit best option? Beyond  
12 bwogo, UYC chairman, says government efforts like Entandikwa and NAADS have been misused, citing the  
13 lopment programmes government has initiated, like Entandikwa, Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)  
14 of the failed poverty alleviation programmes like Entandikwa which were abused as political freebies  
15 ment initiatives based on tokenism such as NAADS, Entandikwa, Prosperity for All, microfinance SACCO  
16 eed Mr John it is the fifth Kiwani from olubengo, entandikwa, bonnabagaggawale etc. It is very clear  
17 t its leadership and instead continued to promote Entandikwa, Bonna bagagawale, Naads etc... which h  
18 ghts, the demands for things like ebyaffe, roads, entandikwa etc, will only be used for self-serving  
19 e very keen on Bonna Bagaggawale funding. We sent entandikwa (start-up capital) money to the people  
20 sts say. It is precisely for that reason that the entandikwa scheme failed as people believed the mo  
21 u can't just wish away the positive impact of the entandikwa scheme. The fact is that it was partly  
22 s have ever been useful to Ugandans!! You started ENTANDIKWA scheme to fool farmers, which was a tot  
23 locals to access loans. This one is not like the Entandikwa Scheme. You have to show commitment and  
24 vote winning anti-poverty programmes", notably the entandikwa scheme. First, just like previous ones  
25 ous consequences. The notable polices include the entandikwa scheme, whose object was to lift people  
26 t, you should know better. Betty Longcap: "...the entandikwa scheme, whose object was to lift people

27 ammes started earlier by the government, like the Entandikwa scheme and others, suffered abuse by bo  
28 That we would trust Kampala Casino more than the Entandikwa scheme - Yye what happened to this? No  
29 cle of dependency and entitlement that killed the Entandikwa scheme. Last year, I visited several co  
30 e of the mid 1990s that was vernacularised as the entandikwa was meant for the poor folks and not th  
31 thinking it was still 1986! From Barter trade, to Entandikwa scheme, to Poverty alleviation, to Bonn  
32 unting yet another token, like what happened with Entandikwa. Be that as it may, this latest exercis  
33 loans at affordable interest rates. We began with entandikwa (start-up capital scheme). People thoug  
34 th one programme after another. They started with Entandikwa, then Poverty Eradication Action Progra

KABAKA [Title for King of Buganda]

N  
1 Concordance  
2 ame. So one should go; we either choose to have a Kabaka for Uganda or remain with a president for u  
3 ing riots that broke out after government blocked Kabaka Ronald Mutebi from travelling to the secess  
4 I am an academic. So, there's no way I could call Kabaka a boy or say that he needs to be taught a l  
5 for supper otherwise Museveni scored on ebyaffe, Kabaka action humiliated semujju and cohorts. Boon  
6 ut because my King asked me to do so. My love for Kabaka and Buganda is neither bought or imposed. I  
7 that we supported M7s war because of our love for Kabaka and Buganda. I lost my father and 3 brother  
8 that matter, has to show, demonstrat e hatred for Kabaka in order to show how much he/she supports m  
9 years old then, burst into tears when she saw her Kabaka being pushed by a mzungu into a car, which  
10 vel. We now know that the reason the His Highness Kabaka was stopped from going to Kayunga was becau  
11 eements with Mengo but it does not mean insulting Kabaka or his institution. M7 should know that up  
12 n Government, Buganda went into Plan B - that is, Kabaka Yekka party whose sole aim was to deny Bene  
13 that he is the king of the most populous kingdom, Kabaka Mutebi will stay influential both in Bugand  
14 sister would still be alive, Dr Kasirye laments. Kabaka needs to rededicate Buganda to God At the b  
15 olve strongly from the 1950s until the 1966 Obote/Kabaka debacle. Ever since, Uganda has not been st  
16 oney from we poor baganda peasants in the name of Kabaka. Okello: Hon. Ssemujju Nganda, you've said  
17 ka), arrested in Kenya and accused of funding pro-Kabaka Mutesa groups in Nairobi; and Hon. Semu Sse  
18 nstitution does not respect this. Rather, it puts Kabaka above all in Buganda. This alone has bother  
19 In fact, it was during that period when Sabasajja Kabaka was violated & humiliated for trying to visit  
20 restoring law and order. It further observed that Kabaka was blocked from travelling to Kayunga for  
21 ame of Buganda Kingdom. I read with surprise that Kabaka would not return nor want to talk to the pr  
22 nt consultant. It was in the US where she met the Kabaka and the rest as the cliché goes is history.  
23 that has tested the waters for both leaders, the Kabaka and the President, the Kabaka has showed th  
24 oday that he would continue to associate with the Kabaka and would ignore deliberate overtones linki  
25 e bullets with pride. Ozoo: The president and the kabaka are titles that cannot match together becau  
26 f the Ismaili community and biblical analogy, the Kabaka asked his subjects to seek ye first the ec  
27 27 people dead, scores rotting in prisons and the Kabaka being indefinitely banned from visiting Bug  
28 rsonalize and or undermine the institution of the Kabaka but understand how it operates only then wi  
29 f his Buganda Kingdom. But late this evening, the Kabaka called off visit, citing the need to preven  
30 said Buganda's glory will only be restored if the Kabaka commits the kingdom to God and detaches it  
31 m officials, on the other hand, insisted that the Kabaka did not need permission from anybody to tra  
32 . She prays to God that she never experiences the Kabaka's exile and the overthrow of the late Presi  
33 other hand the president in obviously barring the Kabaka from going to Bugerere has also proven a cr  
34 rms. what did such a person really do to stop the Kabaka from going to Kayunga? You got to realise t  
35 greater and more than those of a minister in the Kabaka's Government. Nothing has changed since the  
36 because he returned the kingdoms but because the Kabaka had asked us to do so. Herbert: The blood t  
37 r both leaders, the Kabaka and the President, the Kabaka has showed that he has support of his subje  
38 ted statements. Remember him blasting the H.H the Kabaka. He has no credibility, and shows his ignor  
39 hat he should not classify himself in anyway. The Kabaka in Buganda does not negotiate, it's His Luk  
40 ity issue before if got fanned? truth be told the Kabaka in calling off the visit, has demonstrated  
41 y running of the kingdom affairs on behalf of the Kabaka. Mayiga's initiative of liberating Buganda  
42 to be respected. what HE need to know is that the Kabaka never segregates between his people in term  
43 other pastors, the Pentecostal leaders asked the Kabaka of Buganda Ronald Muwenda Mutebi to rededic  
lo to pray. Others were going to Lubiri where the Kabaka of Buganda was the chief guest. Also many o

44 the members. Kakuuto MP Mathias Kasamba said the Kabaka of Buganda supported development on his lan  
45 Amazaalibwa is a happy birthday dedication to the Kabaka of Buganda, Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II. It is  
46 es of God we lost our glory. We therefore ask the Kabaka Ronald Muwenda Mutebi to rededicate Buganda  
47 ells me. The house is indeed a few paces from the Kabaka's roundabout in Mengo and interestingly a f  
48 o so. His discussion if it is to be held with the Kabaka shall not be binding but just a freindly ta  
49 economy, loss of life and property. Kibuuka: The Kabaka should have gone ahead to celebrate in kasa  
50 least return the kingdom's land and also pay the Kabaka the money that the Government owes the king  
51 od of those people will be on the killers and the kabaka. This retrogressive 'kingdoms' should be ab  
52 ing the army if need be. But was the visit of the Kabaka to Bugerere really a security issue before  
53 is impossible for the two giants(Museveni and the Kabaka) to meet at public functions in recent year  
54 e reason the Banyala were put up to coerse HH the Kabaka to return HE YKM's calls and now that he pi  
55 nothing. From the voices, actions and events, the Kabaka's visit and the chaos attendant thereto, we  
56 da and Uganda? The evidence of the chaos over the Kabaka's visit to Kayunga clearly shows that this  
57 hospitable and welcoming the Baganda are. If the Kabaka went to the bush to fight, he and his peopl  
58 tion negotiated by several committees. I hear the Kabaka will appoint a two-member committee to meet  
59 adio, President Yoweri Museveni insisted that the Kabaka would not be allowed to set foot in Kayunga  
60 e actions and diatribe against the Baganda, their Kabaka and Buganda. The situation has not been hel  
61 s guards. The Baganda have always protected their Kabaka. Chan: Omuganda Nnakabala, just because it  
62 in 1844, when Ahmed Ibn Ibrahim reached the then Kabaka's palace. It is however also believed that  
63 if in 1966 the 20 Kabaka Yekka MPs were loyal to Kabaka. By remaining determinedly supportive of Si

KALE

N Concordance  
1 traffic amounts/fines from them; that's not true! Kale meeting the IGP was not on the agenda but the  
2 ime. At the moment she can say words bannange and kale. She has grown very weak and at times fails t  
3 eel it is great, go ahead and pursue it. Dorothy: Kale you should go to Butabika because you are mad  
4 ar some Ugandans are celebrating my imprisonment. Kale! God is seeing them. I have been thinking abo  
5 eclipse even when we knew it wouldn't last line. Kale idleness is horrible! People are busy looking  
6 wrong with your head. SORRY ! Roger: Kyoka M7... Kale!! Kabogoza:There are miseries on every death.  
7 you acquire sexually transmitted degree?? Masiga: kale we boys read but gals just relax and get mark  
8 h he avoided the temptation by also helping out. kale I see it is over...guma! Anne E: Hi,I send my  
9 but in vain. Her behaviours never change. Rechel: Kale Fred you are so mean. Do you think your girlf  
10 which Luganda words have they taught you? webale, kale and wanji. People wonder why you decided to s

KATIKKIRO [title for Prime Minister of Buganda kingdom]

N Concordance  
1 Felix, Katumba wamala, Koreta Ivan, Kagina Allen, Katikkiro, Kabaka and others out there. The outspo  
2 My father Martin Luther Nsibirwa had just become Katikkiro of Buganda Kingdom in April. He took his  
3 re was bound to be changes as to who could become Katikkiro, Omwanika and Omulamuzi - the criteria h  
4 ry Christian Church in Ndeeba to dedicate Buganda Katikkiro Charles Peter Mayiga and his reign to Go  
5 that I say some words to you on his behalf," the Katikkiro explained. Present at the prayers, which  
6 the agriculture sector. Charles Mayiga He is the Katikkiro of Buganda, charged with the day-to-day  
7 trade currency of a relationship/marriage. As the Katikkiro demands certificates for introducing Bag  
8 nd outlaw divination (Obusamize)," Lwere told the Katikkiro. He gave the example of the East African  
9 ro Charles Peter Mayiga and his reign to God. The Katikkiro arrived at the church at around 11:00am  
10 not glorify God. Dr. Joseph Serwadda anointed the Katikkiro and prayed that God would give him the w  
11 a to unite. Speaking on behalf of the Kabaka, the Katikkiro, J.B. walusimbi, said with unity, all th  
12 tuents, who were gearing up for the function, the Katikkiro is understood to have prevailed over the  
13 t stop supporting my opponents. And this is where Katikkiro Charles Peter Mayiga needs to go slow. I

