



INTERTEXTUALITY AND INTERDISCURSIVITY IN POST-COLONIAL LANGUAGE POLICIES IN KENYA

Chege Samuel Nganga¹ⁱ,
Geoffrey Maroko²,
Anashia Nancy Ong'onda³

¹Department of Humanities,
Murang'a University of Technology,
Kenya

²Department of Linguistics and Languages,
Machakos University,
Kenya

³Department of Linguistics and Languages,
Machakos University,
Kenya

Abstract:

Addressing the intricate challenges within the realm of language planning and policy involves establishing meaningful connections between language policy texts, discourse, and actual language practices. Moreover, navigating connections across diverse domains, contexts, levels, layers, and scales presents a formidable challenge. Therefore, this study endeavours to unravel intertextual connections as a means of comprehending language-policy texts in the Kenyan context. Focusing on post-colonial language policies in Kenya, this paper explores intertextuality and interdiscursivity. Employing Fairclough's (1992) Critical Discourse approach, this analysis explores how language policy documents undergo decontextualization from prior discourses (intertextuality) and examine their correlation with different generic chains (interdiscursivity). The study employs a qualitative research design, specifically historical and documentary analysis. The study's findings reveal that post-colonial language policies exhibit links to both pre-colonial and current policy documents, showcasing vertical and horizontal intertextuality. Additionally, these policies are linked to a myriad of past and present discourses, such as those related to culture and diversity (interdiscursivity). Notably, the analysis of intertextuality and interdiscursive discourse reveals revisions to language policy and tracks the shifts in discourses surrounding this policy over time. In conclusion, this study emphasises that the meaningful interpretation of intertextuality and interdiscursivity renders language policy texts significant. It is anticipated that this research will shed light on understanding language policy through the lens of intertextuality and

ⁱ Correspondence: email schege137@gmail.com

interdiscursivity, contributing to a more comprehensive perspective on language policy dynamics.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, interdiscursivity, intertextuality, language practices, post-colonial language policies

1. Introduction

The term intertextuality was first coined by Julia Kristeva in her analysis of Mikhail Bakhtin's writings on literary semiotics Kristeva (2002). According to Kristeva, intertextuality refers to the ways in which texts reference and build upon other texts and discourse. She defines it as "*several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and naturalize one another*" (Kristeva, 1986:36). Similarly, Bhatia (2010) observed that intertextuality can be understood as a text-level phenomenon, describing how a text references other prior texts. However, interdiscursivity is a more abstract form of borrowing the features of discourse or genres in text or talk. Thus, intertextuality can be seen as the "*transforming of the past (texts) into the present*" (Bhatia, 2010).

Interdiscursivity refers to the incorporation of diverse discourses and genres within a text, which is a concept that extends intertextuality "*towards the principle of the primacy of the order of discourse*" (Fairclough, 2013). This encompasses not only linguistic elements such as nouns and sentences, but also the social organisation and control of linguistic variations (Fairclough, 2013: p. 24). Thus, the study of interdiscursivity involves linguistic, semiotic, and contextual analysis. Interdiscursivity is a reflection of social practices that result from social change (Fairclough, 1992). This concept is not limited to the discourse level but also encompasses genre and style levels.

This paper examines the application of intertextuality and interdiscursivity in Kenya's post-colonial language policies. The concept of intertextual connections, as defined by Fairclough (1992), encompasses the interplay between past- and present-language policy documents and their respective discursive relationships. Similarly, interdiscursive connections refer to the connections between language policies and past and present discourses about language, language users, and language education. The intertextuality concept posits that all texts, whether written, spoken, formal, or informal, are interconnected (Devitt, 2000). Intertextuality is a literary device that draws references or allusions to other texts to either reinforce or subvert the meaning of a particular work (Hult, 2010). In the field of Language Planning and Policy (LPP), establishing connections between language policy texts and discourses and their practical applications continues to present a recurring challenge.

This study focuses on the language policies formulated by the Kenya Education Commission of 1964 (Ominde Commission), the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policy of 1976 (Gachathi, 1976), and the Presidential Working Party of the Second University of 1981 (Mackay Report) in Kenya, following the country's self-rule in 1963. Through critical textual analysis, this study reviews the recommendations of these post-independent commissions for indigenous Kenyan languages.

During this period, English was recognised as the official language of Kenya, and its use was mandated in all important sectors of the government, including education (Nabea, 2009). However, this policy simply reiterated what was already in place because of the colonial language policy. Government leaders, who were products of the colonial education system, were likely to perpetuate neo-colonialism rather than promote administrative reforms. As a result, post-independence was marked by a linguistic struggle over the place of indigenous languages in education. This is evidenced in the various research commissions conducted to inform language policy.

Previous research has utilised a critical perspective in ethnographic studies of language policy, seeking to uncover the discursive connections between language policy texts and local educational practices (Hult, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2007). Additionally, some studies have examined the historical and discursive ties between policymaking and political and economic processes (Tollefson, 2006). Conversely, Johnson and Johnson (2013) conducted an ethnographic study in the school district of Philadelphia, USA, and utilised intertextual and interdiscursive analyses to reveal the connections between policy documents. This study tracked the evolution of ideas in these documents, their interconnections with other texts and discourses, and the implications of these connections for those responsible for interpreting and implementing the policy.

