A PSYCHO–SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF COMMON KIMBEERE SWEARWORDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF TRADERS AT KİRİTİRĬ MIRAA (KHAT) MARKET, EMBU COUNTY.

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ENGLISH AND LINGUISTICS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.

NOVEMBER, 2015
DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been previously presented for the award of a degree or a diploma in any university.

MUKUNI D. MUTURI. Signature………………… Date……………………

SUPERVISORS’ DECLARATION

We confirm that this dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my loving mother, Wairimũ Mũkũni. Her desire to walk the road not taken and her resilience remain etched in my memory. Though you never lived to see the completion of my work, I know you are smiling down on me mum. Rest in Peace.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Bad/Dirty Language: This is language considered to be highly impolite or offensive. It can show desecration or debasement of something or someone, or show strong or intense emotion.

Domains: The social, cultural, and linguistic areas of meaning from which swearwords are sourced.

Gender: This is a socially constructed category based on sex. It is a term used in the study to refer to those differences that are socially constructed between men and women.

Miraa (Khat): A shrub whose fresh leaves have a stimulating effect when chewed. The term also refers to the leaves of the plant.

Swearing: The use of a subset of a language’s lexicon to show debasement of someone or something, or show strong or intense emotion; it is a function of communication context.

Swearwords: Words which serve the function of expression of emotion as well as other social functions in a communicative context and whose use in speech is dependent on contextual variables.

Taboo: The prohibition in any society of behavior, linguistic or non-linguistic, believed to be harmful to its members, for it would cause them shame, embarrassment or anxiety.
### ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Animal Names</td>
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<td>BD</td>
<td>Bodily Discharge</td>
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<td>EOC</td>
<td>Ethnography of Communication</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<tr>
<td>FT</td>
<td>Females Total</td>
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<td>IS</td>
<td>Interview Schedule</td>
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<td>LE</td>
<td>Lower Education</td>
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<td>LF</td>
<td>Lexical Frequency</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>MT</td>
<td>Males Total</td>
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<td>NPS</td>
<td>Neuro-Psycho-Social Theory of Speech</td>
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<td>PEB</td>
<td>People’s Behaviour</td>
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<td>RE</td>
<td>Religion</td>
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<td>SA</td>
<td>Sexual Activity</td>
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<td>SBP</td>
<td>Sex Organs/Body Parts</td>
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<td>Social/Cultural Orientation</td>
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<td>TUE</td>
<td>Total Lexical Frequency for traders of Upper Education</td>
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ABSTRACT

This study focused on the domains and functions of common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in a miraa (Khat) market. The study set to identify the common Kimbeere swearwords; describe the domains from which they are sourced; account for the influence of age, gender and education in their usage, and define their function in communication. Jay’s Neuro-Psycho-Social Theory of speech (NPS) explained the psychological and social reasons of using swearwords in speech while Hymes’ Ethnography of Communication approach (EOC) guided us in describing the speech community under investigation as well as the speech situations involved in the use of swearwords thus defining the link between swear language and culture. The present study is a descriptive survey of language use incorporating qualitative research aspects. Data was collected by observation of verbal behaviour, recording naturally occurring speech transactions, as well as by use of an interview schedule. Two research assistants, who were speakers of Kimbeere, were employed in sampling respondents and participants using the “friend of a friend” approach. The swearwords collected were analyzed in terms of commonality, described and categorized in terms of domains (e.g. body parts, religion) and explained with regard to their function in communication (i.e. psychological or social function). The present study found that the language of traders was characterized by frequent use of common Kimbeere swearwords drawn from various social, cultural, and linguistic domains. Further, the study found that the social variables of age, sex and level of education influenced the use of swearwords. The analysis of speech indicated that use of swearwords was an essential aspect of how traders expressed different emotions. At the same time, swearing was discovered to be largely socially motivated revealing it to be a linguistic device for establishing social norms of language use. The study concluded that use of swearwords in speech was a means through which traders were able to attain social goals of group identity as well as transactional goals of trading profitably in a market environment full of aggression and competitiveness.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction
This chapter highlights the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and assumptions, rationale, and scope and limitations.

1.1 Background to the Study
Drescher (2000) argues that swearwords are multifunctional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to expression of emotional attitudes, various discourse functions.

Practically, all languages in the world exhibit swearwords: some languages more than others. Society condemns them, few admit to using them and still everybody swears, at least occasionally. And why not? Crystal (1995) argues that swearwords are a natural part of our language. On his part, Bever (1993) observes that the use of polite terms rather than the real words, in some situations, may build a barrier between the speaker and the audience.

The use of swearwords in different cultures is not homogenous; in other words, practices can vary. Different cultures may take their swearwords from different domains and there are differences in swearing behaviour between cultures (Karjalainen, 2002). This study focuses on Kimbeere speakers as one among many cultures that exhibit this linguistic phenomenon.
Kiuru & Montin (1991) point out that there is a growing interest in the subject of swearing. On his part, Karjalainen (2002) posits that the study of swearwords and ‘dirty language’ is as motivated as any other linguistic study. This common and extensive phenomenon, as Jay (1992) argues, deserves the attention of linguists and others interested in language. These latter arguments formed part of the basis why the researcher has taken up the challenge.

Kimbeere is a dialect of Kiembu with lexical similarity between the two reported at 85% (Guthrie, 1967). It is a language in the Central Bantu branch family spoken by Ambeere people who inhabit Mbeere North and South districts in the county of Embu. According to the latest Population and Housing Census Results (2010), there are about 168,155 Ambeere who represent about 0.4% of Kenya’s population. Mbeere region has also come to be known with growing miraa (Khat). In his analysis of business negotiations between Igembe and Somali traders, Miriti (2012) observed that the language of miraa traders is full of taboo words. In the same way, the language of Ambeere traders of miraa in Kĩrĩtĩrĩ market tends to be characterized by swearing. The present study seeks to explain this phenomenon.

This study also focuses on how age, gender and education influence the usage of swearwords in speech. Rieber et al (1979) note that if there is any part of language in which analysts could compare and contrast gender specific verbal behaviour, no part would be as telling as ‘bad language’. Sociolinguistic studies on the usage
and perception of swearwords in the first language suggest that these words stand out psycho-linguistically, and that their use is often linked to gender and generation of the speaker. Related to this is the context in which swearing occurs. Previous research has shown that social context is very important in the usage of high frequencies of swearwords.

According to McArthur, cited in Ariani (2005), swearwords are sourced from different domains: those associated with body parts and sexual activity, religion among others, and may combine elements from each area. However, previous research has indicated that sex is a major source of swearwords. Shoemaker (2000) argues that majority of swearwords across cultures contain sexual orientations. It suffices to say that taboo and swearwords are two closely related cultural and linguistic phenomena of human society. What emerges is that most swearwords are drawn from areas of taboo in many cultures. This study therefore employed a synonymous reference of swearwords as taboo words. The present study also used the terms swearing and swearwords interchangeably which not only allowed semantic consistency but also reflected the prevailing tendency in current research (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008; Ljung, 2011; McEnery, 2004; Stapleton, 2010). These terms were furthermore intended to refer to the use of one or more of a set of words as well as their inflections or derivations.

Swearwords are a very useful language device for us to express our feelings in different situations. Jay (2000) observes that swearwords allow a speaker to
produce emotional expressions. Previous research has proven that an important characteristic of swearwords is their connection with expression of strong emotions, both positive and negative. However, swearing goes further than that. Karjalainen (2000) explains that use of swearwords in speech may be a consciously employed linguistic device for other social motives like asserting our identity in a group or marking social distance.

There has been growing research into swearing within disciplines such as education (Dewaele, 2004), and linguistics (McEnery, 2004). Nevertheless, most research has relied on written texts and films. Few studies have used natural language swearing data. Written texts are normally produced in language registers that have limited swearwords (McEnery & Xiao, 2004). Within the current body of swearing research, only few studies (Nerbonne & Hipskind, 1972; Berger, 2002) have shown an interest in investigating the communicative function of swearwords. Majority of them (Karjalainen, 2012; Jay, 1992; Janschewitz, 2008; Ljung, 2011) limit their investigation to one or two aspects of swearword usage: identifying swearwords, ranking them in terms of frequency, and rating their offensiveness. Though frequency counts contribute to a more complete understanding of swearword usage by allowing researchers to map out lexical distribution and frequency of counts, Fagersten (2012) observes that the most important function of frequency counts, however, is to establish whether swearing occurs at all. Our study intends to shift the focus of swearing research from single word or phrase to the social function of swearing.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

Though swearing is part of our daily speech, an explicit understanding of the communicative function of swearwords is rather lacking. The bulk of the current body of swearing studies have predominantly confined their investigation to only three of the aspects of swearword usage: identifying the swearwords, measuring their relative frequency of use, and ranking them in terms of offensiveness. The sociolinguistic perspective on swearing (the influence of social context on swearing) has not been addressed. Further, a considerable section of swearing research has tended to rely mostly on written texts and films ignoring naturally occurring spoken language.

Swearing is largely a phenomenon of spoken language and because swearwords are based on emotion, an analysis of spoken language as aimed in this study, presented an avenue in which both swearwords and emotions expressed were captured. Also, an approach that focused on linguistic forms in a naturally occurring setting provided us with a more holistic picture of swearwords and their social functions. This study, therefore, focused on swearing in the language of Kimbeere speakers with intention to present swearing in a different light; taking the social aspects and pragmatic functions of swearword usage into consideration. Significantly, our study did not focus only on what is produced, but on why it is produced.
1.3 Objectives of the Study

This research had four main objectives.

1. To identify and present common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market.
2. To describe the domains from which Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders are sourced.
3. To evaluate the influence of age, gender and level of education in the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market.
4. To account for the function of Kimbeere swearwords in communication from a psycho-social standpoint.