## KAVEERA [Plastic bag]

N Concordance  
1 as handy and substitutes for paper bags. By 2000 kaveera was even used as food container. Today, it  
2 st hit Kampala, food was often served to you in a kaveera you had to pay for. Nobody really minded,  
3 it should not be kept for more than an hour in a kaveera. Betty Kasanka of the Health control unit,  
4 Uganda clinic, says juice should not be kept in a kaveera for more than six hours if it is refrigera  
5 r costs between sh500 to sh1,500. Juice sold in a kaveera goes for between sh100 and sh200, while pl  
6 on. You people of soroti, let us open war against kaveera. Stop using them because they are dangerou  
7 is concluded we are going to ensure that the anti-kaveera law is enforced. Previous failed bans on  
8 are not regulated. Paper bag makers shift base as kaveera ghost hits with vengeance By Gerald Tenywa  
9 nd importation of plastic bags, commonly known as kaveera to December. The Minister of Finance, Ezra  
10 the presence of plastic bags, otherwise known as kaveera. Buried under the ground, the plastic bags  
11 the manufacture and importation of plastic bags (kaveera) and impose a hefty levy on thicker ones,  
12 d, Hot Loaf, a Ugandan company, use plastic bags (kaveera) to pack bread consumed here while they pa  
13 he Government in implementing the polythene bags (kaveera) ban. In the 2009/2010 budget read two wee  
14 bove. However, the ministry's proposal was to ban kaveera of 100 microns and above. Unfortunately at  
15 ey had made recommendations to the Cabinet to ban kaveera about five years ago. The United Nations E  
16 environment abuse. Rwanda, next door, has banned kaveera and is doing very well. Uganda is better a  
17 he dangers of the plastic bags are well-known but kaveera proponents have been arguing that a total  
18 Nancy, a resident of Kampala, says: I always buy kaveera water because it is cheaper than mineral w  
19 not afford longer lasting carriers. In many cases kaveera has been used for waste disposal, this is  
20 y city dwellers cannot afford. But as you consume kaveera food, or juice sold in mineral water bottl  
21 for environment. She does not know how dangerous Kaveera is to our environment, she said. Anywar ad  
23 Ugandans threw away banana leaves, khaki bags for kaveera To mark 50 years of Uganda's independence,  
24 ended the deadline from September to December for kaveera traders to recover their money. The reason  
25 imary School where we separate other rubbish from kaveera before burning it, said the headmistress o  
26 r will they listen to Badagaw's proposal and give kaveera manufacturers the green light? FDC lauds k  
27 and recover their money. Some traders still have kaveera worth billions of shillings, but the deadl  
28 he urge to push the baby, so she quickly laid her kaveera (polythene bag) on the floor. Three pushe  
29 ll, most of these items come packed or wrapped in Kaveera or plastic container. Ugandans are obsesse  
30 im that they had resorted to easing themselves in kaveera (polythene bags) due to lack of a function  
31 ead for export to Rwanda in paper bags. There is kaveera which is even given free to the shoppers,  
32 kaveera. When you try to dig, all you pull out is kaveera. She says that whenever it rains, Kaveera  
33 age them. The writer is environmental journalist. Kaveera makers secure injunction on 120% tax By Da  
34 into chasing mirages? The writer is a journalist Kaveera faces ban, high taxes By Gerald Tenywa in  
35 kaveera manufacturers the green light? FDC lauds kaveera ban By Moses Mulondo The Forum for Democra  
37 id Uganda was committed to solving the problem of kaveera. The findings in the report were based on  
38 ay many tourists and visitors. Gases burnt out of Kaveera cause global warming. arming.  
39 are trying to fight," Saula says. Alternatives of Kaveera As plastic bags continue to become a menac  
40 e New Vision Business council calls for review of kaveera law By Prossy Nandudu The East African Com  
41 d old days- the 50s and 60s when land was free of kaveera. We used to pack all our groceries in kak  
42 ut has remained on the shelf. Careless dumping of kaveera remains rampant largely because of lack of

43 circulars to parents informing them of the ban of kaveera in their premises. The same group came up  
 44 saijja. She said improvisation with alternatives of kaveera is a must if the campaign of zero toleranc  
 45 areas were impoverished after the introduction of kaveera in our community. These women used to make  
 46 mainly due to lack of awareness on which kind of kaveera had been banned. We cant retract ban on ka  
 47 enforcement agencies will deal with smugglers of kaveera the same way they have handled contraband  
 48 eed among the member states. The disadvantages of kaveera far outweigh its benefits. Yearning for sh  
 49 ouncil passes a by-law on the use of all types of kaveera. All the selected nine schools should sent  
 50 from the initial deadline of January. The ban on kaveera of 30-micron and below was agreed upon by  
 51 erful lobby pushing for the lifting of the ban on kaveera, but he insists this will take the country  
 52 an companies. Paper investors want a total ban on kaveera Although Jaco Agencies are exporting paper  
 53 f kaveera had been banned. We cant retract ban on kaveera Recently, President Museveni met the board  
 54 e 2011 elections. Government should be serious on kaveera ban By Gerald Tenywa The Government is beh  
 55 r interested groups in Kenya and abroad. A ban on kaveera is among proposals aimed at reducing the u  
 56 of locally produced biodegradable bags. A ban on kaveera of 30-micron and below was agreed upon by  
 57 do you expect Mutagamba to give the President on kaveera? whose agenda does the minister articulate  
 58 men and the local community who greatly depend on kaveera for local packaging. Once these children a  
 59 i and when I go shopping I either use a kikapu or kaveera. Merry Christmas and a happy new year. Kwa  
 60 people wrap food especially matooke in polythene (kaveera) bags, while some vendors sell cooked food  
 61 , sale, manufacture and importation of polythene (kaveera) materials. Gerald Sendaula, the council c  
 62 s will be more beneficial to us and to posterity. Kaveera ban fails; minister proposes review By Mar  
 63 out is kaveera. She says that whenever it rains, Kaveera is washed down the ground, including the g  
 64 ya and last years Nobel Peace Prize Winner, said kaveera litter was linked to malaria. Wangari said  
 65 pping? says Nakibuule Mukasa, a regular shopper. Kaveera also serves as school bag for many pupils  
 66 ecause he could have easily slid off the slippery kaveera. with her baby cradled in her arms, Nakak  
 67 Kampala has upheld the view by Green Watch, that kaveera use violates the right for Ugandans to a  
 68 onal Environment Management Authority (NEMA). The kaveera however, has been a contentious issue. War  
 69 resign or be sacked because her objection to the kaveera ban is a clear indicator that she is not f  
 70 . It was noted that many schools disposed off the kaveera in their compounds by burning it together  
 71 e why they are not implementing provisions of the kaveera ban. I know the anti-ban lobby is strong,  
 72 goga to poor sanitation. After defecating in the kaveera, people throw it on roofs, from where some  
 73 ht. So when people find it closed, they resort to kaveera. David Mukama, the sanitation coordinator  
 74 Maama W'abana, Bada and Kikomando. From Kaguta to kaveera BY PABLO Did you know that the letter 'k'  
 75 g that the use of paper bags as an alternative to kaveera saves the environment. Luswaata says that  
 76 to produce any crops. All this she attributes to kaveera. When you try to dig, all you pull out is  
 77 s do at their school. The public should say no to kaveera. Personally I resist the practice of shop  
 78 users' side, says Badagawa. It is possible to use kaveera in a responsible manner. We need to educat  
 80 nment, she warned. She advised women never to use kaveera for covering food and urged them to bury r  
 81 ned the people of Soroti against buying and using kaveera (polythene bags). Ssebagereka, who was add  
 82 nge to the production of paper bags. Traders want kaveera ban deadline extended By Emmy Olaki KAMPAL  
 83 poor engaged in collection of the plastic waste. Kaveera ban to be revived The ban is still there,  
 84 soils By John Kasozi ABOUT 3,000 tonnes of waste kaveera (plastic bags) find their way into Ugandan  
 85 a water because it is cheaper than mineral water. Kaveera water costs between sh100 to sh300, while  
 86 sident Museveni at State House Entebbe last week. Kaveera makers want ban lifted By Gerald Tenywa TH  
 87 plementation was hampered by confusion over which kaveera were below or above 30 microns. We have be

88 strategy and the time for playing ping pong with kaveera ran out yesterday. Ban it and then work on  
89 with a recreational facility Imagine life without kaveera (polythene bag)! Look around your house; f  
90 ay to day lives. I cannot imagine a life without kaveera. It is the cheapest way of packing and tra

KIWAANI [Counterfeit/fake/imitation]

N Concordance  
1 he leave? Sebugwawo: Can you imagine he called a kiwani press conference on Tuesday but chickened o  
2 the boys' parents. Sebugwawo: That means he is a kiwani coach only fit to handle a team of potato g  
3 turns up in flesh and blood. She might also be a kiwani. Have you guys exchanged any gifts? Pascal:  
4 aa, life can be strange. This Arshavin might be a kiwani. Steve: I think we put too much hope in the  
5 junkies. Madoi: Gwe Vianney, I hear you gave us a kiwani. Ssimbwa says he has never quit KCC. Sebugw  
6 rmentor, a one Mwohlestakov, was revealed to be a kiwani (fake) Government Inspector. According to s  
7 krumah and Nasser roads, are part of the accepted kiwani (counterfeit) wave that hit Uganda recently  
8 nto my phone. The guard tells me her name is Anne Kiwani (But she seems real). "You do not look Zamb  
9 ar lyrics) is echoing everywhere mazongoto, bada, kiwani, faamu, ekyapa, ggali ekozeeko, digi, akame  
10 um recently, Bobi wine explained that he borrowed kiwani from the word biwaani (colloquial speak for  
11 ntly lying and cheating, he explains. Hence, ekyo kiwani or simply kiwani, is a way to identify a fr  
12 ontest. Kabayekka: Indeed Mr John it is the fifth Kiwani from olubengo, entandikwa, bonnabagaggawale  
13 trongman was referring to Bobi wine's latest hit, Kiwani, which is sweeping across the country like  
14 ly for Flavia, she did finally get a film role in Kiwani, a movie directed by journalist Henry Ssali  
15 t is doing by threatening to take over Kampala is kiwani. This was during a weekly press conference  
16 e VIP tents clapped while others shouted 'kiwani, kiwani' meaning fake. Ssempijja insists that they  
17 we speak conventional lingo. Colourful words like Kiwani and Mazongoto are not only shaping the lang  
18 ut she seems real). "You do not look Zambian," Ms Kiwani says in that Ugandan way that is half state  
19 fake. The physical appearance This is the era of kiwani everything. Thank God for China. The Chines  
20 of charge. John: m7 has mastered the politics of kiwani, I guess this one is for 2011 remember he h  
21 one of the VIP tents clapped while others shouted kiwani, kiwani, meaning fake. Ssempijja insists  
22 eating, he explains. Hence, ekyo kiwani or simply kiwani, is a way to identify a fraud or lie. Last  
23 Bobi wine too captured this culture in his song: Kiwani. In politics we love it fake; in business w  
24 ster. Sadab Kitatta Kaaya has reason to make such kiwani news because some of his bosses at Mengo ar  
25 nd of year xmas gift you promised Ugandans? Usual kiwani and politicking! Apollo: Do not underestima  
26 er reminds Quick Talk of that line in Bobi wine's Kiwani hit: "Abakazi e Kampala obala kikumi nga 99  
34 ing across the country like a wild fire. The word kiwani has been popularised by the singer and is t  
36 hope she understands the real meaning of the word kiwani. She can't be coming to this potholed dusty  
37 overtly like Obululu Tebutwawula, Carolina, Ddipo, Kiwaani and recently Obuyonjo, attest to the strug  
38 deo will be out soon. THE ANALYST: Tables turn on kiwaani inspector Uganda's long-suffering corruptio

N Concordance  
1 st whatever ... and how dare be second in line to kwanjula...perhaps the gomesi will be her consolat  
2 catch is better. Please call off the wedding and kwanjula. You S.O.B ( son of a bitch).Nonsense. Ab  
3 plus the co-wife. Uno: how sure is she, about the kwanjula promise. It could turn into a tricksters  
4 ot wanted only wanted a gomesi but was promised a kwanjula by the husband plus the co-wife. Uno: how  
5 u are going to introduce come aware of this, your kwanjula will be in a mess and you will get ashame  
6 y your heart, Get your mind straight and focus on kwanjula. Manchester: Moses you have been a brave  
7 etely in a woman. But at least she made it to the kwanjula and wished her wife well. Her presence sa  
8 had not yet visited my co-wife's home, I gave the kwanjula proposal a go-ahead. Readers' Comments Ch  
9 la was conceived. Although we have not yet held a kwanjula, he has been to my parents' home several  
10 e him to her parents. That is how the idea of the kwanjula was conceived. Although we have not yet h  
11 kibuuka's too, next year. I am now waiting for my kwanjula, says Nakibuuka I have no problem with my  
12 omesi which would not embarrass her at Nambassa's kwanjula. My only problem with them is they do not  
13 t the other owns. We reached a decision to hold a kwanjula for Nambassa after a discussion involving  
14 to choose any month next year for them to hold a kwanjula and a wedding. What Mpiima says In the ti  
15 efore he was identified by his in-laws. After the kwanjula, Mpiima and Nambassa were wed at a nearby  
16 is uncommon for a man's wife to go with him for a kwanjula of her co-wife. However, tension was ease  
17 he banker, who is 28 years old, about my upcoming kwanjula and wedding. She said I could go ahead wi  
18 the younger one. This year, he decided to have a kwanjula ceremony. Many thought the older wife, Ha  
19 h one of the ministries in Uganda and I'm set for kwanjula next month and the wedding in January wit  
20 ew Vision How a man made it with two wives at his kwanjula He has been married for 12 years. Twelve