On the other hand, Mortimer (2016) employed speech chain analysis in a longitudinal examination of language-in-education policy in Paraguay. The findings of this study highlight the importance of identifying symbolic values and identities through speech chains, as this illuminates the process of change in cultural values and social identities in connection with language policy activities. Similarly, Pérez-Milans and Tollefson (2018) identified the process of language 'modernisation' and 'development' as a transplantable concept in new contexts through Language Planning Policy.

Therefore, this study is based on the premise that conceptualising and analysing language policy as a discursive phenomenon enables a better understanding of the multilayered nature of language policy that shapes the management and experience of corporate multilingualism in Kenya. The ultimate goal of this research is to describe how intertextual and interdiscursive strategies are manifested in Kenya's post-colonial language policies. The study of Language Policy Discourse (LPD) is significant in theory and practice in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Thus, it is hoped that this study makes an empirical contribution to research on language policy dilemmas in Kenya.

2. Literature Review

Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) research examined the reasons for genre mixing by analysing the artistic and ideological implications of literary and non-literary styles within a text. The study found that poetry's distinct formal and stylistic characteristics, when compared to the context-influenced style of non-poetic language, demonstrate a thought process and behaviour that is isolated from the dangers of everyday life. Additionally, the novel was found to be a pluralistic discourse that intentionally combines multiple genres that are geographically and temporally separated. This conscious hybridization of genres (or

interdiscursivity) serves as a significant device for creating artistic language-images in the novel (see Bakhtin 1981: 358-366). However, it should be noted that Bakhtin views genre hybridisation as a complex and challenging process that involves friction and struggle.

Fairclough (1993) research on the discourse of higher education revealed that interdiscursivity was not limited to the discourse level but also extended to genre and style levels. The study further demonstrated that mixing the discourse of education with the discourse of the market resulted in interdiscursivity. According to Fairclough (1993), this mixing is caused by the marketisation of higher education. This study offers valuable insights into the analysis of language policy texts as hybrids.

In a study conducted by Wu (2011) on medical practices in Britain, it was observed that the discourse of enterprises has progressively colonised medical discourse. The findings of the study highlight the significant interdiscursivity between medicine and enterprise, which is reflective of the wider societal transition from state-supported medicine to privately organised medical practice. Similarly, Candlin and Maley (1997) examined mediating texts and accounted for the interdiscursive relationships between bargaining, counselling, therapeutic, and legal genres. The study revealed that the interdiscursivity of different social practices attempts to incorporate strategies from diverse professional arenas and adapt to the requirements of different ideological orientations.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2004) maintain that the pervasive discursive hybridity present in interactions and texts is a notable feature of late modernity, as it challenges the boundaries of social life. They advocate interdiscursive analysis as a critical tool in examining field relations, and their analytical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) emphasises identifying obstacles to the resolution of social problems through the use of effective interdiscursive analysis.

According to Allen (2000), historical events, whether personal, social, psychological, or cultural in nature, blend together with their ideological conflicts and divisions in the narrative. Allen's examination of this linguistic phenomenon in literary texts led him to attribute its significance to the social context. Consequently, the conflict expressed in the interdiscursive phenomenon appears to Allen to be a clash between different ideological, class, and literary positions. Allen's study provides useful insights into the analysis of language policy texts with close reference to the context.

Scollon (2002) utilised methodological interdiscursivity to examine interdiscursive relations in his analysis of news discourse and identity. This study, which was based on ethnographic research, situated discourse within the wider social practices of the familial local context of Hong Kong. The findings of this study revealed that interdiscursive practices in news discourse give rise to complex levels of interdiscursivity. Moreover, the study indicated that the process of identity construction in news discourse is highly interdiscursive and characterised by polyvocality.

Fairclough (2005) investigated an interdiscursive linguistic analysis by applying Halliday (1992) systemic functional linguistic theory, which examines language and "*other elements and aspects of social life*". The focus of the study was vocabulary (word

level) and grammar (sentences, clauses, and phrases). The findings of this study show a connection between semiotic and contextual analyses. The study further reflects on innovation and change in texts and allows connecting linguistic and semiotic analysis to broader social change.

Bhatia (2010) analysed several annual reports from companies based in Hong Kong. The study identified two prevalent discourses in these reports: accounting discourse and public relations discourse. Despite their divergent objectives, corporate practices, and linguistic resources, both discourses were integrated into a single genre to project a favourable image of the company. The study also demonstrated instances of interdiscursivity through the interaction between arbitration and litigation practices within the legal discourse. The current research focuses on language policy texts as hybrids of various other texts.

3. Theoretical Framework

The analysis adopts a discursive approach to language policy, asserting that language policy is formed and executed through language use. Therefore, this study employs Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as put forth by Fairclough (1992, 1993), with the aim of investigating the relationship between language practices and the broader social and cultural context. Fairclough (1992) identified three main analytical concepts of CDA: text, discourse, and social practices. Text practice refers to the production of language, including the selection of words and grammar. Discourse practices encompass the interpretation of texts and their reception. Finally, social practices are conventional practices used by members of the discourse community. This study provides a CDA of how policy texts are constructed in post-independence Kenya. It focuses on how these texts are created through intertextual and interdiscursive relations between the texts and contexts.