1.4 Research Questions

The study addressed the following questions

1. Which are the common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market?
2. What are the domains from which common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market are sourced?
3. How do the social variables of age, gender and level of education influence the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market?
4. What are the communicative functions of Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market from a psycho-social standpoint?

1.5 Research Assumptions

The study was guided by the following assumptions.

1. There are Kimbeere swearwords commonly used by traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market in their language.
2. Common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market are sourced from various domains.
3. The social variables of age, gender and level of education influence the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market.
4. Common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market perform various psycho-social functions in communication.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

Despite the fact that swearing has been studied variously by different researchers, most of the available literature (Karjalainen, 2002; Kurniawati, 2005; Mattson, 2006; Dewi, 2009; Vu Nguyen, 2009) has focused on the semantics and translation of swearwords using data from novels and films.

Miriti (2012) discovered that negotiations between miraa traders are full of taboo words mostly associated with bodily parts and which are used to insult. In his
investigation, he concentrates only on the abusive nature of swearwords completely ignoring the psychological and other social motives for swearing. Gatambuki (2010) has adopted a cognitive approach in the analysis of Gĩkũyũ metaphors related to taboo and goes ahead to give their euphemisms. On her part, Ng’eno (2009) has studied Kipsigis taboo words and their euphemisms in Family Health Education. Though Gatambuki (2010) has touched on various domains of taboo words which have been realized through lexicalized metaphors, his study (as well as Ng’eno’s) has clearly avoided tackling the communicative functions of taboo words. Both studies have dwelt largely on giving euphemisms.

This gap, coupled with the fact that no such study to the best of the researcher’s knowledge has been done involving Kimbeere speakers, and as a consequence little information on Kimbeere swearwords, prompted us to carry out the study.

At the same time, the researcher realized that swearing has been subjectively approached as offensive hence perpetuating dismissive attitudes. Swearing has therefore not been fully embraced as a proper subject for scholarly research. The present study hoped to reduce the reigning subjectivity and lead to the embracing of Jay’s (1992) argument that use of swearwords in language is a common and extensive phenomenon which deserves the attention of linguists and others interested in language.

Our study both complements and, by providing sociolinguistic analyses, furthers existing research on swearing. It is a contribution to the literature in
Sociolinguistics touching on the social context of language use seeking to reveal the social variables conducive or inhibitive to swearing. The findings in this study may become a source of preserving and transmitting lexical items in indigenous language for other researchers. They may also become a useful input to students in linguistics as well as students and scholars in human psychology as they may be used to explain the reasons behind swearing behaviour in certain contexts among human beings.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study was limited to the domains and the communicative functions of common Kimbeere swearwords leaving out the semantics, phonological aspects, and the linguistic forms of these words. The communicative functions and domains have been largely ignored by previous studies on swearing. At the same time, the two aspects allowed our study to look beyond the lexical items.

Further, a description of domains expanded the scope of this study and allowed it to consider aspects of the relationship between language and culture while an explanation of the functions of swearwords in speech made it possible for the study to evaluate swearing in the social context. Moreover, the time and resources available limited our study to only the mentioned aspects.

The choice of respondents in regard to the social factors of age, sex and level of education was meant to accommodate the diversity of individual speakers. This is
because different groups are likely to utter swearwords differently in terms of frequency and context of use.

The study sampled Kimbeere speakers in a *miraa* market. Swearword frequency studies have revealed that swearwords occur frequently in informal settings (Cameron, 1969; Jay, 1986; Nerbonne & Hipskind, 1972). Further, the market is dominated by both men and women and operates for fewer hours than any other market due to the perishability of khat and to facilitate its transport to several other areas in the country. This increases an element of aggression among traders thereby raising the probability and frequency of swearing. McEnery & Xiao’s (2004) findings showed that high frequencies of swearwords derived from contexts of disputes/arguments, exactly, business contexts. The choice of Kimbeere was informed by the fact that it is a language that has not been extensively studied. This choice was also supported by Sampson’s (1985) assertion that all languages are equal with respect to their suitability of study.

1.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the researcher has established the background that informs the present study, given a statement of the problem, listed the research questions, objectives and assumptions, pointed out the scope and limitations of the study, and given the rationale of conducting the study. The next chapter looks at the literature review and theoretical framework.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by defining swearwords which are the main focus of this study, and shows their relationship to taboo. Secondly, an outline of the sociolinguistic perspective of swearing is clearly laid down. A review of literature related to swearwords is also presented. Finally, an evaluation of the functions of swearwords in communication as well as a review of the theoretical framework that explains these functions is presented.

2.1 Definition of Swearwords

Drescher (2000) defines swearwords as multifunctional, pragmatic units which assume, in addition to the expression of emotions, various discourse functions. On his part, Taylor (1975) views swearwords as words that are expressively used, unable to be understood by referring to the dictionary; they can only be understood as conventionalized ways of giving vent to certain feelings. Linguists Anderson and Hirsch (1985) give three conditions for a word or an expression to qualify as a swearword: it refers to taboo and/or stigma in a culture; not presumed to be interpreted literally; can be used to manifest strong emotions and attitudes.

Use of swearwords in speech is influenced by pragmatic variables such as the speaker-listener relationship including gender and age and the social-physical
setting of the communication with respect to whether the swearing occurs in a public or private location, and the level of formality of the occasion.

Conclusively, the current research defines swearwords as words which serve the function of expression of emotion as well as other social functions in a communicative context and whose use in speech is dependent on contextual variables.

2.1.1 The Relationship between Swearwords and Taboo

Swearwords and taboo are closely related linguistic and cultural phenomena of the human society. Wilson (1975) defines taboo as a form of prohibition that is enforced by social value. Karjalainen (2002) argues that there are two types of taboo; behavioral and linguistic. Linguistic taboo is defined by use of swearwords. Taboo and swearwords are deeply related since most swearwords across cultures are drawn to a large extent from what is tabooed in the society: sex, bodily functions and the supernatural. Taking cognizance of the above explanations, and on the basis of the words analyzed in this study, we have used the terms swearwords and taboo words in a synonymous way.

2.2 The Sociolinguistics of Swearing

As the study of the relationship between language and society, sociolinguistics involves the analysis of linguistic behaviour as a function of social variables. Swearing represents a unique case within sociolinguistics in that swearwords
themselves may have little semantic role, but are all the more socially meaningful (Fagersten, 2012). Shifting the focus of swearing research from single word or phrase to the social function of swearing, as intended in the present study, reflects a sociolinguistic approach. As an example of linguistic variability, swearing is a behaviour that is not practiced by every person at every moment as evidenced by the various swearword frequency studies (Cameron, 1969; Nerbonne & Hipskind, 1972; Stenstrom, 1991).

From a methodological perspective, the Labovian paradigm is central to sociolinguistic investigation and the observation of speech variability. Labov (1970) talks about inter-speaker variation which is caused by social factors. He also acknowledges ‘markers’, that is, variables which are social. A sociolinguistic investigation must therefore address inter-speaker variation while accounting for social influences. A sociolinguistic approach sought to reveal the social variables which were conducive to or inhibited such language use.

In the present study, the sociolinguistic perspective was represented primarily by the evaluation of the influence of the participant variables of gender, age and education.

### 2.2.1 Interlocutor Gender

According to Crawford (1995), linguists, psychologists and communication researchers started in the early 1970s to focus their attention on the fact that men
and women speak differently. An increasing interest in women’s issues made it seem important to “categorize and label” men and women’s language.

The most thoroughly investigated aspect of the sociolinguistics of swearing is the correlation between swearing and the gender of the interlocutors in social interaction. Since Jespersen (1922) first expressed his oft-cited view of women as eschewers of dirty language, the stereotype of women as “guardians of both language and propriety” (Johnson & Fine, 1985, p.11) has been both supported and refuted. Researchers have identified an increasing knowledge and use of swearwords among female respondents (De Klerk, 1997; Sutton, 1995). The reports in these studies provide counterevidence to the commonly held perception that it is only males who swear citing evidence that females are familiar with, and use, a wide range of swearwords. However, research has shown that males swear more than females. Frequency studies restricted to swearword occurrence and based on naturalistic, spontaneous speech show male swearing behaviour to be significantly more frequent (sometimes more than double) than that of females (Anshen, 1973; Gomm, 1981). When asked to produce swearword samples, males have out contributed females (Berger, 2002) but no difference has been found to show that women lack swearwords familiarity reflecting equality in the semantic representation of genders. Fagersten (2012) argues that women know at least as much swearing terms as men do but that they do not use as many as them.
The presence of either gender during interactions has been seen to influence the usage of swearwords in speech. It has been established that female swearing behaviour is inhibited by the presence of males while the converse of this is realized in male swearing behaviour. Jay (1986) found a decrease in female swearword usage as a result of the presence of male co-participants. While females have increased their usage of swearwords in the company of fellow females, males have reduced their swearing in the presence of other males. The use of high frequencies of swearwords by females in female-only interactions reflects established in-group behaviour on one hand, and as a function to exclude out-group (male) participants on the other. Coates (2004) argues that “women pursue a (linguistic) style based on solidarity and support.” (p. 126). The use of high frequencies of swearwords by males in the presence of females reflects their desire to assert male dominance.

Clearly, the gender of both speaker and listener will influence how, when, and where swearwords will be introduced in a conversation. This background was very useful in the study as it guided us not only in data collection but also in helping to account for the influence of gender in the usage of swearwords in the language of male and female traders in Kiritiri miraa market.
2.2.2 Interlocutor Age

The age of speakers and the age of their addressees, as well, have proved to be significant variables in the social context of swearing. Frequency studies based on naturally occurring informal conversations show that males and females between the ages of 18 and 23 use swearwords most frequently (Cameron, 1969; Nerbonne & Hipskind, 1972). The presence of high frequencies of swearwords in the language of young speakers has been explained as an influence of linguistic freedom associated with youth as well as a marker for in-group identification. De Klerk (1992) notes that young people use swearing as a way to identify with friendship groups and that such language use gives them a sense of rebellion. As age increases, there is significant decrease in the usage of swearwords and this is attributed to conservatism that is brought about by responsibility for linguistic politeness which comes with old age. Interlocutor age, therefore, was a crucial variable in the current study.