#### GOMESI

N Concordance  
1 dare be second in line to kwanjula...perhaps the gomesi will be her consolation for attendance and  
2 ital asset. CK: Yes, she not wanted only wanted a gomesi but was promised a kwanjula by the husband  
3 se, whether, how and when ...all she wanted was a gomesi which is a vital asset. CK: Yes, she not wa  
4 nly condition she put for me was to provide her a gomesi which would not embarrass her at Nambassa's

#### KITENGE

N Concordance  
1 all showered her with presents, mainly beautiful Kitenge from the Democratic Republic Of Congo, the  
2 interview. She is wearing a beautiful light green kitenge and what looks like genuine gold necklace

KYABAZINGA [title for king of Busoga kingdom]

N           Concordance  
1           stance, believes the spiritual powers of Busoga's Kyabazinga originated from Mpumudde. And when the  
2           interfering in the contentious issue of electing Kyabazinga. Rumours circulate that Baganda were bo  
3           interfering in the contentious issue of electing Kyabazinga. Rumours circulate that Baganda were bo  
4           ey later. Mzee John Kadooko, 79, the minister for Kyabazinga affairs in the Busoga government, expla  
5           ces in the kingdom also reveal that even the next Kyabazinga will be crowned at this very hill. Kaba  
6           be more measured in response to such suspicions. Kyabazinga: we still have a big problem of the man  
7           bote banned monarchies, sold the land. Today, the Kyabazinga is said to have remained with only the  
8           ittle to improve the site since it belongs to the Kyabazinga. There is no such plan in council to de  
9           turned the hill into the coronation site for the Kyabazinga Henry Wako Muloki (RIP). It is on this  
10          e he knew the place, instead rode to Bugembe, the Kyabazinga's palace, conning me of sh4,000. cultur  
11          hat the Baswezi (King's witchdoctors) cleanse the Kyabazinga during coronation, according to Kadooko  
12          to develop it. The hill initially belonged to the Kyabazinga, but Kadooko explains that some leaders  
13          Thieves were hiding there. In 2007 I wrote to the Kyabazinga's government asking them to develop the

N Concordance  
1 had just enough to be in school and stay alive. Kyeyo fantasy The point Kaggwa was making the fact  
2 iler's daughter that he signed, 'Your Valentine'. Kyeyo benefits of online banking Jal Paddy, My ban  
3 partners the African way. And just a month ago, a kyeyo uncle battered his three-year-old nephew to  
4 London to Kingston University till I got myself a Kyeyo that helped with rent and transport. This gu  
5 of the globe. Some three years ago, I opened up a kyeyo online account with one Ugandan bank; althou  
6 e different. The woman has already 2 kids from a "Kyeyo man", if true, but no mention of you as a da  
7 this issue of Calling our skilled Ugandans abroad KYEYO PUSHER. I have had a chance to visit countri  
8 ly skilled Ugandan immigrants living out here as "Kyeyo". The term has very negative connotations: I  
9 eport has found that remittances locally known as kyeyo money, have been critical in spurring econom  
10 , in the street, especially those toiling hard at Kyeyo, need to know that there is remedy in the co  
11 ce, you may find a concentration of the so called Kyeyo people. On the other hand if you find other  
12 is/her fate in his/her hands. Your friend, Chris. Kyeyo; Uganda's biggest export Bank of Uganda offi  
13 , efforts by the President's office to coordinate kyeyo under the auspices of presidential legal ass  
14 ney, the backstabbing will not end. London Diary: Kyeyo cultural practices give UK police headaches  
15 quivalent to approx. 2,700.00. For someone doing kyeyo it could take a whole year to save that, as  
16 e exclusively from the African and Middle Eastern kyeyo community, who are either tricked into doing  
17 e the guts to ask my father what happened. Elite Kyeyo A significant number of Ugandans come to Ame  
18 ard, and I am speaking from practical experience, Kyeyo aptly describes the efforts and sufferings e  
19 Dear Jaq, when I was 17, my aunt left for kyeyo for two weeks in America that's when her husb  
20 ur months pregnant when her husband was going for kyeyo. Before he left, he threw a party to celebra  
21 Broken trust There are Ugandans who have gone for kyeyo and turned out to be successful businessmen  
22 to compute the exact amount of monies stolen from kyeyo workers as many of them do not report to Pol  
23 hat are thought to be linked to money stolen from kyeyo workers by their contact persons in Uganda.  
24 ey migrant workers send home. Money realised from kyeyo has also boosted the Central Bank's reserves  
25 rough the possible world. LDCs have high hopes in Kyeyo money UGANDA'S household poverty levels have  
26 ere really? I am proud of the lessons I learnt in kyeyo because I would never have learnt them at ho  
27 now-how. Notable successful names that used Japan kyeyo to financial height include Haj Brahimu Muwa  
28 land, houses and property to venture on the Japan kyeyo mission. Those who went there got money but  
29 Tough times for Ugandan kyeyos in Japan KYEYO in Japan has lost its twinkle, according to U  
30 s were developed by the Ugandan sweat on Japanese kyeyo. In the 1990s, Japan was talked about so muc  
31 now over 40 years now? Bonabana: I wish the name Kyeyo could be changed to a different name, Britai  
32 tled in the UK, I am sorry to give you bad news, Kyeyo is no more! The route through which most eco  
33 say visit I don't mean a week. Japan has a lot of Kyeyo pusher, other Europeans countries have well  
34 bit is that the most rigid and uncompromising of kyeyo folks around here are the most open-minded a  
35 icted of his murder. Gloria Dwomoh, a 31-year-old kyeyo nurse from Walthamstow, was sent to prison f  
36 eyo' was duped of land Moses Katongole, who is on kyeyo in Norway, in 2002 sent his sister Nnaalongo  
37 ddle East and Africa. The majority of Ugandans on kyeyo are in Kenya, the report notes, with those r  
38 ny other opportunity to cheat. I know how painful kyeyo Money is. Nalongo thx for fighting for your  
39 icans is a common sight. The Indian and Pakistani kyeyo community are always in the news for cases o  
40 FGM is illegal in Britain, and yet the practising kyeyo family insists it has to be done even if it

41 Neanderthals. Nevertheless, they do not represent kyeyo workers. No wonder, such movies always end i  
42 e murders are allegedly orchestrated by returning kyeyo workers upon discovering that their hard-ear  
43 her, Isabiryte got a severe backlash from Ritah's kyeyo pals. And just when we were trying to wrap o  
44 and effectiveness of remittances", Mutebile said. kyeyo for poor migrants dries up in EU countries I  
45 et the designer bag, iPads and sunglasses you see kyeyo folks brandishing on visits back home and in  
46 Nakintu was the only Ugandan abroad who used the kyeyo word in an interview, and then, when asked w  
47 get their sick ones treated by the funds from the kyeyo people is lengthy. Those who have had their  
48 od, easy cars, benefit system and cheap food. The kyeyo name apart from the original odd-jobs elemen  
49 Bank director of Public Relations, said that the kyeyo, many of whom are currently in town for holi  
50 efunct General Parts Uganda. At the height of the kyeyo business, these came back and helped develop  
51 clutching your return ticket you fly back to the kyeyo and the cycle starts all over again. Trust m  
52 erspective to this discussion. I have never tried kyeyo but most of my friends and relatives have be  
53 ent reacted by becoming extra stringent on visas. kyeyo in Japan is very different from Western coun  
54 llegal immigrant under his very own roof. See, we kyeyo folks are very ingenious and stubborn; even  
55 rope and i don't care what is in the name whether kyeyo, mwoza kabina or the more affluent ones such  
56 ove you. Kimanje: I have no problem with the word kyeyo. It sounds derogatory, but we have come to l  
57 sickness. It's, therefore, very natural that your kyeyo man will try very much to be at home in mind

58 give us that background. For as long as the nkuba kyeyo are not in control of their hard-earned mone  
59 you could trust? That is the plight of the nkuba kyeyo, as Charles Etukuri found out. Namisango's s  
60 n see, the papers being used by the illegal nkuba kyeyo are as genuine and legal as they can be, but  
61 itioned to think of overseas workers as the nkuba kyeyo, a Luganda phrase that immediately conjures  
62 ever Kitaka discovered that Namagembe had a nkuba kyeyo, a father to her two kids. She only ensnared  
63 s no scientific correlation between being a nkuba kyeyo and being a cheat. And by the way maybe we s  
64 lived in London close to 5 years but it's a Nkuba kyeyo I first lived with and he picked me from Lon  
65 aki e Bulaaya?" "What do you do overseas?" Nkuba kyeyo! "I sweep the streets". Kaggwa, 28, doesn't  
66 e once left Mulindwa for a UK-based Ugandan nkuba kyeyo, Elly Kasule, but the two soon reconciled. W  
67 e very few. The majority of us came here as Nkuba kyeyo and that's because we came from really poor  
68 he Tycoon party? Last Friday South African 'nkuba kyeyo' and husband to city socialite Hassan Zari,  
69 Rebecca Jjingo come December 6, a UK-based nkuba kyeyo called Ritah Kaggwa last week crawled out of  
70 Nakazibwe from being Ssenga to many of us? Nkuba kyeyo, can you tell us what are the qualities of a  
71 senga for information about sex! What makes Nkuba kyeyo disqualify Nakazibwe from being Ssenga to ma  
72 ng marketed but because the workers abroad (nkuba kyeyo) contribute a big chunk of Uganda's foreign  
73 red in Rakaj could have been killed after a nkuba kyeyo decided to send money directly to a pastor t  
74 y. And considering the fact that an illegal nkuba kyeyo cannot even open a bank account, rent a hous  
75 me has only hardened his gloomy view of the nkuba kyeyo, and now he believes the story of impressive  
76 long," says Guweddeko. When s/one said "nze nkuba kyeyo" it meant more or less that he or she was g  
77 emittances In 2004, the Government declared nkuba kyeyo a noble trade. Revenues from Ugandans workin  
78 the night in waltzed Richie Katts, another 'nkuba kyeyo' based in Germay who is married to a native  
79 pay through the bank. Again this makes the nkuba kyeyo a hostage to his or her host. Because she do  
80 Africa, so did the term. But you are not a nkuba-kyeyo if you are in Nigeria or Kenya. Whenever the  
81 house. To cut a long story short, having a nkuba kyeyo family member is still a measure of success  
82 name. The best explanation for the need of nkuba kyeyo folks to adhere to our sometimes strict beha  
83 bi, a Makerere University social scientist, nkuba kyeyo exhibitionism is expected of nouveaux riches