4. Research Methodology

The study utilised a qualitative research design to explore the complex relationship between text and context in language-policy documents. This approach involves the examination of both historical and documentary data to create comprehensive accounts of various social phenomena (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009). To gain a deeper understanding of the historical basis of language policies in Kenya and their ideological foundations, this study employed a historical approach by consulting archives and historical sources (Brundage, 2017).

This study used a non-probability sampling design, also known as deliberate, purposive, or judgment sampling, which involves the deliberate selection of particular units of the universe for a sample that will be representative of the whole (Pace, 2021). Specifically, the judgment-sampling technique was used to select post-independent policy documents that highlight intertextuality and interdiscursivity.

Data analysis was conducted using Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model, which emphasises the analysis of text discourse and its cultural, social, and historical contexts from a critical perspective. The relevant linguistic and educational information on post-independent Kenya language policies includes the Kenya Education Commission (Ominde, 1964), the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policy (Gachathi, 1976), the Presidential Working Party on the Second University (Mackay, 1981), the Presidential Working Party on Education and (Kamunge, 1988), the Totally integrated quality education and training report (Koech, 1999), the Kenyan Constitution (Kenya, 2013), the National Curriculum Policy (Kaviti, 2018), and the Basic Education Curriculum Framework (Wanjohi, 2017)

5. Data Analysis and Discussion

Analysis of the data reveals instances of intertextuality and interdiscursivity in post-independent Kenya's language policies. Fairclough's (1992) dichotomy of constitutive and manifest intertextuality distinguishes between these two concepts. Fairclough (Ibid) posits that manifest intertextuality refers to the explicit presence of one text within another, while constitutive intertextuality results from the mixing of discourse conventions such as genres, activity types, and styles associated with different types of discourse, and are not overtly present in the text but are instead retrieved from the social context. This section discusses patterns of intertextuality, such as horizontal, functional, and generic, as well as patterns of interdiscursivity, such as hybrid texts and styles in post-colonial Language Policies in Kenya.

5.1 Patterns of Intertextuality

According to Devitt (1991) all texts interact, as no text is solitary, as texts refer to one another, draw from one another, and create the purpose for one another. Fairclough (1992) defines intertextuality as the explicit and verbatim incorporation of texts, such as through the use of quotations or citations. This study examines intertextuality in relation to three types: horizontal intertextuality, functional intertextuality, and generic or vertical intertextuality.

5.1.1 Horizontal Intertextuality

Horizontal intertextuality refers to the manner in which texts draw upon and build upon texts in which they are related in a sequential manner. This includes both texts and utterances that precede and follow them. (Kristeva, 1986).

The analysed data revealed instances of horizontal intertextuality in post-independence Kenya language policies. For example, Extract 1, below The Kenya Education Commission of 1964 (Ominde Commission), demonstrates intertextuality.

Extract 1:

"The commission favoured English as a medium of instruction in primary school, from lower primary school to university. The mother tongue was preferred for verbal communication, especially in rural areas. (Ominde RPT, 1964)

The Kenya Education Commission's 1964 language policy relies heavily on intertextual links to multiple colonial and present policy texts and discourses, as revealed in Extract 1. Intertextuality refers to the interconnectedness between texts; meaning is derived from these texts, which are always related to one another in specific ways. There are three types of intertextual relations: thematic, orientational, and organizational. The survey conducted by the Education Commission in 1964 found that many Kenyans supported the idea of using English as the primary language of instruction from primary school to university, and the commission provided reasons for this recommendation, citing that English possessed inherent resources. Thus, the study observes that the recommendations are grounded in the association between colonial languages and social status, economic power, and societal modernisation, which provided a compelling rationale for English being made the medium of instruction in primary schools. This suggests that ex-colonial languages continue to function as vertical control languages, as noted by Phillipson (1992) and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2012).

5.1.2 Functional Intertextuality

The analysed data also uncovered instances of functional intertextuality. Devitt (1991) noted that this phenomenon can occur in various ways, such as the utilisation of a text or a portion of a text to create another text. For example, the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policy of 1976 (Gachathi Report) can be considered a copy and paste of the Beecher Report from 1949. The data presented below demonstrate how policy texts and discourse are recontextualised for their intended audiences, as shown in Extract 2.

Extract 2:

"To use as a language of instruction the predominant language spoken in the schools' catchment area for the first three years of primary education." (Gachathi RPT, 1976)

Extract 2 reveals that The Gachathi Commission introduced the use of mother tongues as languages of instruction in lower primary school, which contrasts with previous commissions that deemed these languages unsuitable for this role (Ominde Commission 1964). This recommendation is based on colonial-era discourses aimed at promoting multilingualism as a school resource. Therefore, the language policies of the Gachathi Commission rely on intertextual and interdiscursive links to multiple past and present policy texts and discourses. For instance, the recommendation is reminiscent of the Beecher report of 1949, which advocated the use of mother tongues (referred to as languages of the catchment areas) as languages of instruction from classes 1 to 3. In this recommendation, the Gachathi Commission refers to native language as the predominant

language. This technique serves to remind the audience of the importance of using indigenous languages in schools. The use of an agentless passive voice in the recommendation further diminishes an agent's role in implementing these rules.