2.3 Studies on Swearwords

Several studies have been conducted on swearing within various disciplines: Education (Dewaele, 2004), Sociology (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007), and Nursing (Schapiro, 2002). In the field of linguistics, Gatambuki (2010) has looked at Gĩkũyũ language metaphors related to taboo while Ng’eno (2009) has studied Kipsigis taboo words and their euphemisms in Family Health Education.
In Europe, scholars like Montagu (1967), Ljung (2011), Hughes (1998), Jay (2000), and McEnery (2004), have all contributed to the discussion of swearwords with research and publications. In all these works, the writers are quick to point out that little has been studied and written on swearwords so far. However, there does, as Kiuru & Montin (1991) point out, seem to be growing interest in the subject.

Montagu’s (1967) approach is mainly historical as he traces the origins of swearwords from ancient civilizations. He focuses on swearing behaviour in the English language and also discusses the psychology and motives for swearing. However, he all but ignores the social dimension of swearing. Hughes’ (1998) work follows the direction set by Montagu (1967). Swearwords are traced through English history. The etymologies of swearwords are covered in detail but how they function in communication is left undiscussed. Ljung (2011) analyses the translations of swearwords from American English to Swedish English using three novels as case studies. While he focuses on giving examples and analyzing them in detail, the discussion about how they function in communication is not addressed. The Thorndike-Lorge (1944) study is basically a swearword frequency count. It has been criticized for being based on written language with samples primarily from children’s and popular adult literature. Additional word-frequency studies (Jay, 1980; Cameron, 1969; Nerbonne & Hipkind, 1972) have not done much to account for the social aspect of swearing. The current study aimed to evaluate swearing by bringing the social aspects and pragmatic functions of
swearword usage into consideration; guided by the notion that these areas are scantily addressed.

2.4 Swearwords Domains

Edmund Leach (cited in Andersson & Trudgill, 1990) has categorized swearwords into three major domains:

1. Words to do with sex and excretion, such as bugger and shit.
2. Words that have to do with religion, such as Christ and hell.
3. Words drawn from animal names such as bitch.

According to MacArthur as cited in Ariani (2005) swearwords are usually associated with genitals and sexual activity, excrement or religion and may combine elements from each area. Swearwords are, Andersson & Trudgill (1990) argue, often related to taboo behavior such as sex and bodily functions. On his part, Hughes (1998) observes that swearwords can be described from various domains.

Our study found out that Kimbeere swearwords used in the language of traders were drawn from various social, cultural, and linguistic areas of meaning (domains). We outlined seven (7) domains that we used to categorize the various swearwords that were discovered to be commonly used by traders at the market. They included;
a) **Swearwords from sex organs/body parts**

Hughes (1998) argues that sexuality is the largest source of swearwords. He gives English examples as *cunt* and *dick*. An example of such Kimbeere swearword in our study is *Kagura* which refers to the female genital anatomy (clitoris). Our study discovered that swearwords did not come only from human body parts; words referring to animal body parts were used. For example *Gĩcũńi*, a reference to the hairless section of a baboon’s behind.

b) **Swearwords from animal names**

 Actually, names of animals are not taboo at all. However, if uttered for emotive reasons, they may be considered as swearwords (Dewi, 2009). They may be used to refer to people, or uttered directly at people to suggest that they are foolish or weak or give them negative attributes. Hughes (1998) indentifies English examples as *cow*, *bitch* and *swine*. Kimbeere examples in this study include *Ngiti* for dog/bitch.

c) **Swearwords from excretion and bodily discharge**

Hughes (1998) observes that words referring to body processes such as excretion, and those referring to body waste can be used as swearwords. English examples given in this domain include *shit* and *fart*. An example in our study for such is *mavira* for pus.
d) **Swearwords from sexual activity**

Apart from sex organs, swearwords are also drawn from sexual activity. Hughes (1998) identifies English swearwords in this category as *fuck* and *suck* (to perform fellatio). An example of such swearword in this study is *thicwa* for ‘get fucked.’

e) **Swearwords from religion**

Since most language speakers indentify with religion, it is not strange that we have several swearwords drawn from religion, precisely, Christianity (Dewi, 2009). In this domain, Hughes (1998) identifies English examples as *damn* and *hell*. Our study identified *NgaiMwathani* a compound noun referring to God as king.

f) **Swearwords referring to people’s behaviour**

One of the functions of swearwords when uttered is to degrade or deride someone with regard to their behaviour. Hughes (1998) identifies English examples as *idiot*, *moron* and *imbecile*. Our study identified such an examples as *toka/gūtoka* for ‘being stupid’.

g) **Swearwords related to people’s social/cultural orientation**

One’s social or cultural orientation has also been identified as a source of swearwords (Dewi, 2009). Hughes (1998) identifies the following English examples: *sod* (short for sodomite), *slut* (prostitute) and *bastard* (somebody born
to unmarried parents). Examples in our study include Kiviči for uncircumcised male.

### 2.5 Functions of Swearwords

Several researchers have focused on investigating the motivation for the use of swearwords. The shared assumption is that particular events can evoke feelings or emotions conducive to swearing responses. Wierzbicka (1991) claims that certain words are used to express an emotion that a speaker feels, but is “unwilling to articulate” (p. 219) due to the strength of the emotion. His analysis reflects that the use of swearwords is motivated foremost by emotion. Crystal (1987) defines the function of swearwords as emotional expression. He goes ahead to observe that “swearwords are probably the commonest signals to be used in this way” (p. 10). Jay & Janschewitz (2009) argue that swearwords can communicate emotional information (anger, frustration etc.). However, Karjalainen (2002) asserts that not all swearing is prompted by frustration or aggression: we may use swearwords to assert our identity in a group or to mark social distance. Indeed, Crystal (1995) observes that social swearing is the most common swearing pattern. He argues that when we join a social group, we are very much influenced by language norms within the group. On his part, Anderson (1985) lists two functions of swearwords: psychological (to vent anger, frustration) and social (to identify with a group).
The above arguments provide a significant premise on which this study dwelt. We identified and explained the functions that swearwords play in the speech of miraa traders in Kīrītirī miraa market (cf. chapter four)

2.5.1 Psychological Function

Every day in our lives we get angry or frustrated when unpleasant events occur or when things in general don’t go according to plan. In these situations, the normal reaction is to release or express these strong feelings in one way or another; we may stamp our feet or gnash our teeth (Karjalainen, 2002)

However, upon frustration or anger, most people resort to swearing for an immediate vent of emotion (Montagu, 1967; Andersson, 1985). These swearing words are not deliberate, but come more as a reflex. Montagu (1967) compares the use of swearwords as a vent of emotions to the crying of a small child and suggests that crying develops into swearing as the child acquires language. According to Montagu (1967), use of swearwords constitutes a culturally conditioned form of behavior which serves two purposes; on the one hand, it permits expressing excess energy of frustration in a verbal form. On the other, it restores emotional stability. Thus the use of swearwords performs a relief-purifying-pacifying function, a form of behavior that stands in place of physical violence as a vent for frustration or aggression.

The psychological function of swearing explains that swearwords are used to express strong emotions; both positive and negative.
2.5.2 Social Function

Not all swearing is prompted by frustration or aggression or the need to express emotions, nor is swearing always unintentional. There are a number of sociolinguistic motives for the use of swearwords. For instance, we may use swearwords to assert our identity in a group, to insult, to indicate friendship, to mark social distance or solidarity (Karjalainen, 2002). Social swearing, according to David Crystal (1995) is the most common swearing pattern. He observes that when we join a social group, we are very much influenced by the prevailing language norms within the group. The social function of swearing differs from the psychological function in that it involves more than one person, as social swearing depends on audience to have any real function. Swearwords may therefore be used in situations that completely or almost completely lack negativity.
2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the Neuro–Psycho–Social Theory of speech (NPS) proposed by Timothy Jay (2000) and the Ethnography of Communication Approach (EOC) developed by Dell Hymes (1962) to account for the functions of swearwords in communication, describe the domains in which these words fall and define swearing as a culture that identifies miraa traders.

2.6.1 Neuro–Psycho–Social Theory of Speech

The NPS theory of speech draws together information from different disciplines to explain the neurological, psychological, cultural and linguistic factors that underlie swearing. It explains how, when and where we swear acknowledging that human behaviour operates under neurological control, psychological constrains and socio-cultural restrictions. To describe and explain the linguistic behaviour of swearing, the theory lays its basis on the three aspects. The neurological aspect, which explains swearing as controlled from the left hemisphere of the brain, was not considered useful in our study in the context in which the study was conducted. Both the psychological and social aspects were more relevant since they explain why and where we swear. Hence, the psycho-social assumptions of the theory were useful in the present study in accounting for the various functions swearwords performed in communication.
2.6.2 Ethnography of Communication Approach

The ethnography of communication (EOC) was the work of American linguistic anthropologist Dell Hymes. Hymes (1974) emphasizes that what language is cannot be separated from how and why it is used. EOC takes language first and foremost as a socially situated cultural form. The theory provides a range of concepts for understanding sociocultural lives as a complex system of communication practices. Hymes suggests that cultures communicate in different ways, but all forms of communication require a shared code, communicators who know and use the code, a channel, a setting, a message form, a topic and an event created by transmission of the message. EOC can be used as a means by which to study the interactions among members of a specific culture or what Gerry Phillipsen (1975) calls “a speech community”. The study population in this study was defined in terms of a speech community: a group of people who share “knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech” (Hymes, 1974, p.51). Allan and Burridge (2006) argue that each speaker in a speech community is well aware of how a proper linguistic form is used in a particular situation. Holmes (1992) advances this notion by explaining that “In other words, in every community there is a range of varieties people select according to the context in which they are communicating” (p. 10). Speech event is another focus of EOC. Gumperz (1972) argues that the focus on speech event has emerged as one of the most important contributions of ethnographers of communication in the analysis of speech habits of communities and it is to the analysis of verbal interactions
“what the sentence is to grammar” (p. 16-17). Analysis of speech events largely focuses on sequences that are conceived as distinct from ‘everyday’ talk. The assumptions of EOC were considered appropriate in our study as it dwelt on the notion of speech community (in this case, Kimbeere speakers at Kîrîtîrî miraa market) constructed through communication patterns. EOC also forms the basis on which we identified speech events in which swearing occurred. Our study was therefore able to describe the speech community that we investigated as well as the speech situations involved and highlight the link between swear language and culture.