84 fuelled by the grand stories painted by the nkuba kyeyo from UK or US. Some, who had hitherto lived  
 85 ultimate prize of success. However, the term nkuba kyeyo has a mixed reputation, attracting both envy  
 86 s; he will solve it in a beat after all the nkuba kyeyo guy is an investor! Ron: get serious guys, I  
 87 is South American house-girl was an illegal nkuba kyeyo. Harper claimed he didn't know the lady he e  
 88 reason why the Observer is so popular! So, Nkuba kyeyo, get a life, and let us be, wamma Carol, lik  
 89 ultimate prize of success. However, the term nkuba kyeyo has a mixed reputation, attracting both envy  
 90 w that the rebel story no longer sells, the nkuba kyeyo have jumped into gay campaigns. Those who ha  
 91 ners in four years; little wonder that your Nkuba kyeyo is puzzled by the nationwide health alert ov  
 92 us sex is sacred. Thiery: Mmh I wonder what nkuba kyeyo is thinking! I really love these articles an  
 93 will never touch. Dennis: For the likes of Nkuba kyeyo, I must say you proved how recent a reader o  
 94 r local stuff brought in from the different nkuba kyeyo home base. In East London, we have the popul  
 95 opular opinion in Uganda. The phenomenon of nkuba kyeyo is grounded in fantasy as much as reality, a  
 96 ht to the airport. Dirty things prospective nkuba kyeyo have to do By Pius Muteekani Katunzi - The O  
 97 tion", writes Katlin. Kenneth Mukisa, 29, a nkuba kyeyo from Afghanistan, agrees with Katlin, wonder  
 98 l fees paid from these funds are also many. Nkuba kyeyo is born on the principle of making a living  
 99 ned human failings are not exclusive to the nkuba kyeyo in UK or Baganda; they are also prevalent in  
 100 tients with words! Rico: The plight of the Nkuba kyeyo is that he is being crushed between two roc  
 101 our articles. Forget the "LOST" people like Nkuba kyeyo. Bombard us with more sex talk please! We ba  
 102 st story. let god bless baganda & buganda + nkuba kyeyo John B: Thank you all for the contributions  
 103 een so helpful in my relationship. Bunyasi: Nkuba kyeyo, I think Luganda word for orgasm's "entikko  
 104 our other article setting the correct tide. Nkuba kyeyo, Nakazibwe, I still think that you can find  
 105 y disagree with the use of the pejoratives 'Nkuba kyeyo' which I find very demeaning and derogatory  
 106 end stuff all fade away for some time. As a nkuba kyeyo, miles away from the sunny home Christmas at  
 107 ity social researcher, has a theory for the nkuba kyeyo phenomenon that is steeped in Uganda's morib  
 108 It is good to balance and not sting us with nkuba kyeyo. Remember many are crying for what they thou  
 109 rom Uganda for more than a year is called a nkuba-kyeyo. Over the years, a typical nkuba-kyeyo would  
 110 to do with home. There is this not-so-young nkuba kyeyo popularly known within the Ugandan community  
 111 n Bugembe's telling, the flamboyance of the nkuba kyeyo reinforces wild stereotypes about life in Am  
 112 his sister eloped with a South Africa based nkuba kyeyo, saying: "You will not find Remmy; as I spea  
 113 odd jobs of the kind that gave rise to the nkuba kyeyo name. Nonetheless, their dollars contribute  
 114 ly in Nyanama where she has two kids from a nkuba kyeyo. Kizito also discarded rumours suggesting th  
 115 on; we like it. Kent: I totally agree with Nkuba kyeyo's comments. He sounds like the only grown u  
 116 nt to a whole minister. Your friend, Chris. Nkuba kyeyo scared as UK hunts for 'illegals' By Shifa Mw  
 117 impact in the rising fuel prices, declining Nkuba kyeyo remittances and a slow-down in the economy.  
 118 ty in President Museveni's Uganda. So, the nkuba kyeyo was a sort of desperate person seeking anyth  
 119 nce and neglect.. whatever you think of the nkuba kyeyo, they have done for themselves and for their  
 120 orming those who need your advice. I advise Nkuba kyeyo to read other articles rather than imagining  
 121 of Indians and now Chinese. Let's use the Nkuba kyeyo Ugandans doing different jobs in the Diaspo  
 122 tal of which is a stern verdict against the nkuba kyeyo: the money is not worth their dignity. But p  
 123 eturning home. I just don't see any illegal nkuba kyeyo trudging off to board a plane because an adv  
 124 ey and intricate it is before one becomes a nkuba kyeyo. It's not for the faint hearted.  
 125 os By Andrew Kaggwa In the 1990s, the term nkuba kyeyo became a hit in Kampala (at least that was t  
 126 we should stop using that derogatory term "Nkuba kyeyo", because: 1. Not all people abroad do manua  
 127 London Diary: Truth behind UK chasing nkuba kyeyo By Chris Oyo Jal Paddy, I believe you have co

128 od and not-so-good people in this so-called nkuba kyeyo. But show me one place filled with angels on  
129 z he is upside down... according to it. Mr. Nkuba Kyeyo, you know what Carol writes about, you disli  
130 d looks deceitful (despite her beauty), the Nkuba Kyeyo will also dump her after reading all these c  
131 ed a nkuba-kyeyo. Over the years, a typical nkuba-kyeyo would be one that went to either United King  
132 was engaged to be married and her fiance, a nkuba kyeyo, was expected here later that year. How that  
133 g Ugandans are derogatorily referred to as 'Nkuba Kyeyo'. Why are we not valued in deed and speech y  
134 The term 'illegal immigrant' refers to any nkuba kyeyo without a valid visa allowing them to live o  
135 you dig your self into a deeper hole. This NKuba Kyeyo stereotyping started with the Katunzis who m  
136 lls locally. Secondly and this is where the Nkuba Kyeyo stories come in; if you decide to work away  
137 or people to go and sweep (hence the phrase nkuba kyeyo) the streets of London for 3.45 per hour rate  
138 just one of those unfortunate mix-ups. How 'nkuba Kyeyo' was duped of land Moses Katongole, who is o  
139 s were made worse by the apparent fruits of nkuba kyeyo that were manifesting in Uganda. They were s

140 ess have already fleeced you and your other nkuba kyeyos properly while others are sitting on embezz  
141 eero and Bosmic on my commute to work? Most nkuba kyeyos are actually more abreast with the breaking  
142 us Muteekani Katunzi My article last week, "Nkuba kyeyos frankly their own enemies", provoked unwarr  
143 usi is a newly-coined statement to mean the nkuba-kyeyos from South Africa. As a free South Africa e  
144 when the Ba-Summer (the preferred term for nkuba-kyeyos) were around, all one needed was knowing on  
145 ered in a new era of the South Africa-based nkuba-kyeyos, who are more flashy and sometimes more ann  
146 my article, that many - certainly not all - nkuba kyeyos (odd-job workers abroad) are intolerant and  
147 . You couldn't fit in, period! Meanwhile we Nkuba kyeyos mixed it up between uni and shift work to p  
148 dan...? Joseph: whilst there are fraudulent nkuba kyeyos you cannot for sure generalise that all are  
149 ts all of a sudden because they have become nkuba kyeyos. There is no scientific correlation between  
150 highest earnings to the country come from "Nkuba Kyeyos". The number of families that have been abl  
151 udied in the UK. I have nothing against the nkuba kyeyos in so far as working abroad is concerned. B  
152 bservation is like one previous commentator nkuba kyeyos help even strangers to them who end up stub  
153 ional migrant workers and the more informal nkuba kyeyos. The former work smart and earn smart, whil  
154 ndent and someone who begrudges progressive nkuba kyeyos. For the record, the article was not about  
155 f you are in Nigeria or Kenya. whenever the nkuba-kyeyos jet back into the country, they are the tal  
156 y alleviation consultant, actually declared nkuba kyeyos national heroes. Since then, efforts by the  
157 solutely wonderful that these hard-working 'nkuba kyeyos' frequent Uganda to spend their hard-earned  
158 o Uganda, while minimising the risks to our Nkuba Kyeyos. "It is incumbent upon the Government and B  
159 /08, the Bank of Uganda governor has said. Nkuba Kyeyos invest heavily in housing, education, healt  
160 rstand the workings of the disease. For the Nkuba Kyeyos, a good number wrongly believe that having  
161 malaria in this country are a few stubborn Nkuba Kyeyos and a small number of tourists, who either  
162 ses, hunger, poverty, etc. These particular Nkuba-kyeyos are disgrace to Ugandans worldwide who mind  
163 se has always been great. Some of my fellow nkuba kyeyos don't believe me when I tell them I do moni  
164 vernor, Emmanuel Tumusiime Mutebile, added. Nkuba kyeyos invest heavily in housing, education and he  
165 A). This is a registered NGO that will help nkuba kyeyos who return home to resettle. We want people  
166 s and fight this vice of tribalism like the nkuba kyeyos? I have a dream of launching the long await  
167 , Chris. Aba-sausi: Battle of the flashiest nkuba-kyeyos By Andrew Kaggwa In the 1990s, the term nku  
168 n the UK. A significant number of Ugandans Nkuba Kyeyos have over the years travelled to UK and ar  
169 countries have arrived in the UK. It is not Nkuba kyeyos arriving from the developing world such as  
170 ople living outside Uganda are known as the Nkuba Kyeyos. The reality of life outside Uganda is far

171 South Africa, so did the term. But you are not a nkuba-kyeyo if you are in Nigeria or Kenya. Whenev  
172 away from Uganda for more than a year is called a nkuba-kyeyo. Over the years, a typical nkuba-kyeyo  
173 s called a nkuba-kyeyo. Over the years, a typical nkuba-kyeyo would be one that went to either Unite

MAN UP

N Concordance

1 a: Pray, the Lord will help you. Denny: Naye gwe, man-up! That girl needs time to grow. Get someone  
2 for you to make a decision in your relationship. Man up! Lalet: You will wake up when she gives you  
3 hich is: 'do you still love me?' If she says yes, man up; put some sense into her head, talk to her  
4 waste who will build that confused head of yours. Man up, stop playing victim. Patrick: How expensiv

N Concordance

1 e to a couple who were found committing adultery. Mazongoto (confusion) had been broadened to mean s  
2 nventional lingo. Colourful words like kiwani and Mazongoto are not only shaping the language used b  
3 inance minister Ezra Suruma. This budget has been mazongoto, the opposition MP said disgustedly. And  
4 blic picked out of the song. It was the colourful mazongoto that stole the show. Politicians have em  
5 tain degree (vulgar lyrics) is echoing everywhere mazongoto, bada, kiwani, faamu, ekyapa, ggali ekoz  
6 ge the law any time with the majority MPs he has. Mazongoto: Some times i wonder if all human beings  
7 , Babaakute bali mu mazongoto (they were found in mazongoto), in reference to a couple who were foun  
8 t is currently doing the rounds on the streets is mazongoto, which was lifted from singer Dr. Hilder  
9 depict the confusion in the local league. I knew mazongoto connoted something negative, he says. I  
10 r on another occasion reported, Babaakute bali mu mazongoto (they were found in mazongoto), in refer  
11 aily, recently used the headline League ya Uganda mazongoto, in reference to the confusion and falli

N Concordance

1 lly crazy world with crazy people like this 35yrs mbu young and not even a teen. Arrrghh God bless u  
2 alisa, bunyole, budaka, and now I hear kisoko and mbu Mukuju) and his next move is to divide them in  
3 where did you hear it from? It's all over Berlin. Mbu some girl picked you up from the lawn this mor  
4 way he dresses. I don't know how they do it, but mbu they just know. For a very long time, men have  
5 nd asked me to abort, citing financial challenges mbu his friends have investments to show, while he  
6 ike one I heard last week. Chap declares to chick mbu, People keep talking about credit crunch ... b  
7 ou have been surfing her goods now you are crying mbu my things... ..  
8 ut abolition of the death penalty???? This fellow mbu kikaawa or kawa or kakawa deserves death but h  
9 y continue wasting peoples' time with silly games mbu trials, witnesses etc. and yet it's clear who  
10 ome back , you know men never get satisfied. hmmm mbu balina ekyoyoyo, whenever he is out don't fo  
11 malaya coz she is used to telling people to hurry mbu their money is over so brother it's better you  
12 ged for you. Okollong: Naye gwe? You already know mbu the guy is married. Just distance yourself fro  
13 cause you aren't meant to be with that guy. Kubo: mbu I need help! You got arms, legs, eyes, mouth...  
14 naye omukyala agambye mbu by law, etteka ligamba mbu couple bweba nga yazaala muwala yekka asobola  
15 e to help you when it comes to sex. Halimah: Lol! mbu try to be quick! Anyway sorry but she's taken.  
16 can never go back into those types of 'marriages' mbu for fun [cohabitation]. If you were asked to c  
17 of it. And remember not to keep it on your mouth mbu you need it, ayinza okuba nga mukoowu mubakooy  
18 eas of marrying a lady I hear because [replica of mbu] of a baby. You should have let love bond you

19 yles and everything stop fooling people Ssalongo: Mbu "mama wange mumanyi" Sempa: Gwe don't you have  
20 don't want your daughter to get married like that mbu don't even talk! Man: Our mothers-in-law are  
21 you are too late. Butterflies: The parts of this mbu (that-I-hear) 'sidewalk' which are not too thi  
22 Hello? what happened to proper dating and wooing? Mbu, "It is different if I send you a Me2U for Shs  
23 her a nice foundation in life. Kansiime: Yiiiiii mbu lesbians! Brian: well you heard what they.. (la