Intertextual links between policy papers were achieved by referencing the Beecher Report of 1949, which is a fundamental component of the language policy genre. The Gachathi Commission texts share similarities with the Beecher Report of 1949 in that they discuss the same topic from the same perspective and within the same genre. As a result, the report positively represents indigenous languages by assigning them the role of languages of instruction in the lower primary level. The report also acknowledges the linguistic diversity in Kenya and provides an implementation space for multiple languages in schools, which implies the retention of indigenous languages alongside the adoption of new languages and cultures. Furthermore, the implementation of the Gachathi Commission's language policy was facilitated by the fact that Kenya is primarily rural, with many regions inhabited by linguistically homogeneous communities. Rural areas are highly homogeneous linguistically, making it easier to construct language-in-education policies. Additionally, Kenya's language distribution is not homogeneous across regions, with only a few areas having diverse populations in terms of languages. This study observes that the recommendation to qualify the use of mother tongues in early learning is based on the debate on the role of indigenous languages in education. As a result, the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE, 2012) stated that pupils' ideas and thoughts are in their mother tongue, and they will continue to be so long after they have learned to speak in English. To encourage pupils to think for themselves, they must be helped to do so in their own language.

The Mackay Commission (1981) further shares thematic relationships intertextually with the Gachathi Report, as shown in Extract 3 below:

Extract 3:

"English remains the language of instruction, while Kiswahili was made compulsory in both primary and secondary education. Mother tongue be used in lower grades of primary schools, in areas where this was possible. Kiswahili was made examinable at the primary and secondary levels. The KIE was to prepare educational materials in twenty-two languages, which included English and Kiswahili." (Mackay RPT, 1981)

First, it is evident that all social actors share a common perspective on the topic of language policies regarding both the audience and content of the discourse. The two texts under consideration exhibit identical generic structures. The aforementioned data demonstrate that the discourse on indigenous languages was sustained by the Mackay Commission and that the mother tongue is utilised in lower primary school grades, to the extent possible. This highlights the significance of the strategy of recontextualization in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and underscores the manner in which hegemony is maintained and reinforced through discourse. The utilisation of the verb *'remain'* in extract 8 serves to underscore the intertextual links of this policy to other related discourses.

Extract 3 explicitly expresses social relations between social actors. The policy advocates a hierarchical implementation approach, with clearly defined roles and responsibilities agreed upon by policy agents and the government. The disclosed recommendations highlight the subordinate status of the KIE, which was tasked with the preparation of educational materials in twenty-two languages, including English and Kiswahili. The use of predicative action *emphasises* the agentive role of the KIE. Furthermore, the semantic relationship between the government and the emanating actions by KIE further strengthens the semantic authorisation of these actions by placing them in a top-down hierarchical scheme. Therefore, the Mackay Commission generally represents indigenous languages positively by advocating the development of educational materials.

The above analysis affirms that language policies are intrinsically linked to intertextual and interdiscursive connections with multiple past and present policy texts and discourse. The act of copying and pasting content from one policy text to another is a fundamental characteristic of language policy genres.

5.1.3 Generic Intertextuality

Generic intertextuality, also referred to as "vertical intertextuality", is a recurring phenomenon characterised by the presence of common forms in recurring rhetorical situations (Kristeva, 1982; Devitt, 1991). This type of intertextuality can be achieved through recontextualisation, as described by Wodak and Fairclough (2010). Recontextualization relies on both intertextual connections to past texts and discourses, as well as the relationships, beliefs, ideologies, and power relationships present in the new context, as demonstrated in Extract 4.

Recontextualization in the Ominde Commission is achieved by providing additional information, as shown below.

Extract 4:

"The English medium makes possible a systematic development of language study and literacy which would be very difficult to achieve in the vernaculars sounds more of a Eurocentric prejudice rather than a reasoned scientific observation." (Ominde RPT, 1964)

A close examination of Extract 4 reveals that the Kenya Education Commission of 1964 advocated for the teaching and learning of English in lower primary education, emphasising its crucial role in facilitating the smooth transition from "vernaculars" and leveraging its inherent resources (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1996). The framing of this issue as a polarized political matter necessitates justification, as language policy can be used to devalue indigenous languages and promote English as a global language, leading to the decline and eventual loss of these languages. This decline in linguistic diversity and cultural identity can further result in unequal power relations between English- and non-English-speaking communities (Phillipson, 1992).

The Kenya Education Commission of 1964 provides insights into the rationale behind the policy of implementing English as a medium of instruction in primary schools,

from lower primary schools to universities. This study utilised Fairclough's three-dimensional analysis, including text, discourse practice, and sociocultural analysis, to examine tasks and initiatives. The adoption of English as a medium of instruction is argued to facilitate the systematic development of language study and literacy, which is difficult to achieve in vernacular languages. However, this perspective appears to be informed by Eurocentric biases rather than by scientific observations. The Ominde Report depicts English as the language of modernisation and progress, while indigenous languages are portrayed as archaic and hindering development. For instance, the report asserts that *"the use of mother-tongue as a medium of instruction would be detrimental to students and the country as a whole"* (Ominde Report, 1964, p. 23).