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature that relates to this research. Definitions of swearwords as well as a brief outline of their relationship to taboo have been done. The chapter has also discussed the sociolinguistic perspective of swearing allowing for the summary of the social variables that influence use of swearwords. Moreover, a highlight of the domains from which swearwords are sourced has been done. Finally, the chapter has explained how the psycho-social tenets of NPS theory are applicable in accounting for the functions of swearwords in communication as well as how the EOC approach has been used as a means to study the interactions among miraa traders as a speech community and ultimately describe their communication patterns. Chapter three evaluates the methodology that guided our study.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in terms of research design, area of study, study population, sampling procedures, data collection, analysis, and presentation.

3.1 Research Design

This study is a descriptive survey of language use in a miraa market. Kothari (2004) reports that a descriptive research determines and reports the way things are. It is also concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular group. The design was appropriate because the study mainly sought to describe the linguistic culture of swearing among miraa traders. Precisely, the study concentrated on the description of swearwords in terms of commonality, their frequency of usage, and their sources. The study employed a qualitative research aspect. This approach was appropriate since the data required was primarily in form of words. Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) note that a qualitative design does not produce discrete numerical data. The data is in the form of words. Qualitative aspect was used in obtaining swearwords used in the language of traders and in analyzing their communicative function.
3.2 Area of Study

This study was conducted in Kiririti miraa market. It is an open-air market within Kiririti market centre and is located along Embu–Kiririti tarmac road. The market is found in Kiririti division, Mbeere South District, in the county of Embu. The setting was targeted especially because swearwords are likely to be uttered in an informal setting. The market was appropriate because it is dominated by male and female Kimbeere speakers of different age and levels of education. Moreover, the market operates for fewer hours because of the perishability of the commodity involved and to facilitate its transport to other areas. The fewer hours of operation creates room for high competitiveness resulting in aggression which instills a characteristic intensity in the language of traders. These properties increase the probability of frequent swearing. McEnery & Xiao’s (2004) findings showed that social context was important in producing high frequencies of swearwords. In their investigation, high frequencies of swearwords derived from contexts of disputes/arguments, precisely, business contexts. Together with the fact that the researcher is familiar with the area, it made the site most appropriate. Fagersten (2012) observes that accomplishing the goal of characterizing and ultimately understanding better the social aspects of swearing requires access to naturalistic, spontaneous swearword usage.
3.3 Target Population

The study targeted traders who could speak and write in Kimbeere. The choice of *miraa* traders was informed by Miriti’s (2012) findings that the language of *miraa* traders is full of taboo words related to body parts and which are used to insult. Fagersten (2012) posits that “research which investigates linguistic behaviour by observing and consulting language users must first identify who such language users are.” (p. 13)

3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

This study employed purposive sampling. It is a technique that helps researchers to select units from a population that they are interested in studying. These units form the sample that the researcher studies. Purposive sampling was used to choose the *miraa* market and also the group (*miraa* traders and indigenous speakers of Kimbeere) to be studied. The underlying principle of this was to identify in advance the type of speakers who had the desired characteristics (Milroy, 1987). The researcher identified two research assistants, one male and one female, who had familiarity of the operations of the market and who could speak and write in both Kimbeere and English to assist in conducting the research. To obtain a representative sample, the research assistants were used to identify a ‘link’ with whom the researcher established some familiarity. This ‘link’ then introduced the researcher to other traders in the market as ‘friend of a friend’. The concept of social networks allows researchers to create an accurate picture of a
community’s language use without resorting to stereotypical classifications. A total sample of 48 traders was used. This number was sufficient as 24 of them were used as respondents in the interview schedule while the other 24 were participants in the trade transactions that were recorded. Milroy (1987) considers this a good sample arguing that large samples tend to be redundant increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. This group was divided into two categories, 24 males and 24 females, to ensure representativeness in terms of gender. Each of the two groups was further divided into two age cohorts (12 traders per cohort) namely; young traders (18-25 years) and old traders (40-60 years). Traders of below 18 years were not used because people below this age are considered not legally responsible for what they do. Again, the topic of investigation largely involved taboo hence our preference for only adults. The 60 years age limit was set with an assumption that this group had no limitation of being impaired by age. At the same time, age categorization was done with the aim of obtaining a variety of swearwords. Each of the groups above was further subdivided with regard to education levels: standard eight and below (lower education) and secondary school and above (upper education). Figure 3.1 is an illustration of the sampling procedure employed in the present study.
3.5 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection methods for the present study combined observation, audio recording and interview schedule. Mabry (1975) summarized the need for various techniques of data collection in swearing research stating that “investigations of the relationship between actual and reported usage are essential for performing validity checks” (p. 44). The inclusion of different data collection methods meant that each data set could be compared and co-referenced with one another, yielding
more accurate explanations of the relationship between sociolinguistic variables and inter-speaker variation in swearing behaviour. Kasper & Dahl (1991) argue that a combination of methods is characteristic of successful studies.

3.5.1 Observation

The researcher employed both participant and non-participant observation. He visited the market severally to provide grounds for gaining familiarity with the operations in the market and therefore employ non-participant observation. The researcher identified positions within the market where he observed from. In this case, he was an outsider who passively observed the traders’ speech behaviour. Observation involved noting who constituted the participants in the transaction (the gender of the interlocutors). The researcher also listened keenly in order to note the speech habits of these interlocutors. Schmuck (1997) notes that observation methods are useful to researchers because they provide them with ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate with each other, and check for how much time is spent on various activities. The risk of the researcher interfering with the observed speech events as an outsider was minimized because observation took place in a public place. At the same time, the researcher wore earphones to give the impression of being out of hearing range to anyone in the immediate surroundings. In participant observation, the research assistants came in handy in identifying a trader and introducing the researcher as an interested
‘buyer’ and as a friend. Having created some rapport with this trader, the researcher was introduced to other traders as ‘friend of a friend’. Participant observation ensured the researcher built trust with traders who became accustomed to his presence. In effect, it reduced Observer’s Paradox. Bernard (1994) adds to this understanding by describing participant observation as the process of establishing rapport within a community and learning to act in such a way as to blend into the community so that its members will act naturally. Apart from getting direct evidence of the occurrence of swearwords in the language of male and female traders, observation was primarily used as a good ground for which the researcher was able to identify subjects who were recorded as they engaged in transactions.

3.5.2 Audio Recording

The researcher used an audio recorder to record trade transactions among traders in the market. Labov (1972) observes that the only way to obtain sufficient good data on speech is through tape recording of the language data. Recording was done when participants in the transaction were trading (with them) having been made aware that their speech was being recorded. These recordings stretched for 8 minutes at the minimum and 15 at the maximum. Owing to the fact that these were naturally occurring transactions, no time limit was set as such. The researcher would start recording at the onset of the interaction and stop at the conclusion of the transaction. The entire recording took a period of one month and
a total of 12 transactions involving 26 participants were recorded. 10 recordings involved two participants each while 2 recordings involved three participants each. It should be noted that in the transactions that had three participants, we only analyzed the speech of the two traders who were directly involved in the actual buying and selling. Though the third participant’s speech was transcribed, it was not included in this report. This number was sufficient since it catered for different gender constellations as well as interactions on the basis of age and level of education. Moreover, this data supplemented the data that was collected through the interview schedule. Audio recording was useful in storing information from speech transactions for further analysis. Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) note that tape recorded work can be played back and studied more thoroughly than listening and taking notes. The natural data was ideal in capturing not only the choice of words but also the tone of speech which was useful in the description of the emotions expressed. A total of 260 swear items (phrases and lexemes) were captured through the recordings. Table 3.1 displays the total number of transactions that were recorded and the length of each transaction together with the total number of traders who participated in the recording with regard to their gender, age and level of education.
Table 3.1 Total number of recordings and participants in the audio records: age, level of education and gender distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recording</th>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Level of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minutes</td>
<td>Seconds</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Total</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 hours</td>
<td>9 min</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5.3 Interview Schedule Development and Administration.