N Concordance

1 asa said, "That vacancy was fixed six years ago. "Mugole! Mugole!" Mukasa calls out his youngest wi  
2 th me, she is ready with the right colour dress. "Mugole, wait.. said Nalongo as I quickly switched  
3 d that the king could not speak to them. "He is a mugole (bridegroom) and he is at bujajja (his gran  
4 ons especially after tasting the extreme. Being a mugole entitles you to the equivalent of a shot of  
5 Khiddu Makubuya shunned scribes, saying he was a mugole (groom) and could not comment. Former agric  
6 olumn. I am about to begin speaking. I am still a mugole (Johnny come lately) in civilian life," the  
7 ad, but it is like they want me fine because I am mugole; because I need to be fit, fine and fat for  
8 d on a minute, office work knows no such thing as mugole. I might have to miss a few wedding meeting  
9 s Sauna song last Friday, the likes of Taata Boy, Mugole and Maama Sarah (pronounced 'Saala'), dispr  
10 eling Agency. And the climax came when the bride (mugole) walked with a guard carrying several pairs  
11 e could have reached before we entered the church Mugole, she hurriedly spoke, "I have just got tw  
12 light to Europe for a seminar, leaving behind her mugole with his finger on that pause button. Well,  
13 ge some of the things that happened on my day. My mugole wings are still fluttering, I am on top of  
14 let go. Make money and buy other stuff for a new mugole Bogere: Oh, poor Kitaka! I am now sure you  
15 divorced is referred to as omushumbakazi, and not mugole, during her traditional wedding ceremony. O  
16 d. Diary of the Groom I am no longer me, I am now mugole. Hardly an intelligent conversation is held  
17 Trish: Haha! maybe because you realise the other mugole is sexier than Alur. Bigger perhaps? Stella  
18 lling all and sundry (including the still-purring mugole) that she was carrying mister's baby. He tr  
19 n William Kaija, who said Museveni was Kyenjojo's mugole (candidate). Museveni said, "we fought enem  
20 s out his youngest wife Madina to tell her story. Mugole means bride in Luganda. Madina, in her mid-  
21 r the so many sisters, brothers and auties to the mugole...i cant even start! mbu you have been like  
22 : Ah, guys; the other maid - is she a twin of the mugole or what? Pascal: By the way, they really lo  
23 ailed through. "It is not easy trying to keep the mugole calm. It is only natural for him to want to  
24 on. I just don't understand why I want to rip the mugole's tiara off though. Trish: Haha! maybe beca  
25 inished school. They are just there to see if the mugole (bride) has bought a befitting gown, if the  
26 ng his prestigious job. Eventually, after a year, mugole packed her bags and left in disgust. The co

N Concordance

1 ng.. Kansime: Yiii yiii Brian: kati mwe ababiri mwe, muli kuki? woman: wano ewaffe mu Buganda, oku  
2 a wange, ogenze mu bufumbo, koola bwoti, naye ate mwe, tewali wo deal gyemuyina ne ba maama bamwe. K  
3 n to get anything once they are in love. Dickens: Mwe, how old are you? Both of you are just comedia  
4 am not dating.. Kansime: Yiii yiii Brian: kati mwe ababiri mwe, muli kuki? woman: wano ewaffe mu  
5 you are mad. How can you be crazy with a married. Mwe abatabula mubufumbo, fool! Stephen: My sister,  
6 iend wo. Oyo best friend wo ayinza okujja nagamba mwe taata wamwe mbadde mubanjjja oba twa sharinga k  
7 omen to get anything once they are in love. Otto: Mwe, how old are you? Both of you are just comedia

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Concordance

nly one possible candidate to be NRM flag bearer- Mzee Joweri Kaguta Museveni, Father of Uganda and  
in the neighbourhood and rightly so for the elder Mzee Nelson Ssebugwawo, now 101 years old, is a gr  
stupid thief!!! Disqus: You guyz, you should let Mzee know about this; he will solve it in a beat a  
r of Uganda and as Right Honorable Prime Minister Mzee Mbazi stated "the Good Man"". Being a Good Ma  
President and also threatened his hold on power. Mzee Kenyatta employed political maneuvers that fo  
arted by their fathers. Their fathers President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and Odinga Oginga- were comrade  
need a health doctari. Musamali: You have stamina mzee. Lwasa: Move to church for help. Rashid: Old  
need a health doctari. Musamali: You have stamina mzee. Lwasa: Move to church for help. Rashid: Old  
d prudent visions and actions. Let us all support Mzee Museveni and work together for its betterment  
Tom Mboya , a Luo. The Kikuyu clique surrounding Mzee Kenyatta feared Mboya, the brilliant KANU sec  
e you stay. Julius: Oh you have a problem of that Mzee! First revise your deeds to her. Otherwise sh  
ut it in my pockets with a note, 'from Eni to the mzee', then it was a bad investment," he emphasise

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Concordance

recently working on a small project with a young Mzungu lady when the power went off. The lady, lands usually clash head-on with the laws of this mzungu land. I guess you can imagine the endless Lifestyle Golola Moses of Uganda: who is this mzungu? You probably know Moses Golola as the motor kly headed to my destination. I wondered how this Mzungu had ended up here! In my wondering, my thou eir colour. Imagine I went with my money and this Mzungu chased it. I have never forgotten that expe The sentence was unfair. We were lovers with the mzungu [her white lover]. This would have been a f ently caused a storm in the Red Pepper, which the mzungu had concealed inside his copy of Rupiny. Wh e and know how to handle a woman. So, who was the mzungu lady in your company at the Bika Football o ficial language. Some people may have lied to the mzungu. How long till we get our act together? wh arings to the lecturer so he could sell it to the mzungu at 100% profit. But alas, after borrowing m ter she left the receptionist complained that the mzungu woman was always getting lost. I didn't hav eggar some money too? One thing was for sure; the Mzungu had some inconsistencies in his tale, and t ics, party animals, musicians and socialites. The Mzungu who she had borrowed the money from appea t had been stolen. To cut a long story short, the Mzungu man was begging for money to take him back attract other kids off the street, he says. The Mzungu was a German student called Christopher Kow nds and interestingly, they believe the same. The mzungu has potential! we had better get our act to s Akumu wept and lamented bitterly, rejecting the mzungu. She claimed it was an abomination for thei stealthily find out what the man was reading. The mzungu was not bothered by this intrusion, and poi n; his unfair generalisation notwithstanding, the mzungu could not have been more right. More so wit estrain her before she fulfilled her mission. The mzungu was left in confusion as she could not unde ng excuses as to why he didn't win... Mafabi, The Mzungu who Sells Milk Door-To-Door How strange it baseball stadium in Washington, Curtis Lahti the Mzungu boyfriend of Uganda's 1993-94 beauty queen ra's mzungu fighting with sandra's other guy. The Mzungu stood up and tried to hit back at his attac a mini dilemma! Should I, or shouldn't I give the Mzungu some money? Then, would I have to retract m ex Balimwikungu VALENTINE'S Day was meant for the mzungu, just look around you. Isn't it incredible who travelling to Uganda. The following day, the Mzungu will call to tell you that he has arrived i bearings, the lecturer returned to find both the mzungu and the broker gone and their phones switch ig oil company. He arranged a meeting between the mzungu and the lecturer, near Entebbe internationa also noticed a few other things. First being: the mzungu and I were standing at a busy spot and were This annoyed the elder ones, who began to ask the mzungu why he had great sympathy for the young one lecturer, near Entebbe international airport. The mzungu came carrying a huge bag stuffed with cash Uganda Martyrs in the ring to fight against the mzungu Zsamboki instead of Golola Moses of Uganda. That is why you are often fantasizing about some mzungu on a computer. Pascal: Come on guys, don't had retreated with her mzungu. It was Sandra's mzungu fighting with sandra's other guy. The mzung t different from that of your grinning Kla road Mzungu. Let me explain why. First of all, that gri ool the audiences. Fans started demanding a real mzungu. The two ladies had convinced a Briton to p person's mind? was he thinking, oh... this poor Mzungu lady, has come to Uganda and found us very 37 . However, the wedding preparations are still on. Mzungu reads Luo A mzungu in Lira drew curious sta 38 lice patrol. Dr. Propa's woman quits over talk of mzungu marriage ALL is not well with singer Dr. Pr 39 ng metter than Nakasero wishes, you Betty LongCap mzungu spy and hater of Uganda? Kaka: I always won 40 ocking my left rear tyre. This forced him and his mzungu customer to fishtail in front of an oncomin 41 om the corner where Sandra had retreated with her mzungu. It was Sandra's mzungu fighting with sandr 42 kumanyi and Anfukula. She has a baby boy with her Mzungu 43 boyfriend. Pidson Kareire asked her about w

44 ring the trial, we reported on this page that her mzungu lover, David Greenhalgh, had gotten a new c  
45 th white people, saying we were going to meet her mzungu man. He is not really my boyfriend, but we  
46 Let me explain why. First of all, that grinning Mzungu is most likely a tourist or an expatriate.  
47 e attempted to commit suicide over her grandson's mzungu fiance. It is said her grandson had visited  
48 nd casual labourer). A good example is the famous mzungu, who is standing for LC5 in one of our prom  
49 u. With that, you can as well take it that every Mzungu you meet on Kampala road, Acholi Inn or the  
50 ra kingdom in the Albertine region. Then a cheeky mzungu (white) seated next to me noticed my intere  
51 ungu. One day, I went to buy eggs from a certain Mzungu but he despised me and refused to give me t  
52 becomes the last time you hear from the so called Mzungu as well as the supposed relative. Many MPs

53 be, my son is not perfect and just maybe, not all Bazungu in Uganda are rich with infinite resourc  
54 relationships. What is it with Ugandan girls and Bazungu? Nothing, it is about choice. Generally,  
55 too? Amanyire: I knew it because she left us for bazungu. Martha: Thanks everyone. No one should e  
56 out, the rest is for you to figure out. Not many bazungu do that. The average Ugandan man is not ro  
57 first job? I was living in an area, which had many Bazungu. One day, I went to buy eggs from a certa  
58 one of those international schools with a lot of bazungu. Let me first go for that fizikisi class,  
59 Nakazibwe , but from your head as you grow . Bazungu, who Nakazibwe is trying to imitate loose  
60 er face it, it's a lesson to all ladies who think bazunguz are better than Africans. Estar: Let it g  
61 ination for their grandchildren to have traces of wazungu blood and her ancestors would not be amuse

4 e exclaiming as if the sky has fallen on you? CK: Naye Anita kyo ki? Ate oba even those so called ma  
 5 xpensive, school fees. Bannaye nga tubonya bonye. Naye as you complain, you are swallowing in a bar,  
 12 lamo so that I don't... sikoola kilamo... Woman: Eeh, naye bwoba oyina ebintu nga oyina ne mukwano gwo g  
 13 sh. Woman: Mpozi nga side dish togiyina mu mwana, naye bwoba oyina mu omwana ne ku mulambo gwo bamul  
 14 doowoza za gundi, yeyisa atya, n'ono yeyisa atya. Naye bwogamba nti oyawule ono omulenzi abele yekka  
 15 Edhaya: You are a possessive inpector. Philemon: Naye do you really love the guy? If yes, then that  
 16 Edhaya: You are a possessive inpector. Philemon: Naye do you really love the guy? If yes, then that  
 17 two years, muli kuki? Man:...wulila...oyinza okubela naye ebanga, kati nga omwaka gumu nakugamba nti ka  
 18 Kansiime: Emyaka 6... woman: Oyo abeela omu n'omu. Naye ebiseela ebisinga abaana bano bwebabela nga b  
 19 mu abakyala. Olusi tubasanga ku street netugila. Naye edda bagila nga nti mutabani wa gundi alabika  
 20 ba ayambala esaati, everything. Man: nze sigunywa naye ekizibu ndowooza kyatuuka kunze. Omukyala/ ab  
 21 ze ne muwala wange akuze, abaana bano bafumbirwe. Naye ennaku zino ebintu bya kyuka oba ovaayo omuka  
 22 bulungi. Man: ba maama abo simanyi namwe bwekiri, naye ewaffe eyo... (laughter) Man: ba nyazaala baffe  
 23 you have a lot of properties there it's necessary naye for me, I can't make a will, now for what? Br  
 24 ictures of yourself.you will both be happy. Immy: naye guys, mmhh, just dump because I donot see him  
 25 ctures of yourself. you will both be happy. Immy: naye guys, mmhh, just dump [him] because I donot s  
 26 ain! Brenda: Pray, the Lord will help you. Denny: Naye gwe, man-up! That girl needs time to grow. Ge  
 27 : Control yourself, he is aged for you. Okollong: Naye gwe? You already know mbu the guy is married.  
 28 ain! Brenda: Pray, the Lord will help you. Denny: Naye gwe, man-up! That girl needs time to grow. Ge  
 29 ain! Brenda: Pray, the Lord will help you. Denny: Naye gwe, man-up! That girl needs time to grow. Ge  
 30 ng'ayagala obele ne muwala we yekka. So nga olusi naye gyali baliyo nga babiri. Brian: Nabasilamu ba  
 31 ... Brian: tewetaga tugamba nyazaala wo kyeyakukola naye in general what do mothers-in-law do that is  
 32 mu 1995 okwekulakulanya. 1996 around there 1995. Naye in Rwanda tosobola kusanga muntu yenna nga an  
 33 batwale kino. Kale nga nelabiddeyo ka side dish. Naye ka side dish ako bwekantwala mu kooti, kooti  
 34 ajja namutekamu sente kati ojja kubela awo Brian: naye kati mwagala tukole tutya? Man: Eeh, kituffu,  
 35 g'abantu ebintu. Nze ndowooza mu bazaala nga nyo. Naye kati nzadde abaana nga basaatu, bakuze balaba  
 36 ye tebagazitoyeza. Man: My brother asuula Kibuli, naye kati kati esaawa zino wetwogelela, nogenda e  
 37 nzi olwensonga nti abaana abawala abamu tebakwata naye kati bwaba ayambye nga basooma wamu nomulenzi  
 38 olaba omulenzi omunyankore nga awasa munyankore. Naye kati omunyankore agenda nawaasa omuteeso, kat  
 39 la natuuka ewaaka notafaayo kwegamba notamufaako. Naye ki mu forcinga ogamba kangende mu baala ne be  
 40 gundi. Nogamba ndese akasati ako kwamwana gundi. Naye kilungi okukola ekilamo. Kilungi. Man: Bwemba  
 41 Naye omukyala situganyi mulimu abakyala abayombi naye kisinzila amaka go ogakwata otya? Omukyala na  
 42 . Gaabugo: And you stayed with him for this long? Naye ladies sometimes tetubategera. Musa: He/she i  
 43 ld be willing to give you and your ego a chance... naye leave the married man alone. I like you, but  
 44 agala ba maama baffe, era olugila nga owulila nti naye maama tulabye na banazaala. Brian: Abasajja n  
 45 e ezo ze baba basabye ne bagamba tuzitute. Brian: Naye mbadde ndowooza bakusanyusa, basanyusa bazadd  
 46 nti student nsomela Kyambogo oba Makerere nagamba naye mbadde njagala kufumbirwa nomugamba bwaba ana  
 47 aw do that is not good. woman: Nze siili mufumbo, naye mpulila abantu byebogela oba byenaali ndabyek  
 48 ili ekitali kilungi. Kati nyazaala wafukila omubi naye mpubilala mulungi. Man: Abasinga, tebagala ba  
 49 bilila, katugendere awo. Ne bamubulila. Kansiime: naye mwena mulimba... all of you have good mothers  
 50 asobola kukola naye ng'omukyala asobola okukikola naye n'omukyala kyatasobola kukola naye nga omwami  
 51 ami wo, aba ayayana okuda eka nga obudde bukyali. Naye n'ekilala, oyinza okuba nga owasiza omukyala  
 52 ice ekugamba nti abantu batwala amateka mu ngalo, naye nabo tebayamba bantu. Amateka gagamba, nti am  
 53 r. If you want to contribute more go to facebook. Naye ne ba mothers-in-law n'owuwo mulungi Kansiime  
 54 ra ko so nga ate waliwo omwami kyatasobola kukola naye ng'omukyala asobola okukikola naye n'omukyala