In academic discourse, there is often a spurious causal link that assumes that if one fact is true, another must also be true. The authors utilised the verbal phrase "makes possible", which implies the existence and favourability of a prior state, and a positive assessment of changes in policy. By asserting that the use of English facilitates systematic language development, it is implied that the language is beneficial, as conveyed by the adjective "possible." Conversely, the intensive adverb "very" paired with a negative evaluative adjective ("difficult") in reference to the use of indigenous languages as a medium of instruction suggests that this approach is undesirable and harmful to students. The study demonstrated that the repeated use of positive words to describe English and negative words to describe indigenous languages creates a compounding effect, resulting in the depiction of English as indispensable, crucial, impartial, and valuable for language development and literacy, whereas indigenous languages are deemed dispensable.

It is noteworthy that the justification provided above is deemed inappropriate because it implies that English is the only language capable of systematic language development and literacy. This overlooks the fact that other languages, including indigenous African languages, can be used for this purpose. The recontextualization of policy discourse perpetuated by the Commission promotes a hegemonic ideology that diminishes the importance of multilingualism. Further examination reveals that the commission utilised various de facto language policy mechanisms to ensure the implementation of this policy, including the introduction of English in beginner classes of primary schools through the New Primary Approach (NPA), where its use was heavily emphasised. Additionally, the commission emphasised the use of the mother tongue and Kiswahili in the education system at various levels and localities.

Recontextualization can also be achieved by limiting the significance and function of mother tongue learning, particularly in rural areas, as demonstrated by the prescribed daily period of storytelling from standard one to three (Extract 5).

Extract 5:

"The commission felt there was no need to assign the vernaculars the role of educational medium because they "were ill-adapted in the critical early years of schooling". However, the commission validated (single-handedly) that mother tongues can be used for a daily period of storytelling, from standard one to three. (Ominde RPT, 1964)

The data in Extract 5 suggest that the Ominde Commission underestimates the significance of indigenous languages in the educational realm. These lexical choices contribute to the marginalisation of indigenous languages by shaping the narratives and discourses surrounding language policy and education in Kenya. One way in which lexical choices undermine indigenous languages is to portray them as inadequate or inferior to modern education. For instance, the 1964 Ominde Report designates African languages as "vernacular" and implies that they are unsuitable for teaching advanced subjects, such as science and technology. The excerpts on the role of vernaculars, as demonstrated by this task, in which 'multilingual' has been replaced with 'language', illuminate a potential pedagogical or ideological shift away from the promotion of multilingual skills as important national resources and towards the promotion of generic language skills, which could simply be interpreted as English skills. As a result, the policy has had significant implications for the learning and teaching of mother tongues in our education system since independence. This policy created the perception that indigenous languages are inadequate for this purpose. This view is based on ignorance of the power of the mother tongue. Nonetheless, research has shown that not only are mother tongues suitable for this purpose but they are also the most effective vehicles for this purpose (Cummins, 2000). Extract 6 below employs framing as a strategy in critical discourse analysis, where the policy on the Kiswahili language is represented through the use of keywords such as "*Kiswahili as an appropriate language for national and regional unity and for the Pan-Africanism dream.*"

Extract 6:

"Kiswahili was recommended as a compulsory subject in primary schools and was especially favoured in education for the purposes of national and regional unity. Kiswahili was seen as an appropriate language for the Pan-African dream." (Mazrui & Mazrui 1996).

The utilisation of lexical items such as national and regional unity and Pan-Africanism in the text has enabled policymakers to achieve foregrounding and framing. The data reveal that Kiswahili was accorded special status as a national language for Pan-Africanism. The choice of Kiswahili in this capacity reflects the government's exclusive focus. However, unlike English, Kiswahili was not permanently attached to the educational curriculum, and it remained an optional subject for many years (Mbaabu, 1996). The 1964 Ominde Commission Report draws on the colonial legacy of using English as a medium of instruction in schools and justifies its continued use in post-colonial Kenya by referencing the previous policies and practices of the British colonial government. Furthermore, the report cites previous academic reports and education professionals who advocated English as the primary language of instruction.

Extract 6 further demonstrates the strategy of recontextualising text in a new context, where earlier versions may be expanded upon, added to, filtered, or suppressed. Recontextualization refers to the process of texts (and the discourses and genres they employ) being transferred between different spatial and temporal contexts and

undergoing transformations that are influenced by the relationships and distinctions between those contexts (Wodak and Fairclough, 2010). The 1972 Bessey Report utilised the CDA strategy of foregrounding and topicalization to highlight the significance of indigenous languages in the education sector, as depicted in Extract 7.