An interview schedule was developed which was meant for respondents who could write in both Kimbeere and English. It was administered to a total of 24 respondents who gave their responses as per the three questions contained in it. Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) observe that an interview schedule makes it possible to obtain data required to meet specific objectives of the study. The interview
schedule (Appendix A) consisted of three questions. The first question was meant to obtain the bio data of the respondents which included gender, age and level of education. This was meant to help us account for the influence of the three social variables in reported swearword usage. We believed that asking an age group (18-25 and 40-60 years) instead of a precise age would guarantee greater anonymity and enhance confidence of the respondents. The second question had two parts; the first part was meant to obtain the actual swearwords used by traders in the market. This helped us collect 200 swear items (phrases and lexical items). The second part of the question was meant to obtain a report on the frequency with which these swearwords were used using three parameters: less frequently, frequently and most frequently. This part was developed with the aim of aiding us to establish the common swearwords. The last part was open-ended and aimed at establishing the reasons/motives for which swearwords were used in speech. This part helped us obtain six general motives for swearing which were very useful in accounting for the functions of swearwords in communication. Fagersten (2012) observes that through careful formulation of questions, the interview schedule can reveal a tacit knowledge that speakers have about why they speak differently in a particular social context. Structured interviews also demonstrate a high degree of reliability and validity. The use of such a structured interview guaranteed storage of information for future reference.
3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Content analysis was done on the data. The recorded transactions were transcribed on paper. During transcription, the data was coded using a method that would identify the transcriptions with regard to transaction number and participants’ age, gender, and level of education. The responses in the interview schedule were carefully studied and the swear items that were reported as frequently and most frequently used noted. At the same time, transcriptions were studied and these swear items identified. Since grammatical analysis was not within the scope of this study, we did not analyze swearwords syntactically. Swearwords that appeared as major words in the interview schedule and from utterances in the recorded transactions were used in the study. Summative analysis was then employed where these swearwords were counted. With the help of research assistants, the researcher categorized the identified swearwords in their different domains. Data from the transcriptions and the interview schedule was analysed to determine how each of the variables of gender, age and education influenced the usage of swearwords in a miraa market situation. In content analysis, counting serves two purposes; it removes the subjectivity from summaries and simplifies the detection of trends. Finally, the reported reasons for swearword usage were noted while recorded transactions were listened to over and over with keen focus on tone of speech and context of use to establish the existence of the reported reasons. From the above, a detailed theoretical discussion on the basis of the
psychological and social tenets of the NPS theory of speech was done to account for the functions of swearwords in the speech of traders.

A total of 66 swearwords were analyzed. These swearwords were tallied and presented in a table. Frequencies of occurrence as well as semantic relations were employed in the realization of common swearwords, also presented in a table. Categorization of swearwords into different domains was done in a table, and another table was used to show the percentage realization of swearwords in each of the domains. The influence of age, gender and level of education in the usage of swearwords was presented in different tables for each variable while the functions of swearwords was accounted for in a table and summarized through explanations.

3.7 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

Research ethics is defined as the application of moral standards to decisions made in planning, conducting and reporting the results of research studies (McNabb, 2004). The researcher took a number of measures as part of ethics. A research authorization was obtained from the university. In the sub-county where the research was conducted, a permit was sought from the Deputy County Commissioner. During data gathering, participants were made aware that their conversations were being recorded. In administering the interview schedule, honesty was exercised. The interviewer confined himself/herself to the questions outlined in the interview schedule. In addition, the interview schedule was given
after ‘business’ and away from other people to ensure privacy and confidentiality. Before filling the interview schedule, the researcher explained that the respondent should be as honest as possible and that they were to give information voluntarily without any form of coercion. In the analysis, privacy and confidentiality was ensured. First of all, names of participants were not given in either the interview schedules or transcriptions. Instead, the participants in the recorded transactions were coded using alphabets (A, B, C,). Generally, the discussions and the findings made were based on the trends that emerged from the data and not from any preconceived ideas.

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology that was used. Aspects of the research design, area of study and study population, sampling procedure and sample size, data collection, analysis and presentation have been explored. Data management and ethical considerations have been outlined. The next chapter deals with data analysis and discussion.
CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the analysis of common Kimbeere swearwords used in the language of traders in Kiriritiri miraa market. First of all, common swearwords are identified. A description of the swearwords in terms of their domains is then given. Further, how gender, age and education have influenced the usage of swearwords is outlined. Finally, a discussion of the functions these swearwords perform in communication is done within the Psycho-Social framework.

4.1 Common Kimbeere swearwords

Our first objective was to identify and present the common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in the market. To attain this objective, the respondents for the interview schedule were requested to give the swearwords used in the market using three parameters: less frequently, frequently, and most frequently used. At the same time, we recorded transactions among traders which were then carefully transcribed on paper. From the interview schedule, the swearwords that were marked as frequently and most frequently used were identified. The same swearwords were identified in the transcriptions. The swearwords collected from both methods were tallied and put in a table. In total, 66 lexical items were collected as displayed in table 4.1.
Table 4.1: Kimbeere Swearwords in the language of traders in Kiririri miraa market and their lexical frequencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWEARWORDS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>LEXICAL COUNT (LC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akiangai</td>
<td>Swearing by God</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nthegere</td>
<td>Honey badger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gičiaro</td>
<td>Vagina</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gičunī</td>
<td>Baboon’s buttocks</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gičkoma</td>
<td>Devilish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gīkonde</td>
<td>Penis foreskin</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gūtoka</td>
<td>To be foolish</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikwa</td>
<td>Fuck you</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinga</td>
<td>A fool</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagura</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaguri</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavagara</td>
<td>Bad omen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kavīcī</td>
<td>Uncircumcised male</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīenge</td>
<td>Mongoose</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīgura</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīguri</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīrīgū</td>
<td>Uncircumcised female</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīrimū</td>
<td>Stupid person</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kīvīcī</td>
<td>Uncircumcised male</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kumbavu</td>
<td>Stupid</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurū</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mai</td>
<td>Feces</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makende</td>
<td>Testes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwaya</td>
<td>Prostitutes</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matina</td>
<td>Buttocks</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matoko</td>
<td>Genital discharge</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mavira</td>
<td>Pus</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbaka</td>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbĩnī</td>
<td>Vagina</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbiti</td>
<td>Hyena</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbūkū</td>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbundu</td>
<td>Donkey</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbūri</td>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbwe</td>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mucuthī</td>
<td>Penis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mükundū</td>
<td>Anus</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūthinũ</td>
<td>Penis</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūthita</td>
<td>Penis</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūthuti</td>
<td>Arse</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndūri</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng’ombe</td>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng’ondu</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngai</td>
<td>God</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NgaiMwathani</td>
<td>God the ruler</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngītī</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoma</td>
<td>Devil</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntheke</td>
<td>Testes</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nthinwa</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nūgū</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyūkwe</td>
<td>Your mother</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thicwa</td>
<td>Fuck you</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thote</td>
<td>Anus</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toka</td>
<td>Behave foolishly</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úcenji</td>
<td>Stupidity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úcũguo</td>
<td>Your grandmother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úgitī</td>
<td>Behave like a dog</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úgura</td>
<td>Gross immaturity and stupidity</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úgūrũki</td>
<td>Madness</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úkege</td>
<td>Stupidity</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úpuci</td>
<td>Stupidity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úrũgũ</td>
<td>Immaturity</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úrimũ</td>
<td>Stupidity</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úritu</td>
<td>Stupidity</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úrwaya</td>
<td>Prostitution</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Útoko</td>
<td>Foolishness</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Úvicĩ</td>
<td>Immaturity</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total 66**

**Total lexical count 460**
The findings in table 4.1 confirm that swearing occurs in the language of the traders in Kîrîturî miraa market. These findings agree with Miriti’s (2012) findings that negotiations between miraa traders are full of taboo words. These findings confirm that swearing is a common linguistic phenomenon in the khat market context. With khat having been classified as a drug by the World Health Organization, growing and/or trading in it will obviously raise moral issues. Swearing may perhaps be employed as a way in which this speech community intends to rebel against social norms thereby differentiating themselves from the rest of the society.

In the realization of common swearwords, a secondary analysis of the data in table 4.1 was conducted. It was found that most swearwords had several morphological variants in which case such variants acted as portmanteau terms. In such cases, the notion of semantic relations was employed to group such swearwords together. Consequently, out of the two or more words which were similar in meaning, only one word (the one with the highest lexical count) was adopted and used in the report. It should be noted that the total lexical count for such words was also used in the report. For instance, in table 4.1, the swearwords mûthinû (lexical count 10), mûthita (lexical count 2), and mûcuthî (lexical count 2) all refer to penis. In this case, the swearword mûthinû, with a total lexical count of 14, was adopted and used in the study. Then, based on the fact that two data collection methods were used, a minimum usage threshold was set at a lexical count of ten (10) for a word to be considered for adoption. Those words that
occurred less than ten times were deemed to be below the minimum threshold limit and were therefore not adopted. Significantly, the inclusion or exclusion of a lexical item was done according to a carefully applied criterion of selection. This requirement eliminated any chance of an analysis in which only material supporting the researcher’s hypothesis were examined (Holsti, 1968). Fagersten (2012) observes that restricted swearword analysis brings about focus which facilitates accuracy of analysis. The above process gave us a list of seventeen (17) common swearwords as displayed in Table 4.2, which were used in this study.

**Table 4.2 Common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market and their total lexical counts.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWEARWORDS</th>
<th>LEXICAL COUNT(LC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KIMBEERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gũtōka</td>
<td>Behave foolishly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kĩgura</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kĩřĩgũ</td>
<td>Uncircumcised female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kĩvĩcĩ</td>
<td>Uncircumcised male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matoko</td>
<td>Genital discharge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbĩnĩ</td>
<td>Vagina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mũthinũ</td>
<td>Penis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mũthutĩ</td>
<td>Arse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng‘ombe</td>
<td>Cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NgaiMWathani</td>
<td>God the ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngĩũ</td>
<td>Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyũkwe</td>
<td>Your mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntheke</td>
<td>Testes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thicwa</td>
<td>Fuck you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ügiĩĩ</td>
<td>Behave like a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ügũũra</td>
<td>Gross immaturity and stupidity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ürĩmũ</td>
<td>Behave in a very stupid way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total words 17</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total lexical count 421</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From our findings in Table 4.2, the swearword Ḳīgūra (clitoris) with a lexical count of 86 was the most commonly used. Other swearwords that constituted the core group of common swearwords include Ḳūtōka (60), Ḳīvīcī (28), Ngītī (27), Nyūkwe (25) and Thicwa (24). The explanation for such high frequencies for this group of words seemed to be the wide range of motives for which they were used in speech. Other swearwords with lesser lexical counts and which include matoko (10), kīrīgu (11) and ng’ombe (10) were such that the motives for which they were used during interactions were not as diverse, and that traders showed a preference for using the swearwords in the core group for similar motives. A detailed discussion of functions these swearwords performed in communication is found in section 4.4 of this chapter.