55 ogilinamu omwana? Brian: Eh hh nga nina mu omwana. Naye nga simutadde mu ddame. Woman: Ne bwoba okooz  
 56 , tuba tuvudde mu buto ajja akulabilila, novubuka naye nga okyali wo ewaka ng'amanyi kyoyagala n'eky  
 57 nti kankikole namanyi lwaki ono ansinga, nomuwala naye nga agamba nti nange kankole lwaki ono ansing  
 58 ja ayinza nokwebuza buza kumakya nti ngenze koola naye nga agenze mu filimu. Babela eyo tomanyi byeb  
 59 bola okukikola naye n'omukyala kyatasobola kukola naye nga omwami akisobola. Kati nabaana bano, afuu  
 60 book by its cover. Nyinza okuba nga nfanana buubi naye nga munda ekilimu, malayika yenyini. Brian: E  
 61 li mu baala. Man: amateeka gabwe bagogela bwogezi naye nga tebagatukiriza. Gavementi yaffe eno, taye  
 62 neyekyanga nga ate ayagala ne nyumba gye mwazimba naye nga taliwo mugigabane... Woman: I have a right  
 63 ini. Brian: Emimwa giyinza okuba nga gya muyombi, naye nga malayika munda. Man: ayinza okuba malayik  
 64 malayika munda. Man: ayinza okuba malayika munda naye nga nyumba wano oli mutaka ng'olinga alinye m  
 65 a ku date. Ebyo tujja byogela ko olunaku olulala. Naye njagala tumalirize omulamwa guno, ebintu bing  
 66 ga ali musomelo, nga taata we ali wa? Ali Masaka. Naye nyazaala wange ye yangamba nti mukazi wo muku  
 67 umpa. Man: Nze owange, kale n'owange yali asooma. naye nyazaala yangamba nti, kale nga bwemanyi baza  
 68 nde ewaffe onyanjule, nga omwaka ogwo gwewakabela naye ogumu ogenda mu sasula mu banga elitali lyawa  
 69 singa maama wo. Ate nga maama wo ab'akumanyi nyo. Naye omukyala ayagala akwefunze, akulage nti akuma  
 70 ala ono, mukyala mukulu siganye nange sili muuto. Naye omukyala situganyi mulimu abakyala abayombi n  
 71 a abakyala tebasika; abakyala tebasika mu Buganda naye omukyala agambye mbu by law, etteka ligamba m  
 72 d schools bo they know about theory and cram work naye ono yeyiyza ono namugamba new idea, nebagaban  
 73 nze mubibite, nze owange siyina mutwalila sukali, naye owuwe ayagala omuwe sukaali. Women: anti owan  
 74 nga akwata omuntu nga bwazze kyandibadde kilungi, naye oyinza kusanga oli nga agamba toyina nte 10 e  
 75 e you breath your last. Maccin: Sorry girl Diana: Naye people, who is there to leave? You just wait  
 76 awo kumakya. Gali supposed okugulawo at around 4. Naye police nayingira mu baala nga elyo natandika  
 77 a muwala mu mbera enungi naye atekeddwa okwagala. Naye singa omuyisa mu mbeera embi, abeela tasobool  
 78 osanga nga ye akaluba ayagala ebintu kubikalubya. Naye singa akwata omuntu nga bwazze kyandibadde ki  
 79 lekela. Notalinda musajja. woman: Kituffu. woman: Naye singa twali tulinda abasajja singa tetukola.  
 80 eka. Amateeka gyegaali agasoboola okuyamba abantu naye tebagazitoyeza. Man: My brother asuula kibuli  
 81 rian: Naye akawala kano kasomela mu single school naye tekatya balenzi.. Kansiime: Emyaka 6... woman:  
 82 early going to work. The guy is like peace yooo... naye they are still complaining nti there is pover  
 83 i naye kisinzila amaka go ogakwata otya? Omukyala naye tolowooza nti ayombela bwelele. Naye abaako e  
 84 o oba oyina omu consideringa ng'omwana wo. Brian: Naye tulabye abantu bangi abaffa nga n'abantu teba  
 85 munange nze nk wagala nyo. Lwakuba mu beginning... naye twabitereza. Ladies and gentlemen if you want  
 86 rs they are supposed to be open on weekends only. Naye Uganda bakugamba buli lunnaku nti omunut ayin  
 87 ga atya omulenzi tayagala kuba nti basembelegana, naye waliabela anti bakulidde wamu... Brian: Naye  
 88 er, you want to marry her; ng'omuwala omumatidde, naye waliwo ka step kamu koyina okubuuka bride pri  
 89 azi nga omazze omwetegereza ebanga lwobela omazze naye woman: Anti kyekyo kyembadde ngamba... Brian: O

N Concordance  
 1 "right back" turns out to be two weeks later. 2: pick your damn phone! There is ignoring a ringing  
 2 st. "Usually, I quickly dash to the main road and pick abandoned banana fingers near Kalerwe Market.  
 3 for office or buy memorable gifts or flowers and pick her from the workplace when she least expects  
 4 I'd want something. So that I head right there and pick it and head for the counter and go home. Some  
 5 ho would sometimes recall it midair to return and pick their wives, concubines, or themselves when t  
 6 g. If you bothered to give me your number, better pick when I call it, or switch off the thing until  
 7 fore you report", Mugabi replied. "Can my brother pick it for me?" Kanyali suggested. "We don't deal  
 8 lming centre of the world. Is this an idea we can pick if only to ensure we improve our chances of m  
 9 ested. "We don't deal with third parties. You can pick it at Makerere or we bring it back here", Mug  
 10 nyali explained. "At Makerere, they told me I can pick my admission letter in Busitema since I stay  
 11 ay and you can't change what happened but you can pick yourself and begin again. It's never too late  
 12 bag in the car, and if it was not enough I could pick for him more from the ATM", Nalukwago narrate  
 13 efited from these donations some of whom directly pick the money from State House. The donations are  
 14 t is your phone policy at home? Usually, we don't pick each other's phone because it is private. If  
 15 using a computer. Trends: The next time you don't pick my call!! This thing called technology; will  
 16 back and the fighting continued. I could not even pick a phone without first explaining to her who  
 17 cking you when they are down. All I can say is... pick the damn pieces, get yourself back on your feet  
 18 being in a No-Phones mood and decide you will not pick any incoming calls, or return them for that m  
 19 r is ever busy. Whenever I call her, she does not pick her call, sometimes the phone is busy, someti  
 20 oney. They are, instead, filmed on camera as they pick their share. Those who are a little hesitant  
 21 moment. I was once in a taxi and they stopped to pick a would-be passenger. The taxi conductor aske  
 22 for Wendy's. But then he told me we first had to pick a friend of mine from a nice restaurant. And  
 23 . She said she was rushing to meet the brother to pick a passport and take it to the embassy. I also  
 24 ut As both indebted and debt-free MPs continue to pick cash from the government chief whip's office,  
 25 f work your wife is doing is tiresome, but try to pick her from her place of work once in a while an  
 26 position MP. In the chit, Lumumba urges the MP to pick his share of Museveni's cash offer, which is  
 27 om the police officer to report to the station to pick his property! Everything was recovered, inclu  
 28 s office where we found a student who had come to pick his admission letter. Nelson Kanyali, a forme  
 29 said he returned home during the morning hours to pick his files, only to find his wife and a popula  
 30 ill argue, "But it is my phone, I have a right to pick it or not". Not convincing. If you bothered t  
 31 data, it is provided. If you periodically have to pick medicine from a doctor and you think you migh  
 32 well to learn from our children. Parents fail to pick pupils' reports over Shs 300 As schools open  
 33 ponded, Bukedde Fa Ma, Embuutikizi, I was told to pick sh100,000/=, an excited Lubega said. Lubega sa  
 34 efend his PhD thesis, stopped by a supermarket to pick some pancakes for his friends. Both the drive  
 35 k their share. Those who are a little hesitant to pick the money physically, The Observer has learnt  
 36 ogramme; I was only called by the NAADS people to pick the seeds and I never picked them myself," sh  
 37 ay, police drives one directly to his/her home to pick the passport. And if it's not produced, one i  
 38 sent the pupils home with notes to the parents to pick their children's report cards after two weeks  
 39 their money. Even civil servants will be able to pick their salaries from SACCOS. We have competent  
 40 another line goes off and she says, "I've got to pick this one. Let me call you right back." And r  
 41 owever decried cultural institutions that usually pick arms against government as a means of solving  
 42 bers onto the government team. We said how do you pick somebody without consulting the family? So, t