Extract 7:

“Using mother tongues, English, and Kiswahili in schools, the report noted that there are important developmental benefits for children and cultural benefits for the community when school life begins, without the shock of confronting a new language. The report saw the ideal language situation as every Kenyan being able to enjoy a good command of his or her mother tongue, competence in Kiswahili, and competence in English. Subjects such as kiswahili, art, and craft were encouraged in many schools in the country. Kiswahili was to be compulsory at the primary level. The primary school curriculum was revised to suit the needs of the Kenyan and African contexts.” (Bessey RPT, 1972)

The 1972 Bessey Report (Extract 7) demonstrates that policymakers decontextualise the significance of indigenous languages in education by emphasising the advantages that children will gain, such as cognitive and cultural development, when schools incorporate their mother tongues. Furthermore, by utilising the nouns "children" and "community" to identify the beneficiaries of the policy, the report suggests that the readers share a common perspective with the authors, implying that they are part of the same group with shared values. This implies that readers are positioned as insiders, and this shared perspective facilitates the acceptance of the policy. Thus, the report highlights that the adoption of bilingual education was motivated by the desire to promote the cognitive and cultural development of the community. The findings of the report were in tandem with Moseley (2012), in which experts observed the following.

- 1) The mother tongue is a person's natural means of self-expression, and one of their first needs is to develop the power of self-expression.
- 2) Every pupil should begin formal education in their mother tongue.
- 3) There is nothing in the structure of any language that precludes it from becoming a vehicle for modern civilisation.

The Bessey Report of 1972 substantiates the benefits of utilising indigenous languages as a medium of instruction, demonstrating a smooth transition from home to the school environment and the positive development of language function in early mastery of the mother tongue. Policymakers supporting multilingualism and multiculturalism ideals are reflected in Recommendation II of the report. The study emphasises the importance of language rights for children, promoting the use of indigenous languages in teaching and the development of bilingual education. The Bessey Report aligns with the findings of the Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office (NFCO) study in 1953, titled "African Education: A Study of Education Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa," which highlights the value of learning a foreign language in the initial stages of education and the importance of the mother tongue in awakening imagination, preserving culture, and touching the heart as well as the brain.

Based on this evidence, the utilisation of indigenous languages as a medium of instruction in lower levels of formal education has been found to provide greater benefits to students than when the English language is used. This conclusion is supported by the Bessey report of 1972, which recommends the use of indigenous languages in the first three or four years of learning, a position that is consistent with the stance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation since 1953 (Watras, 2010).

These findings concur with the observations of Wodak and Fairclough (2010) regarding the significance of recontextualization, which relies on both intertextual connections to past texts and discourses and the relationships, beliefs, ideologies, and power dynamics in the new context. This analysis demonstrates how social actors and concepts of language policy are constructed through intertextuality. This study illustrates how discourse topics and arguments are reproduced, revised, and transformed within the specific context of language policy.

5.2 Patterns of Interdiscursivity

In Section 5.1, intertextuality is defined as a phenomenon in which a text explicitly draws upon other texts through surface textual features, such as references, quotations, and citations (Kristeva, 1980). This section examines interdiscursivity (Fairclough, 1992; Bhatia, 2010), which operates on a different level by referring to the combination of language conventions (genres, discourses, and discursive practices) that constitute a text. Interdiscursivity is concerned with the implicit relationships between discursive formations rather than the explicit relationships between texts. This study focuses on two patterns of interdiscursivity: hybrid genres and hybrid styles.

5.2.1 Hybrid Genres

In the realm of language policies, interdiscursivity is achieved through the amalgamation of diverse genres and discourses (Johnson, 2015). The commissions appropriated the generic resources of a particular genre and utilised them to create another genre. Bhatia (2004) posits that intertextuality examines internal textual factors, while interdiscursivity looks at the external factors of genres. Fairclough (2010) defines interdiscursivity as the integration of various genres, discourses, and styles within a text. Therefore, interdiscursivity refers to interactions that occur within or across genres (Bhatia, 2010).

The analysed data revealed that the recurring discourse topics in language policy statements encompassed culture, globalisation, diversity, educational quality, knowledge, resources, and capital in relation to learning, teaching, and research. For instance, the Gachathi Report was heavily influenced by the political debate and discourse surrounding its creation. A thorough analysis of the intertextual and interdiscursive connections is essential to gaining an understanding of the ideological history and creation of the report. This is demonstrated in the recommendation that aimed to integrate the use of English in the Kenyan education system. The report proposed that English be used as the language of instruction from grade four in primary school to the university level, as evidenced below:

Extract 8:

“To introduce English as a subject in Primary 1 and to make it supersede the predominant local language as the medium of instruction in Primary 4 (Gachathi Commission, 1976, pp. 54–55). For linguistically heterogeneous areas, referred to in the policy as peri-urban, urban, or metropolitan areas, the policy states that Kiswahili should be used for instruction. English was allotted 8–10 periods out of the 40 hours per week, and Kiswahili was allotted 3 hours.” (Gachathi RPT, 1976)

Extract 8 fails to consider the importance of linguistic diversity in its recommendations, and instead reinforces the dominance of English in the Kenyan educational system by introducing English as a subject in Primary 1 and making it the sole medium of instruction in Primary 4. Furthermore, despite recognising the significance of Kiswahili as an important subject at both the primary and secondary school levels, the commission awarded English more than double the number of hours of instruction allocated to Kiswahili, as outlined in Recommendation III. This disparity in treatment further underscores the inferior status of Kiswahili in the educational system. The analysis of the Kamunge Report (1988) also reveals instances of hybrid mixing in informational genres.