4.2 Domains of common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Ḳīrītīrī miraa market.

The second objective was to describe the domains (social, cultural, and linguistic areas of meaning) from which common Kimbeere swearwords are sourced. Andersson and Trudgill (1990) argue that swearwords are usually sourced from taboo spheres such as sex, bodily functions, and religion. Our study outlined (7) domains into which we categorized common Kimbeere swearwords: sex organs/body parts, animal names, sexual activity, bodily discharge, religion, swearwords relating to people’s behavior and those relating to people’s social or
cultural orientation (Cf.2.3.1). Table 4.3 shows the domains of common Kimbeere swearwords.

**Table: 4.3 The domains of common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriiri miraa market.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SWEARWORDS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>DOMAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gûtoka</td>
<td>Behave foolishly</td>
<td>People’s behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kigura</td>
<td>Clitoris</td>
<td>Sex organs/body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiriigu</td>
<td>Uncircumcised female</td>
<td>Social/cultural orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiviici</td>
<td>Uncircumcised male</td>
<td>Social/cultural orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matoko</td>
<td>Genital discharge</td>
<td>Bodily discharge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbini</td>
<td>Vagina</td>
<td>Sex organs/body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthinu</td>
<td>Penis</td>
<td>Sex organs/body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthuti</td>
<td>Arse</td>
<td>Sex organs/body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng’ombe</td>
<td>Cow</td>
<td>Animal names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NgaiMwathani</td>
<td>God the ruler</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngiti</td>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Animal names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyukwe</td>
<td>Your mother</td>
<td>Social/cultural orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntheke</td>
<td>Testes</td>
<td>Sex organs/body parts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thicwa</td>
<td>Fuck you</td>
<td>Sexual activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugiti</td>
<td>Behave like a dog</td>
<td>People’s behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugura</td>
<td>Gross immaturity and stupidity</td>
<td>People’s behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urimu</td>
<td>Behave in a very stupid way</td>
<td>People’s behavior</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The information above was summarized and presented in a table. The table (Table 4.4) displays the lexical count and the percentage distribution of swearwords in each domain. The percentage was arrived at by counting the number of swearwords in each domain, divided by the total number of common swearwords, and then multiplied by a hundred. That is, n/N x 100 (where n represents the number of swearwords in each domain, and N represents the total number of
swearwords). For ease in data analysis and presentation, the following codes were adopted:

SBP – Sex Organ/Body Parts

AN - Animal Names

PEB – People’s Behaviour

SA – Sexual Activity

RE – Religion

SCO – Social/Cultural Orientation

BD – Bodily Discharge

Table 4.4 The percentage representation of common Kimbeere swearwords in each domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Lexical count</th>
<th>Lexical count as a percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data from Table 4.4 indicates that common Kimbeere swearwords are sourced mainly from sex organs/body parts with the highest percentage at 29%. Indeed,
sex as a major domain draws the highest number of lexical items and cuts across majority of other domains. The swearwords in the sexual activity domain together with the swearword in the bodily discharge domain (which refers to discharge from sex organs) relate to sex. Further, one of the swearwords in the people’s behavior domain (ūgura) has its root from the word kagura (clitoris). Also, two of the three swearwords relating to cultural orientations (kĩvicĩ and kĩrĩgũ) refer to male and female circumcision which is primarily an operation of the sex organs. We conclude that sex is the major domain from which common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market are sourced. These findings agree with Shoemarker’s (2000) observation that majority of swearwords across cultures contain sexual orientations. According to Andersson (1985) many cultures generally take their swearwords from categories of sexual organs or sexual orientation. The people’s behavior domain was the second largest source of common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders at 23%. This was perhaps best explained from our observation that miraa traders largely engaged in social swearing which entailed use of swearwords to insult, threaten or ridicule in their desire to score transactional goals (cf. 4.4). The low percentage of swear words drawn from religion (6%) was attributed to the religiosity of the speech community under investigation.

The significance of the findings in this section is that they confirm the deep relationship between swearwords and taboo. Most Kimbeere swearwords are sourced to a large extent from what is tabooed in the society: sex, bodily
functions, and the supernatural and as evidenced in this study, other socio-cultural aspects related to people’s behavior and cultural rites of passage (circumcision). Wardhaugh (2006) argues that taboo subjects can vary widely and “quite often they extend to other aspects of social life” (p. 234).

4.3 The influence of gender, age and level of education in the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kíritírí miraa market.

The third objective was to evaluate the influence of the social variables of gender, age and education in the usage of swearwords. To achieve this objective, participants in the recorded transactions and respondents for the interview schedule were categorized on the basis of gender, age and level of education. This provided a viable ground on which the study attained a sociolinguistic dimension.

4.3.1 The influence of gender in the usage of swearwords.

The objective in this case was to determine how gender influenced the usage of swearwords in the language of traders. Targeted respondents for the interview schedule and participants in the recorded transactions were categorized as either male or female. Our study targeted 12 male respondents and 12 female respondents for the interview schedule. At the same time, we recorded 12 male and 12 female participants during their business negotiations. To document the influence of different gender constellations, our study made distinctions between mixed-sex and same-sex transactions during recording. Gauthier (2010) notes that
an analysis of mixed and same-sex interactions would be a good way to have a clearer perception of how swearing serves to construct relations between men and women. Table 4.5 displays the influence of gender in the usage of swearwords.

Table 4.5: The influence of gender in the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kīrtirī miraa market.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Swearwords</th>
<th>Lexical Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interview Schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Same-sex transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimbeere</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>Nhēke</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kīgura</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mūthutī</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbīnī</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mūthinū</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Kīvīcī</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kīrīgū</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyūkwe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>Gūtoka</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Úgitī</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Úrimu</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Úgura</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Ng’ombe</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngītī</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Ngaĩ</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mwathani</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Thicwa</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Matoko</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The information in Table 4.5 was summarized and the total frequencies for both men and women together with their percentages put in a table as shown below. For ease of analysis and presentation, the following codes were adopted:

F - Females

M- Males

MT – Males Total

FT – Females Total

St – Sub-total

LF – Lexical Frequency

TLF – Total Lexical Frequency
Table 4.6: The percentage representation of swearwords in each domain by males and females in both the interview schedule and recorded transactions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Interview schedule</th>
<th>Recoded transactions</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LF %</td>
<td>LF %</td>
<td>TLF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>34 48</td>
<td>37 52</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>8 44</td>
<td>10 56</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>8 53</td>
<td>7 47</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>12 57</td>
<td>9 43</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>4 100</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>10 63</td>
<td>6 37</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>2 33</td>
<td>4 67</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>78 53</td>
<td>73 48</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The significance of the findings in Table 4.6 is that they confirm that women do indeed swear countering the commonly held perception that it is only males who swear. With 43% of total swearwords coming from women, the findings of this study agree with De Klerk’s (1992) findings that females are familiar with and use a wide range of swearwords. Swearing by women in this context was aimed at identifying with the khat traders’ culture of swearing and therefore converging with the group. Data from speech and interview schedules support Limbrick’s (1991) and Berger’s (2002) findings that men swear more than women. Our findings in Table 4.6 show that with 57% of total swearwords from males, against 43% from females, males reported and used more swearwords than females by a difference of 14%. We found differences between actual and reported usage of swearwords by males and females. Both genders used more swearwords in speech than they reported. However, males increased their swearwords in speech by a higher percentage (35%) than females (20%). Berger (2002) observed that when males and females were asked to produce swearwords samples, males out contributed females. The reported use of more swearwords by males in this study agrees with Hughes (1998) assertion that swearing is largely (but not confined to) a masculine behavior evidenced by the abundance of words found in the language of males. Use of fewer swearwords by females has been explained as a function of their offensiveness threshold: females consistently rate dirty language as more offensive than males do. Our study found no difference to show either gender had
a wider range of swearwords familiarity. This reflected equality in the semantic representation of the genders.

A careful analysis of the recorded transactions indicated that the presence of the opposite sex during transactions influenced the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in the market. Males used a higher frequency of swearwords in the presence of females (64%) while the frequency was lower (57%) in male only transactions. On the other hand, females swearing frequency was higher in females-only transactions (43%) and lower in the presence of males (36%). This suggests an inhibitive effect on female swearing behavior by the presence of males while the same effect was not realized in males. Gomm (1987) and Jay (1986) found a decrease in female swearword usage as a result of male co-participants. Females swearing more in the presence of other females reflected an established in-group behavior and in which they were reluctant to engage with out-group (male) participants. Women seemed to use swearing as a bonding factor within in group boundaries. The presence of females seemed to lead men to swear more in a bid to assert themselves and indicate that swearing is a male domain.

Fagersten (2012) notes that “the higher usage of swearwords by males in mixed-sex interactions than in same-sex interactions reflects an affirmation of swearing as a traditionally masculine behavior and their desire to maintain the isogloss status.” (p. 141)
The analysis of actual swearwords usage showed that men used higher frequencies of swearwords referring to male body parts (12) and male circumcision (17) in male only interactions than in the presence of females (2, and 0 respectively). This is an indication that males used swearwords relating to their body parts and male circumcision comfortably in the presence of other males. A similar trend was observed in females. The swearword referring to female genital anatomy was used by women in a higher frequency in females-only interactions (22) than in the presence of males (17). At the same time, the swearword relating to female circumcision was used by women only in the presence of other females. These findings conform to research by Wells (1989, 1990) which demonstrated that the use of vulgar terms for various sexual acts and genitalia is more likely with same-sex interlocutors than opposite-sex speakers. The explanation for this phenomenon in our study was the assumed contextual appropriateness with which both genders perceived such swearwords usage. It was also attributed to our earlier explanation relating to in-group/out-group relationships. Men as well as women felt “strongly linked” in such situations suggesting that in-group recognition is an important factor of trading profitably for both genders. Swearing was therefore used as a tool for attaining transactional goals as well as reinforcing relationships for both groups. The findings of Risch (1987) demonstrate the way in which swearing may be used to isolate out-groups thereby strengthening both the internal boundaries and the external ones. We found that males used swearwords referring to sexual activity only in the presence of females. This was
attributed to the desire by males to dominate women. Gatambuki (2010) notes that “Psychoanalytically, the males conceptualization of sexual intercourse indicates that (they) desire to perpetuate dominance over females” (p.49). Another explanation would perhaps be what De Klerk (1992) refers to as “the apparent male confidence”. In her study, men deemed more acceptable for them to use terms referring to sex than for women. The overall low frequency of females’ use of swearwords from religion in the presence of males (8%) can be explained by Freud’s (1953) assertion that women are more religious than men.