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 1 problem before you take any action. Ray just get a side dish to satisfy your sexual desires, don't  
 2 quit with you. If u want to stay with her, get a side dish and let her alone. Isaac: For the first  
 3 d something. Allan: May be your chick is having a side dish. Try to get a good research. Onesmus: Pl  
 4 your one option of emptying your sex drive with a side dish may cause a lot of damage - you know wha  
 5 coz am chef so I know this Amos: That wife has a side dish. Valley: Man you seem to be so rude duri  
 6 dge a book by its cover. Ok? Ignatius: Just get a side dish bro. Adinan: Patience pays and try to fi  
 7 NG JACKIE A WHORE.....let he who has NEVER had a side dish castigate and also let she who has NEVER  
 8 the number one enemy for every adult Ugandan is a side dish or multiple partner relationships. He  
 9 you will be sure to have steamed vegetables for a side dish and either a glass of bushera, milk or j  
 10 l lover). The word was widely perceived to mean a side dish a casual lover in an extra-marital affai  
 11 es not have children with him. Basically she is a side dish. Jean: Chandiru is a what they call a wh  
 12 y wives. Nowadays, men will almost always have a side dish, so a lot of women invariably end up in  
 13 l lover). The word was widely perceived to mean a side dish a casual lover in an extra-marital affai  
 14 : back-off! Odong: You are just a small house a side dish Aruk: Time wasted is never recovered, so  
 15 your one option of emptying your sex drive with a side dish may cause a lot of damage - you know wha  
 16 y. Walter: Just run for your life. You are just a side dish; there is someone she loves most. You ar  
 17 t if it were you married to him, would you want a side dish? You will only be a back-up for young se  
 18 ready hooking someone else and you are becoming a side dish instead. Open your eyes! Rebecca: Come t  
 19 m if you love him. Good enough you that you are a side dish. Onauro Gabriel: why do you want to soun  
 20 ting your wife-to-be. How can you take the banker side dish to your home? That is disgusting. The ba  
 21 dish to your home? That is disgusting. The banker side dish is just using you. Wake up! By the time  
 23 ildren and is seeing someone, meaning you are her side dish! Now you want to be praised as a hero wh  
 24 ve of his things and will hand around to give him side dish until you dont see the reality.... I hea  
 25 have given it thought and are willing become his side dish, woman number.. I don't know. Think.. th  
 26 nless if its fine with you being a second wife or side dish. Does taking care of someone or taking r  
 27 Fred: Quit from the man or else the panadol, the side dish. Frank: Are you crazy? You know he's mar  
 28 her then go for the side dishes! Or is it coz the side dish works in a bank? Ask yourself how many m  
 29 by is the other guy's baby. My advice, forget the side dish, have the main dish first. Make her preg  
 30 to a person who has a wife. Wamzo: so who is the side dish if I may ask?? Shanie: The side dish her  
 31 o who is the side dish if I may ask?? Shanie: The side dish here is Gold digger. Elir: Life is hard  
 32 anc'e then u have another woman on the side. This side dish has two children and is seeing someone,  
 33 Kansime: what is the use of the will now? woman: Side dish yo eyo, nga ogilinamu omwana? Brian: Ehh  
 34 should actually save her the pain and marry your side dish after all she is carrying your baby beca  
 39 the guy. Ahmed: He leaves you even though he has side dishes. Kenneth: That's how it starts with nu  
 40 and she gets tired or she suspects that you have side dishes and she's too annoyed with you or she  
 41 , then 3, then 4 then 5 then 6 then 7 then other side dishes. They say 4 is the official number. Bu  
 42 First make her pregnant, marry her then go for side dishes! Or is it coz the side dish works in a

SSENGA

N  
1 g. She has never prevented anyone from visiting a ssenga. If its private for you keep to your bedroom  
2 ou don't expect a girl who has been insulted by a ssenga's sick joke of "when are you getting marrie  
3 ikula said. A kitchen party is a combination of a Ssenga lecture, motherly lecture, memories of the  
4 eople who are watching the erotic depictions in a Ssenga video? How would they treat the consenting  
5 I miss having someone special to comfort me. As a ssenga, please tell us what men want? Is it sex or  
6 yeyo, can you tell us what are the qualities of a Ssenga which Carol does not have? Lets be serious.  
7 have attended my share of bridal showers where a ssenga is invited to give the bride-to-be a quick  
8 I don't miss it Annet Nandujja is a dancer and a ssenga. She also presents Akasaale K'Omukwano, a r  
9 dering why men do not wear condoms. But what is a Ssenga page without the all time favourite topic o  
10 plete without a tale about herbs. Usually it is a ssenga (Luganda for paternal aunt) who offered her  
11 iting is on the wall; they need the services of a Ssenga. Namugerwa says men are not taught how to h  
12 says. Some men feel 'de-manned' Mercy Nalusiba, a Ssenga (traditional relationships counsellor), say  
13 ended last weekend. Obviously, they had brought a ssenga, who was saying things that made me want to  
14 e quite a name for herself in social circles as a ssenga of sorts. Quick Talk sought her out at Impe  
15 their vaginas dry. Can you imagine looking for a Ssenga not for pulling services, but rather for ad  
16 in Butabika! For all geezer knows, seconded by a Ssenga and practiced by our parents and parents' p  
17 ate this basic tenet. "Every time you listen to a Ssenga programme, it tells women to act subservien  
18 ended last weekend. Obviously, they had brought a ssenga, who was saying things that made me want to  
19 paring for marriage, her mother (if still alive), Ssenga (paternal aunt), best friends and the commu  
20 ill never forget the bridal shower I attended and Ssenga Ssaku who was paid to give the bride-to-be  
21 m; should he fart when I am in bed with him?" And ssenga replied, "A man can do what he wants in the  
22 mns and magazines; you have consulted friends and ssenga and you have just bought a book on dating i  
23 ls. "I went through with it because my mother and Ssenga told me that if I didn?t, I would not get m  
24 all, you don't have a choice." I innocently ask: Ssenga, why did you find him for me? Is he going  
25 makes Nkuba Kyeyo disqualify Nakazibwe from being Ssenga to many of us? Nkuba Kyeyo, can you tell us  
26 way that it can easily be pushed out of the body. Ssenga Nabantazi says that much as the mumbwa can  
28 t has managed to shock boyfriend after boyfriend. Ssenga Flora Nassanga, based in Mukono, has course  
29 conducted in typical Kiganda culture; the bride's ssenga, Hajati Rukia Kabogoza, introduced Nsereko  
30 a who has been David's guardian and whom he calls Ssenga (auntie), Cyrus who is Anne's grandson, mys  
31 is going to marry you.. Silence. I start crying. Ssenga wipes my tears. She says: "My daughter, you  
32 eir relationships last even when she is divorced. Ssenga, these days you look hot, do men still hit  
33 the all time favourite topic of labia elongation? Ssenga w'abaana herself had only recently posted o  
34 ellors claim. When it comes to penis enlargement, Ssenga Mugezza Namuddu on Salaama road's Kulekana  
35 is the kind of guy every girl is looking out for. Ssenga Lucy who should regulate the Ssenga industr  
36 both male and female, are swarming in to get free Ssenga advice online. Ssenga w'abaana, one of the  
37 ssed and "equipped" by her senga. "A young girl's ssenga or paternal aunt trained her in all matters  
38 idering dispatching his newlywed wife back to her ssenga for a refresher course in how to love him p  
39 ed without even a single piece of advice from her ssenga! The assumption is that a man would have go  
40 the longest relationship in the world because her Ssenga told her that she should erase the word div  
41 eds another problem to her already OCD nature. Her ssenga had told her during the marriage prep, that

ent into her marriage with a proper "manual". Her ssenga would have lectured and prepped. After marr  
red and apprehensive about some of the things her Ssenga told her. For example at that tender age, s  
anzi clocked 10, her mother took her to visit her Ssenga, in line with her Ganda culture. Nabatanzi  
ided in the 'formula' to great sex, thanks to her ssenga. Little did she know that her ssenga had in  
s shameful for a girl to act contrary to what her Ssenga told her. Indeed, a lot of women take the a  
shanks to her ssenga. Little did she know that her Ssenga had introduced another problem to her alrea  
lls me by my surname, I sense danger. "I am here, Ssenga", I answer. "Come; let's go out to the kitc  
in particular stand to gain a lot from mumbwa if Ssenga Nabantazi is to be believed. She says there  
rights defender, explains that people who act in Ssenga videos could only get redress if they can s  
belly. No, she is not six months pregnant; she is Ssenga and Kojja Alinyikira's idea of a woman who  
ent out of our way to find the most knowledgeable Ssenga. How could you not have liked her? Sheba: I  
oman will generally decide: "This is what my mama/ssenga taught me about marriage and I will stick t  
ve no choice,'start echoing' "I will get married Ssenga," I say. My Ssenga is very happy. She does  
m oh boy Nkubakyeyo! Nkuba kyeyo: Mwami Martin , "Ssenga" is a Luganda word .Nakazibwe is a Muganda/  
d to get married to the man she has found for me. Ssenga should have read my facial expression, beca  
nes Nabatanzi, now a doctor. Thanks to the media, Ssenga messages now reach a wider audience through  
horeography and cram work involved! One memorable ssenga, an elderly woman in her 60s, even went ahe  
t echoing, "I will get married Ssenga," I say. My Ssenga is very happy. She does not even try to und  
had a lot of land which made her independent. My Ssenga [paternal aunt] says she married and separa  
place, only a handful of people led by Nalubega's ssenga escorted her to Kiyaga's home. She allowed  
rince formally wrote to Nsubuga, through Nankya's Ssenga (paternal aunt) in accordance with Buganda.  
ut; Edith Hetty, Jackie and another one nicknamed 'Ssenga' should stick to their jobs. Bebe Cool's w  
n in Kampala says. I point out that there are now Ssenga and Kojja (maternal uncle) DVDs that instru  
ce. She equates criminalizing the distribution of Ssenga DVDs to criminalizing prostitution. "The la  
Baganda, come with into the marriage courtesy of Ssenga, but could never say anything for fear of h  
ewborn baby's life. Nalongo Nkongwe, a 51-year-old Ssenga in Mukono explains that Olweza is meant to  
eading on this space. You may have to find an old ssenga or uncle to take you through the art of wea  
ere are the comparisons between cousins; like one ssenga asking why you are not driving yet you are  
are swarming in to get free Ssenga advice online. Ssenga w'abaana, one of the most popular facebook  
s tell him to pay you so that you act like a paid Ssenga and pull all the strokes. It could be fun.  
tal bed to such detail? Era unless you are a paid Ssenga Trish: You can always tell him to pay you  
have said is acceptable, you deserve to be a real Ssenga Miss Nandujja. What you did not tell us is  
such as a big place - as far as his eyes can see. Ssenga, is this Lake Victoria? It's so big!" he e  
ou into boarding their taxi; mama, braza, sister, ssenga, mzee, uncle, jjajja, aunt, etc. At the end  
ou into boarding their taxi; mama, braza, sister, ssenga, mzee, uncle, jjajja, aunt, etc. At the end  
emedies, the kyogero is not free of superstition. Ssenga Margaret Kalanzi, 50, who lives and works i  
somewhat scientific scenarios in the Kama sutra. Ssenga Kiwamirembe of Makindye, the woman from who  
ld. All you have to do is type in the search term Ssenga and you can view the page of any of the num  
aternal aunt) but did not know where or what that ssenga's name was. The wisest thing we thought we  
community has traditional Ssengas. Carol is the 'Ssenga' of the twenty first century. Good work Car  
sex. In fact, reveals a DVD salesman in town, the Ssenga and Kojja DVDs are very popular. To get one  
l age-old secrets of love, sex and eroticism. The Ssenga DVDs seek to do the same, telling Ugandans  
actors/actresses can only expect so much from the Ssenga-turned-pornography industry in Uganda a  
ts of others such as women and children. Thus the Ssenga practice, as part of the culture of Baganda