Extract 9:

“Thus, English should be used as a medium for instruction. The commission noted that to improve learners’ proficiency in English and develop good reading habits, primary school libraries should be established in all schools and properly stocked for this purpose.” (Kamunge RPT, 1988)

Extract 9 above demonstrates the utilisation of diverse genres within the language policy, as evidenced by the deployment of the modal auxiliary verb "should" and subsequent moves that engage in the discussion of matters. The policy discusses and presents rationales regarding the employment of English as a medium of instruction. This is unequivocally conveyed through a series of declarative sentences designed to convey information.

5.2.2 Hybrid Styles

It is recommended that the language policies utilize varied structural patterns, as reflected in the content of the recommendations, which employ structured declarative, imperative, and passive sentences to present information. The recommendations in the Kamunge report are specifically presented using the imperative sentence structure:

Extract 10:

“Thus, English should be used as a medium for instruction. The commission noted that to improve learners’ proficiency in English and develop good reading habits, primary school libraries should be established in all schools and properly stocked for this purpose.” (Kamunge RPT, 1988).

The use of modal verbs such as "should" and "could" is a common feature of argumentative discourse, used to convey a sense of certainty when making a claim. This style of writing is often employed as a means of persuasion as well as providing information or instructions. Additionally, the formal written features included in language policies tend to employ direct and passive constructions, reflecting the relationship between the addresser and addressee, as demonstrated in the following extract from Kenya's constitution (2010):

"The aforementioned passages highlight the state's obligations to promote and protect the diversity of languages in Kenya as well as to promote the development and use of indigenous languages, Kenyan sign language, Braille, and other accessible communication technologies for persons with disabilities. The use of passive voice constructs and professional terminologies reflects the formal tone and nature of the content, which is in line with Fairclough (2003) view that linguistic structures are shaped by the social organisation and control of linguistic variations. These findings are consistent with those of the Constitution of Kenya."

6. Conclusion

This paper examines the intertextuality and interdiscursivity of post-colonial language policies in Kenya. The research findings indicate that post-colonial language policies are linked to previous policy documents, such as earlier policies, through patterns of intertextuality, which included horizontal and vertical intertextuality. Additionally, the study uncovered aspects of interdiscursivity, such as the use of hybrid discourse practices, including cultural diversity and hybrid styles. The study concludes that post-colonial language policies in Kenya are closely connected to other texts and are revealed in documents through the analysis of discourse features, including recontextualization, modal operators, and the textual features of language policies. The study ultimately demonstrates that language policies rely on intertextual and interdiscursive links to multiple past and present policy texts and discourses.

Conflict of Interest Statement

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

About the Author(s)

Chege Samuel Nganga is a linguist and Communication specialist at Muranga University of Technology. He focuses on Discourse Analysis, Language maintenance and revitalisation, and language planning and policy. His expertise lies in Discourse Analysis. Chege also contributes to Language Planning and Policy by exploring the complex processes of language policy development and implementation in multilingual societies. Chege's diverse research agenda advances linguistic scholarship, and has significant implications for language education, cultural preservation, and language policy formation.

Professor Geoffrey Maroko is a highly regarded language lecturer and researcher, with extensive experience in the fields of Applied linguistics and education. He has made significant contributions to the study of emerging issues in language and has participated in numerous multidisciplinary and multi-institutional research projects. In addition to his academic accomplishments, Professor Maroko has also served in various administrative capacities within the university system. As an accomplished academic, he is committed to using his expertise to promote the advancement of knowledge in his field. **Dr. Anashia Nancy Ong'onda**, a Senior Lecturer at Machakos University, has made significant contributions to the field of Applied Linguistics through her extensive publication record. The focus of her research is on language usage, discourse practices, and sociocultural implications, with a particular emphasis on the impact of linguistic power on society and language ideologies. Dr. Ong'onda's work has advanced the boundaries of knowledge in critical discourse studies, language, power, and ideologies. Her publications, which include articles, research papers, and academic publications, are of great value to scholars and students in these fields.

References

- Allen, K. R. (2000). A conscious and inclusive family studies. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(1), 4-17.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2010). Interdiscursivity in professional communication. *Discourse & communication*, 4(1), 32-50.
- Brundage, A. (2017). *Going to the sources: A guide to historical research and writing*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Candlin, C. N., & Maley, Y. (1997). Intertextuality and interdiscursivity in the discourse of alternative dispute resolution. *The construction of professional discourse*, 201-222.
- Chouliaraki, L., & Fairclough, N. (2004). The critical analysis of discourse. *Critical strategies for social research*, 262-271.
- Cummins, J. (2000). Academic language learning, transformative pedagogy, and information technology: Towards a critical balance. *Tesol Quarterly*, 34(3), 537-548.
- Devitt, A. J. (2000). Integrating rhetorical and literary theories of genre. *College English*, 62(6), 696-718.
- Devitt, M. (1991). Aberrations of the realism debate. *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition*, 61(1/2), 43-63.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). Discourse and text: Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & society*, 3(2), 193-217.
- Fairclough, N. (1993). Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities. *Discourse & Society*, 4(2), 133-168. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926593004002002>
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. Psychology Press.