What emerges from our findings is that swearing is indeed gender-related and serves to not only mark group identity but also achieve goals of trading. Contrary to assumptions that women don’t swear, the findings of this study show that women used swearwords in speech both in the presence of men and in their (women) company. This suggests that since swearing has been labeled as a marker for masculinity, women engaged in swearing perhaps with the desire to counter male dominance, and match the competitiveness of their male counterparts in the market in a bid to disrupt the social order and rebel against gender roles (Stapleton, 2003). Women used higher frequencies of swearwords in the company of other women than in the presence of men as a bonding factor. In this case, swearing was used to confirm in group solidarity and friendship thus confirming Coates (2004) argument that “women pursue a style based on solidarity and support” (p.126). Men were found to employ swearing in speech in the presence of women to assert male dominance. They were also likely to use
swearing to achieve in-group cohesion when they used particular swearwords related to their body parts and male circumcision in the presence of other men. It was seen also as a way of strengthening out-group boundaries.

We conclude that swearing mirrored elements of ‘power play’ and competitiveness between the genders in a bid to socialize and profitably conduct *miraa* trade in the market. For male and females traders to achieve their goals, use of swearwords in speech played a major role.

### 4.3.2. The influence of age in the usage of swearwords

Targeted respondents for the interview schedule and participants in the recorded transactions were grouped in terms of age. We classified respondents and participants into young traders (18-25 years) and old traders (40-60 years). 12 respondents and 12 participants were put in the category of young traders while old traders comprised the other 12 respondents and the other 12 participants. Table 4.7 shows the influence of age in the usage of swearwords in both the interview schedule and recorded transactions.
Table 4.7 The influence of age in the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtirĩ miraa market.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Swearwords</th>
<th>Lexical Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interview Schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kimbeere</td>
<td>Young (18-25 yrs.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>Ntheke</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kĩgura</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mũthuti</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbĩnĩ</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mũthinũ</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Kĩviči</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kũrũgu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyũkwe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>Gũtoka</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Úgitĩ</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ŭrimum</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ŭgura</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Ng’ombe</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngiti</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Ngai</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mwathani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Thicwa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Matoko</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 4.7 was summarized and the total lexical frequencies for both young and old traders, together with their percentages put in Table 4.8 as displayed. The following codes were used.

TOT – Total Lexical Frequency for Old Traders.

TYT – Total Lexical Frequency for Young Traders.
Table 4.8 The percentage representation of the usage of swearwords in each domain by young and old traders.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Interview schedule</th>
<th></th>
<th>Recorded transactions</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Sub total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Young (18-25 Yrs)</td>
<td>Old (40- 60 yrs)</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>TLF</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.8 shows that young traders reported swearword usage (59%) and actual usage (69%) were higher than those of old traders (41% and 31% respectively). Frequency studies based on naturally occurring informal interactions show that males and females between ages 18 and 23 years use swearwords most frequently (Cameron, 1969; Nerbonne & Hipskind, 1972). High percentage of swearwords in the speech of young traders is suggestive of a certain linguistic liberty and may also be a marker of belonging to the in-group. De Klerk (1992) notes that young people often learn to swear as a way to identify with friendship groups. These groups are further cemented through the safe sense of rebellion acquired through swearing. The explanation for the low percentage use of swearwords by old traders has perhaps to do with conservatism that comes with old age or the responsibility for linguistic politeness that comes with it. What we note here is that swearing by both young and old traders was used in convergent strategies when accommodation principle seemed at work. In other words, high usage of swearwords among young traders has a powerful bonding effect. In the same manner, the low use of swearwords by old traders may have served similar purposes.

We note that old traders reduced the swearwords they used in speech (31%) than their reported usage (41%). This pointed to an element of in-group out-group inclinations in their reporting. It seemed that old traders reported swearwords as used by “other groups” (perhaps young traders) and not as used by them. They were distancing themselves from such swearwords usage. Data from Table 4.8
indicates that conservatism was not always present in the speech of old traders. For instance, old traders used a higher percentage of swearwords from people’s behavior (53%) than young traders (47%). This implies that increase in age brings about responsibility for checking behavior during socialization. Young traders, with their desire to rebel against norms associated with the out-groups, don’t take checking behavior as significant during interactions. Table 4.8 shows that young traders had a larger inventory of swearwords than old traders. In their speech, old traders used no swearwords (0%) from animal names and sexual activity while young traders used 100% of swearwords from these domains.

The findings in this section imply that swearing is characteristic of young people and that increase in age inhibits swearing behavior. Fagersten (2012) observes that the age of speakers and the age of their addressees have proved to be significant variables in the social context of swearing. In our study, young traders’ portrayal of linguistic freedom through swearing may have had to do with their desire to converge with age and friendship groups and express solidarity with these groups counterculture identity. This was a way of affirming themselves as members of the youth community. Increase in age brings about social and linguistic responsibility for politeness. Coupled with conservatism that comes with age, these factors explain the significant decrease in the usage of swearwords by old traders. At the bottom line, swearing played a crucial role for both young and old traders’ achievement of both social and trading goals in the market.
4.3.3: The influence of education in the usage of swearwords

In our study, a distinction was made between respondents and participants of elementary education and those of a higher level of education. 12 respondents in the interview schedule and 12 participants in six of the transactions that were recorded were categorized as having an education level of standard eight and below, which was labeled as lower education (LE). The other 12 respondents and the other 12 participants in the other six transactions that were recorded were categorized as having an education level of secondary school and above, that is, upper education (UE). Table 4.9 displays the variable of education in the usage of swearwords.
Table 4.9: The influence of education in the usage of swearwords in the language of traders in Kĩrĩtiri Miraa market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Swearwords</th>
<th>Lexical Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interview Schedule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>Ntheke Testes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kĩgura Clitoris</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mũthutĩ Arse</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mbĩnĩ Vagina</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mũthinũ Penis</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Kĩvĩčĩ Uncircumcised male</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kĩrĩgũ Uncircumcised female</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nyũkwe Your mother</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>Gũtoka Behave foolishly</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ŭgiti Behave like a dog</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ûrimu Stupidity</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ûgura Gross immaturity and stupidity</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Ng’ombe Cow</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ngiti Dog</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>Ngai Mwathani God the ruler</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>Thicwa Fuck you</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Matoko Genital discharge</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 4.9 was summarized and the total lexical frequencies together with their percentages put in a table (Table 4.10). The following codes were used.

TLE – Total Lexical Frequency for Traders of Lower Education.

TUE – Total Lexical Frequency for Traders of Upper Education.
Table 4.10: The percentage representation of swearwords in each domain by traders of lower and upper education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Interview schedule</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Recorded transactions</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lower education</td>
<td>Upper education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower education</td>
<td>Upper education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>TLF</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>LF</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>TLF</td>
<td>TLE</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>TUE</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBP</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEB</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


We find that education was an important factor in both reported and actual usage of swearwords. Table 4.10 shows that traders of lower education used more swearwords in their speech (67%) than traders of upper education (33%). Low education is associated with little power and status and therefore, this gives traders of lower education linguistic liberty since they don’t risk losing these two. In other words, low education makes them use language that is free from moral or ethical overtones. Higher education on the other hand gives a speaker some status that is accompanied by both social and linguistic responsibility. This explains such decrease in swearing among traders of upper education. Data from Table 4.10 shows that there were considerably high differences between reported and actual swearword usage by traders of both lower and upper education. Traders of upper education reported use of swearwords was higher (54%) than that of traders of lower education (46%). In actual usage, traders of upper education reduced their swearing in speech by 21% while traders of lower education increased theirs by the same percentage. Like in our previous findings, what emerged here were elements of group marking. These differences seem to show that traders of upper education were reporting swearwords as used by “other groups” (perhaps traders of lower education). In the same manner, traders of lower education appeared to report swearwords usage as done by “another group” (perhaps traders of upper education). Our findings also show that the speech of traders of lower education had a larger inventory of swearwords compared to that of traders of higher education. From both the religion and sexual activity domain, traders of lower
education used 100% of swearwords while those of lower education used no swearwords from these domains.

What we find in this section is that low education gave traders linguistic freedom to engage in swearing. People of low education had no power or status to lose. It was also a way of enhancing group identity. On the contrary, higher education inhibited the use of swearwords as people in this group had to protect their status. Such language use is also seen to be employed in the desire to achieve the social goal of group affiliations. The suggestion we get from this is that for both groups of traders to achieve both social and transactional goals, swearing played a key role.

4.4 Functions of swearwords in communication

Our fourth objective involved evaluating the pragmatic functions that the swearwords in the language of traders performed in communication. To achieve this, respondents were asked in the interview schedule to list five reasons or intentions for which swearwords were used. They were also requested to give at least an example or examples of a swearword(s) that would be used for each of the reasons they had given. At the same time, we recorded transactions among traders with the aim of capturing the intentions for which swearwords were being used during these interactions. Though many respondents were not keen on supplying examples of swearwords, they reported sufficient reasons why
swearing occurred in speech. The responses in the interview schedule were tallied and put in Table 4.11 as shown.