88 king out for. Ssenga Lucy who should regulate the Ssenga industry? Under the Constitution of Uganda,  
89 t go through the ritual is not a real woman. The Ssenga industry may not be so bad in itself. But i  
90 a simple wooden couch with a white cloth and the Ssenga Mugezza Namuddu's inscription on the wall.  
91 this bounty! Now, whose idea was it to bring the Ssenga? Stella: what, didn't you like her? Trish:  
92 e 'show' with her popular Tujanjawaze hit, as the ssenga followed with Nsereko; the beaming groom wa  
93 ight blue blouse, Namuddu's look was far from the Ssenga I expected. Her office is a small container  
94 opposed to do about such normal nature calls, the ssenga admonished: "At least come to bed with a bi  
95 male satisfaction. I was surprised when even the Ssenga Patience talked to - the one who is the vil  
96 fee of Shs 30,000 to access the good words of the ssenga. Bella tight-marked by a mzungu man At Naki  
97 ould the husband pass his air at leisure? And the ssenga's answer: 'Mwana wange, ye musajja! (My dau  
98 -so-important department. I imagine it is why the ssenga always emphasised praise, noisy responses a  
99 ntist teachings. The rain-soaked function saw the ssenga picking Kitonsa from his entourage of about  
100 rab friend once told me that their version of the Ssenga told them that if a man gives his wife oral  
101 rate girls present were livid, demanding that the ssenga explains why the flatulence ban is slapped  
102 oduced her boyfriend and Cynthia's mother was the ssenga. "He approached me and we exchanged numbers  
103 . We are all in our early twenties except for the ssenga, of course. But there were two groups of pe  
104 n are entitled to it whenever they ask. Thus, the Ssenga tells other women, a woman should not withh  
105 shopkeeper in Kisaasi. While some people view the Ssenga institution as promoting the sexual emancip  
106 rds are not seeing each other exclusively. On the Ssenga's wall you can find a myriad of other probl  
107 . We are all in our early twenties except for the ssenga, of course. But there were two groups of pe  
108 reserved life. ?If a girl was found a virgin, the ssenga (paternal aunt) was given a goat for delive  
109 ontinues to direct its missiles elsewhere, as the Ssenga DVD industry keeps growing unabated. Indeed  
110 relationships.? And that as women tether to their Ssenga sessions, men too need special education on  
111 her school of thought, however, has it that these Ssenga DVDs are nothing more than a form of moral  
112 alth Practitioners Together Against AIDS (THETA), Ssenga Bernadette Nabantazi, also says mumbwa can  
113 your ribs at risk of cracking. One concerns this Ssenga, who came over to visit the ?bazukulu? for  
114 ient to their partners. Last week, there was this Ssenga telling women to try and reach orgasm very  
115 Jonathan wandera, one with the most posts on this Ssenga's wall, says he is in a dilemma after he fo  
116 heir Benzes, Prados and Volvos and dash into this Ssenga's place to ?improve? their petals down ther  
117 life goals?? she asks. Health risks According to Ssenga Flora, pulling comes with some inherent hea  
118 into the practice with the help of a traditional ?ssenga? (paternal aunt) as she prepares them for  
119 y thinks that everyone has to go to a traditional Ssenga for information about sex! What makes Nkuba  
120 could never be discussed candidly. Traditionally, Ssenga sessions were a private affair, usually car  
121 necessity,? argues Kendra. The humiliating truth Ssenga Flora tells of one woman who was sent packi  
122 as wrong. At 10pm, I was called. ?Nansamba!? When Ssenga calls me by my surname, I sense danger. ?I  
123 special effects or photo shopping. Together with Ssenga Musanyusa, they sat at their Love Doctors o  
124 s not go to school, also knew that she lives with ?Ssenga? (paternal aunt) but did not know where or  
125 to. ?No, I won?t stay behind; I will go back with Ssenga and come back another time,? he says with a  
126 we happy? [Quick Talk wants to meet this woman?s ssenga. Eh!] How do those stories make you feel? B  
127 doing things your way, because that is what your ssenga taught you. If she hates all the dirty talk  
128 ave game and bring it too. Forget the basics your ssenga (paternal aunt) taught you. The game has si

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1 and Daphine Zinunula, widow to the late playwright Robert Sserumaga. Her young  
2 because that is trivial to base yourself on to start untrusting someone. So you are that  
3 Uhmm you... you don't want your daughter to get married like that mbu maama ekya kileke.  
4 Doing that can make your husband to have an excuse of outside sex and the same you

to [possessive]

N Concordance

1 haggling takes place you find that you become a wife to the clan. For example we had cases whereby  
2 her house to ashes. Kyomuhangi who is a first wife to Levi Turyakira, 35, and is currently detai  
3 Ndimurungi, 27, traditinally married as a second wife to another man, says she did not see it in he  
4 wife NOT YOURS. Sheena: Since when is a whore a co-wife to a lawfully wedded wife? Hebrews 13:4 Marri  
5 statement was Komuntale's, the misguided and troubled wife to Thomas, not a Kingdom's. Fiona: we pray sh  
6 her parents together as a child. Enter the elder brother to Nagginda's father, Engineer Daniel Sseb  
7 mystery, that has pitted Brig. Kasirye Ggwanga, a brother to the tycoon, against the Police, got eve  
8 in northern Uganda. Salim Saleh He is the younger brother to the President and a power broker. He is  
9 to win honour in his home as a good husband and father to his children. He reckons that many pastors  
10 Nankya at Rubaga Cathedral. Nankya, 27, is the daughter to Hon. Mathias Nsubuga Birekeraawo, a Member  
11 contributed about 90% towards his burial as an in-law to the family. In the clan meeting conducted at  
12 mer Butaleja woman MP Cerinah Nebanda. Kalungi, a boyfriend to the late Nebanda, is facing charges o  
13 Minister Henry Kyemba) and Daphine Zinunula, widow to the late playwright Robert Sserumaga. Her young

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### Concordance

Kiruhura district. He urged his guests to advise me a mockery leading to impunity tendencies among here there is need to enforce law and order among marks on Monday while addressing the Veterans and nge also includes two Swahili singles Nahotha and conflicts. He, however, cautioned the leaders and ake you feel like getting up and swaying to beat. on ZUKU channel Speaking at the signing ceremony, lly, and to their families not the greater common liament of Uganda, the ball is now in your court; as bee-keeping. Since Karamoja has been disarmed, y, the President hailed the leaders for educating red Omony Ogaba. In a stark contrast of emotions, aale Kalemeera Masaka Internet Cafes Are Fleecing You should not use goba (lies) to get votes from in Gadhaffi barracks on wednesday that harassing ore, called on the registration officials to help early 1980s. As a result the NRA received massive have already received the ringing endorsement of ad read. It also demonstrates the helplessness of e, only doing our work and indeed a big number of through National Agricultural Advisory Services. lent of being close to wananchi. He does not shun ncerned ministries and Parliament for action. The da is not feasible and perhaps of no value to the economic and other myopic intentions against the or in at least one village. How do you expect the ensioners hope and pray that these enemies of the ct were coming to light. The President blamed the make Adam happy, she said. The minister said the wife, Janet Museveni. The President called on the by the First Lady, Janet. Museveni counselled the ntervention notwithstanding, we appeal to all the menting on the general broadcasting industry, the rvice in East Africa. ZUKU TV is a product of the der President Museveni and the NRM, empowered the have critiqued cost- sharing as impoverishing the e intended beneficiaries. Museveni encouraged they continue with their conflicts, the more arrangements that would give more leverage to the Bukedi sub-region legislators to mobilise the Nawampandu and Namutumba towns where he urged PDF is the social capital the army built with the

wananchi to embrace profit-oriented production wit  
wananchi. "why do you give Court Bail to somebody  
wananchi. "There are scenarios in curbing riots an  
wananchi at large at Kibibi Junior School grounds  
wananchi plus a Luganda radio favourite Guba Mukis  
wananchi against unprincipled conflicts. Museveni  
wananchi is a reggae track with a political messag  
wananchi Group's CEO, Mr. Richard Alden expressed  
wananchi. Unfortunately, in certain government ins  
wananchi are watching, with keen interest, from th  
wananchi should be assisted, a State House stateme  
wananchi about the dangers of the cultural practic  
wananchi who jammed the hall expressed disappointm  
wananchi! Why Is This So? SIR, The Communication C  
wananchi (locals). A leader who is a liar is a dis  
wananchi was characteristic of colonial armies. Th  
wananchi at the time of registration. He gave assu  
wananchi support. The political wing of the resist  
wananchi in their animated millions and majority.  
wananchi in many villages in Uganda. Poor Rehema w  
wananchi have expressed their gratitude to the UPD  
wananchi should be mobilised into other income gen  
wananchi. He is very popular with wananchi. It is  
wananchi are entitled to living in a country that  
wananchi. Like the state minister for health, Dr.  
wananchi. If this country was not crying, it would  
wananchi to walk the talk when they are still usin  
wananchi of Uganda will be prosecuted to the fulle  
wananchi (local people) for not reporting such cri  
wananchi should appreciate where the country has c  
wananchi to embrace projects that would enable the  
wananchi to lead decent lives by fighting househol  
wananchi to be vigilant and report to the Police o  
wananchi Group managing director Hannelie Bekker p  
wananchi group, the fastest growing pay digital TV  
wananchi with democratic rights earned through st  
wananchi, such systems still exist as insurance at  
wananchi to work hard and boost production, bearin  
wananchi suffer. Sharing responsibility is not bad  
wananchi benefit from the extraction of various mi  
wananchi to invest in high-yielding crops. He was  
wananchi (citizens) to deploy their resources to g  
wananchi (citizens) right from the start. This con

44 projects that had been established to ensure the wananchi lead better lives. He added that the sub-  
45 or and a man of the people to an oppressor of the wananchi, he would promptly renounce his position  
46 , to take root in the area for the benefit of the wananchi. He cited the sinking of more water boreh  
47 ess by not only the security forces, but also the wananchi who actually actively guarded the electio  
48 ssic enemies of the people! Many behave as if the wananchi owe them a living! The third lesson Ugand  
49 y were put into office to fulfil the needs of the wananchi. The more they continue with their confli  
50 e being that they want to serve the people or the wananchi. Some have compared the desire to rule wi  
51 ernment uses to provide essential services to the wananchi. The President made the remarks during th  
52 much because he has the talent of being close to wananchi. He does not shun wananchi. He is very po  
53 he need for content kids in Africa can relate to. Wananchi Group's CEO, Mr. Richard Alden said, "We  
54 lies before the rest of the funds trickle down to wananchi. Take head! Matayo: Yes I get a hump very  
55 th the objective of improving service delivery to wananchi. This brings the number of districts in t  
56 facilitate them in explaining the White Paper to wananchi should be allocated to the volunteers who  
57 arrant prosecution. I know Saleh is very close to wananchi but he should be close to the law. I advi  
58 ility. Zuku, a regional pay television firm under Wananchi Group has initiated a subscriber mobilisa  
59 cording to Mr Museveni, happened 'at Kanyum where wananchi were killed by elements of our army for n  
60 e does not shun wananchi. He is very popular with wananchi. It is a rare talent, Museveni said. An e  
61 n previous regimes, to a people's army "Jeshi ya wananchi" disciplined, professional and by any me

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 1 t the trick and have decided not to entertain any wolokoso (false stories) from politicians. Address  
 2 alists were at a loss as to what Kiyingi meant by wolokoso and what language it was. Well, language  
 3 lle (we the Banyankole). Isn't that what you call wolokoso (empty talk). You are a Munyankole. We kn  
 4 nd end the monopoly of the Parliamentary canteen. wolokoso finds the suggestion both funny and stran  
 5 ve done! what would you do in such circumstances? wolokoso: Restaurant for Parliament's parking? Thi  
 6 talking to on phone was some few metres from her. wolokoso was left wondering whether the Isingiro w  
 7 stamina or that what the opponents are saying is wolokoso (of no consequence) then the message does  
 8 ch does not want them back in the House. "That is wolokoso which we do not want. Just name the indiv  
 9 ng anywhere! I will decide my successor. "That is wolokoso (loose talk). If he has the power to dete  
 10 . Amb Kintu Nyago, Entebbe Research on height is 'wolokoso' The New Vision EDITOR: I am amazed by  
 11 and gun were just people's wolokoso."That is just wolokoso. Those are just allegations labelled again  
 12 politics because it is full of acrimony and lies, wolokoso (loose talk), he said. Museveni asked th  
 13 one warmly embracing Sheila? I think that is mere wolokoso. Mulinde should only reconcile with Sheila  
 14 promises to enhance service delivery is not mere wolokoso Karooro Okurut said. She went on to say th  
 15 tatta Kaaya, your "news" is just nothing but mere wolokoso. At no time has the AG cautioned her coun  
 16 armer sh12m annually. Corridors of power No more 'wolokoso' It is campaign time and it seems politic  
 17 -known in drama and radio ads as the loud-mouthed wolokoso girl who acts her roles so perfectly that  
 18 nal company. If only they spoke on issues and not wolokoso our scientists would be believed. But it  
 19 iled to name the individuals. Now if that was not wolokoso what was it? Celeb Jazz KRYSTAL Babes sin  
 20 NRM enhancing service delivery is not wolokoso CLAIMS by some presidential candidates that  
 21 r in the ring. We need good results not a lot of wolokoso, beat the man and talk later otherwise yo  
 22 ts. Interestingly, the same language 'stamina' or wolokoso may not auger well in rural and conservat  
 23 against him that he had a gun were "just people's wolokoso". That is just wolokoso. Those are just  
 24 hem in our bedroom. It's the media, which publish wolokoso (rumours). Why haven't you introduced him  
 25 is why I have to run quickly, Namabidde responded. wolokoso wonders how the police will deal with thi  
 26 Munyankole. We know it, so what? Museveni said. wolokoso is a coinage used by downtown youth to te  
 27 spend a lot of time in speculation, loose talk - wolokoso) instead of working hard. For example, ma  
 28 t accept Ronnie till he converts to Islam? That's wolokoso by newspapers. My parents knew all along