- Fairclough, N. (2005). Critical discourse analysis in transdisciplinary research. *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis*, 53-70.
- Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Routledge.
- Gachathi, P. J. (1976). Report of the national committee on educational objectives and policies. *Government Printers Nairobi, Kenya*.
- Halliday, M. A. (1992). Language as system and language as instance: The corpus as a theoretical construct. *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium 82, Stockholm, 4–8 August 1991*,
- Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *Tesol Quarterly*, 41(3), 509-532.
- Hult, F. M. (2010). Analysis of language policy discourses across the scales of space and time. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249930560_Analysis_of_Language_Policy_Discourses_Across_the_Scales_of_Space_and_Time
- Johnson, D. C. (2009). Ethnography of language policy. *Language policy*, 8, 139-159.
- Johnson, D. C. (2015). Intertextuality and language policy. *Research methods in language policy and planning: A practical guide*, 166-180.
- Johnson, D. C., & Johnson, D. C. (2013). *What is language policy?* Springer.
- Kamunge, J. M. (1988). Report of the presidential working party on education and manpower training for next decade and beyond [in Kenya]. Retrieved from <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000169888>
- Kaviti, L. (2018). The New Curriculum of Education in Kenya: a Linguistic and Education Paradigm Shift. In. University of Nairobi.
- Kenya, L. O. (2013). *The constitution of Kenya: 2010*. Chief Registrar of the Judiciary.
- Koech, D. K. (1999). *Totally integrated quality education and training, TIQET: Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Education System of Kenya*. Republic of Kenya.
- Kristeva, J. (1986). *The kristeva reader*. Columbia University Press.
- Kristeva, J. (2002). "Nous deux" or a (hi) story of intertextuality. *Romanic Review*, 93(1/2), 7.
- Mackay, C. (1981). Report of the Presidential Working Party on Second University in Kenya. *Nairobi. Government Printers*.
- Mazrui, A. M., & Mazrui, A. A. (1996). A tale of two Englishes: The imperial language in post-colonial Kenya and Uganda. *Post-Imperial English: Status Change in Former British and American Colonies, 1940-1990*, 271-302.
- Mbaabu, I. (1996). Language policy in East Africa: A dependency theory perspective. Retrieved from https://books.google.ro/books/about/Language_Policy_in_East_Africa.html?id=SMcbAQAAIAAJ&redir_esc=y
- Mortimer, K. S. (2016). Language policy as metapragmatic discourse: A focus on the intersection of language policy and social identification. *Discursive approaches to language policy*, 71-96.

- Moseley, C. (2012). *The UNESCO atlas of the world's languages in danger: Context and process*. World Oral Literature Project.
- Ominde, S. H. (1964). *Kenya education commission report*. Kenya Education Commission.
- Pace, D. S. (2021). Probability and non-probability sampling-an entry point for undergraduate researchers. *International Journal of Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods*, 9(2), 1-15.
- Pérez-Milans, M., & Tollefson, J. W. (2018). Language policy and planning: Directions for future research. Retrieved from <https://academic.oup.com/edited-volume/35184/chapter-abstract/299535122?redirectedFrom=fulltext>
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R., & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2012). Linguistic imperialism and endangered languages. *The handbook of bilingualism and multilingualism*, 495-516.
- Scollon, R. (2002). *Mediated discourse: The nexus of practice*. Routledge.
- Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. W. (2007). Nexus analysis: Refocusing ethnography on action. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 608-625.
- Tollefson, J. W. (2006). Critical theory in language policy. *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*, 1, 42-59.
- Wanjohi, A. M. (2017). New education system in Kenya: An excerpt from basic education curriculum framework. Retrieved October, 6, 2019.
- Watras, J. (2010). UNESCO's programme of fundamental education, 1946-1959. *History of Education*, 39(2), 219-237.
- Wodak, R., & Fairclough, N. (2010). Recontextualizing European higher education policies: The cases of Austria and Romania. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 7(1), 19-40.
- Wu, J. (2011). Understanding Interdiscursivity: A Pragmatic Model? Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/35281946.pdf>

Creative Commons licensing terms

Authors will retain the copyright of their published articles agreeing that a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (CC BY 4.0) terms will be applied to their work. Under the terms of this license, no permission is required from the author(s) or publisher for members of the community to copy, distribute, transmit or adapt the article content, providing a proper, prominent and unambiguous attribution to the authors in a manner that makes clear that the materials are being reused under permission of a Creative Commons License. Views, opinions and conclusions expressed in this research article are views, opinions and conclusions of the author(s). Open Access Publishing Group and European Journal of Applied Linguistics Studies shall not be responsible or answerable for any loss, damage or liability caused in relation to/arising out of conflict of interests, copyright violations and inappropriate or inaccurate use of any kind content related or integrated on the research work. All the published works are meeting the Open Access Publishing requirements and can be freely accessed, shared, modified, distributed and used in educational, commercial and non-commercial purposes under a [Creative Commons attribution 4.0 International License \(CC BY 4.0\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).