**Table 4.11 Reasons for using swearwords**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REASON / INTENTION</th>
<th>FREQUENCY COUNT</th>
<th>FREQUENCY COUNT AS A PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To express emotions e.g. joy, anger, frustration</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To deride someone</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To degrade miraa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To insult someone</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To identify with friends / age mates</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To isolate people</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>91</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.11 shows that swearwords were likely to be used for emotional expression (26%) more than for any other motive. We find that to insult people is a major motive for which swearwords were used (22%). Our findings agree with Miriti’s (2012) findings that the language of miraa traders is full of taboo words which are used to insult. It appears that traders desire to mark social distance (10%) was not as important as to deride other traders (13%). However, their desire for group identity through identifying with friends/age mates and isolating people (both with a total 28%) surpassed the need for emotional expression. This
perhaps illustrates the significance of the social function of swearing during interactions.

Our findings in Table 4.11 suggest that for traders to achieve their goals in the market, expression of emotions through swearing plays a crucial role. Jay & Janschewitz (2008) argue that swearwords can communicate emotional information allowing speakers to achieve a variety of personal and social functions. On his part, Ekman (1992) is of the view that communication of emotions is crucial to social relationships and survival.

We studied and interpreted the reasons in table 4.11 using the Psycho-Social standpoint of the NPS theory of speech used in this study and which explains the function of swearing at two levels. At the psychological level, an important function of swearwords is expression of strong emotions, both positive and negative. The social function of swearing involves speakers’ desire to assert their identity in a group, insult, indicate friendship and solidarity or mark social distance. Guided by the above explanations, we categorized the above reasons for swearword usage with regard to the two functions of swearwords and graphically presented their percentage representations in Figure 4.1.
Data from the interview schedule indicate that swearing at the market is largely socially motivated. Figure 4.1 shows that the social function of swearing is the most dominant (74%) compared to psychological swearing (26%). Crystal (1995) posits that social swearing is the most common swearing pattern. He argues that when we join a social group, we are very much influenced by language norms within the group.

The recorded transactions were also analyzed with the aim of establishing the functions of swearing in the speech of traders. The researcher, with the help of his assistants, keenly and repeatedly listened to the transactions recorded to establish the intentions or reasons for which swearwords were used. This was done with the aim of capturing the aspects of speech which indicated that there was expression
of emotions as well as establishing other motives as reported in the interview schedule. Listening in order to establish if there was emotional expression involved answering the question “In what tone was the swearword uttered?” The description of tone was modeled after the manner in which different feelings were felt as being expressed in the context that swearing occurred, and which included shouting, elation, aggression, and despair or frustration. We established that swearwords were used in speech to express the following major emotions;

(i) **Anger**

Traders were seen to use swearwords to express anger. A trader would express anger when they felt that they were not being treated or recognized as belonging to a certain social group, or that they lacked experience in terms of trading. Anger swearing was also seen when either the buyer was not happy with the prices quoted or the seller refused to lower the prices Consider this example;

*Recording 1*

**B:** T1 Nī mbeca ciğana ũramba? (How much money are you giving me?)

**A:** T2 Ava nīngūva… (Here, I’ll give you…)

(A produces a Kshs. 50 note)

**B:** T3 We thira ũvīcī! Êno nī mīraa ya ciringi vīvute!? *(Swearing)* (Don’t be *immature!* Is this *miraa* worth 50 shillings!?)
In turn 3, B expresses anger at being offered only 50 shillings for miraa.

(ii) Frustration

Swearwords were used by traders to express frustration. For instance,

Recording 4

H: T1 Ìì nîngûtììkìra. We tiga ùndù ùcio waku! (Yes, I’ll agree. (To I) You stop what you’re doing!).

I: T2 Niì ndûkûnyima mîraa! Tiga ùgitì na nee Njûe! Kìgura nìgùtukire (You will not stop me from tasting miraa! Stop behaving like a dog Njûe, (Swearing) it is late!)

H: T3 We tatiga ūguo ūreka tondù nîratoka ðìu. (Hey, stop what you’re doing, you’re now becoming foolish!)

In turn 2, I expresses frustration at H not willing to sell, yet she thinks it is late while in turn 3, H is frustrated by I eating some of his miraa yet they haven’t bought it.

(iii) Shock/surprise

Another feeling that was seen to be expressed through use of swearwords was surprise or shock. For instance,
Recording 5

J: T1 Ürenda ciğana? (How much (money) do you want?)

K: T2 Rete matano! (Give me 500 shillings!)

J: T3 Aaai! Nyũkweĩ Atĩ matano!? (Swearing) (Five hundred!?)

In turn 3 J is shocked that K would demand 500 shillings for such miraa.

(iv) Joy

Previous studies have revealed an assumption of swearing as an expression of typically negative feelings indicating an inverse relationship between swearing and positive feelings. The varieties of tones realized in recorded transactions indicate that swearing is not associated with any one particular emotion. Consider;

Recording 4

G: T1 Miraaw ño nwa nimmicame na ngīnanengera mwene akiñathiī nakūu kana akinenūka nayo. (I can give up on buying this miraa and give it to its owner to take it away or go home with it).

I: T2 Êka nītūkūmīgūra! Nĩngūmīgūra! Êka aṭirūī mathavu mavūthū, ruta 70 naniī ndute ikūmī rūī rīakwa mīraaw ndīkathiī… kīgura Ũritue, Ëma wa Ngaī Ũritue! (No! We’ll buy it! I will buy it! Do this, easy calculation, give 70 shillings and I’ll give these 10 shillings of
mine so that this miraa doesn’t go… *(Swearing in joy)* It is so good! *True to God* it is so good!).

In the above example, I swears in joy to express her approval of the quality of miraa in question.

Apart from establishing the function of swearwords as expression of emotions, our examination of recorded transactions led us in the realization of other motives for which swearing occurred as reported in the structured interview and which fall under the social function of swearing. They included:

a) To deride

Swearwords were used by traders to mock, scorn and ridicule each other in a harsh way. This was mostly done to achieve both social and transactional goals. Consider;

**Recording 11**

X: T1 Niï nînatigire mbiacara icio (I stopped doing such business.)

W: T2 Menderia mîraa! Menderia mîraa ſũgũre mũtu, wanakorwa ndûkũria mbia, ſũthiï vařia koskirí woce mũtu na maguta warũ îthenya ſia gũtinda ava ſũgĩtoka wĩkařtie mîraa. *(Sell miraa to me!)*

Sell it to me so that you can buy maize flour, or if you don’t want money, just go to that kiosk and take maize flour and cooking oil
just now (Swearing) instead of being foolish and keeping miraa here).

In this example W’s intention is to deride X. In this case, W wants to gain some control over X by implying that she (W) has nothing to lose if X does not sell miraa to her. In the end, W intends to buy miraa at the fairest price possible.

b) To degrade miraa

At the same time, swearwords were used especially while referring to miraa to show it as of poor quality or variety, mostly with intention to gain advantage in a transaction. For example;

Recording 1

A: T1 Rete ngague menye ingĩ indo ino cia kwenyu…. (Bring, let me check these things (miraa) that you people grow…)

B: T2 Nūrarita rũu! (You’re now becoming stupid!)

A: T3 Ĭno nĩ mĩmbia ntheke! (Chewing some leaves and swearing) (This (miraa) is that which makes testes get bloated!).

B: T4 Gūtirĩ! Ūrete mĩraa yakwa we! (No way! Give back my miraa!)

In turn 3, A uses swearing to imply that B’s miraa is of such a poor variety that it should not be consumed. This was perhaps done with A’s desire to buy it very cheaply.
c) To insult

Use of swearwords to insult was realized as relatively high among both male and female traders. Miriti (2012) observed that negotiations between miraa traders were full of taboo words mostly associated with body parts and which are used to insult. Consider;

**Recording 11**

W: **T1** Rūrīa mūraa ūraŋ na mbi-raŋ, rūrīa kīraí kīraumaga nĩgiri iĝīrī-ri, araregaga gūkūva nĩkĩ? (Why didn’t he (your husband) send you (to sell) when miraa had good prices, when a basin was going for 2000 shillings!?)

X: **T2** Ingĩ nūraŋkaga! Ingĩ nūraŋkaga! (But I was coming!!)

W: **T3** Wanawe ūrī *kigura gītaku* mūno! Nīkūo nīmwūraga mūcanūke!
   Mūndū mūrūme arakūva mūraa ūke ūmwenderie? (*Swearing*)
   (You’re very foolish! That’s why I tell you people to style up, how does a man give you miraa to come and sell it for him?)

In the above example, W’s use of swearwords in turn 3 to insult X is done strategically. She (W) wants to portray X as foolish and perhaps influence the price of miraa to come down to her advantage.
d) To isolate oneself or somebody, or identify with a social group

Karjalainen (2002) observes that swearwords may be used in instances where there is no anger or frustration. For instance, they may be used to assert our identity in a group or indicate friendship. Data from audio records showed that swearwords were sometimes used by speakers to distance themselves or other speakers, or identify with speakers of a social group. For example:

*Recording 12*

**Z:** T1  We wambire kūmbira ciugo cia kagura-rī, ndūmbīre ngwenderie mūraa! (But you started using swearwords; tell me to sell you *miraa*!).

**Y:** T2  Tondū ḳyo ni lūga ya thoko… (Because that is the language of the market.)

**Z:** T3  È (Yes)

In this instance, Z seems to complain at Y’s use of swearwords. Z justifies her swearing by claiming swearing is the language used in the *miraa* market. Z is therefore identifying herself with *miraa* traders at the market through swearing while at the same time seemingly implying that Y is not in the same social group, or belongs to another social group. For example;
Recording 2

D: T1  Kavîcî rete mûraa ïyo! (You (uncircumcised) bring that miraa!)

C: T2  Kagura mûndû üū ürumbîta kavîcî? Nîwîcî nî müthuri we! Ürenda kwarangia atîa? Nîwîcî nînaruire!? (Swearing) (You call me uncircumcised? Don’t you know am a grown man? What do you want to imply? Don’t you know I went through the cut?)

D: T3  Õkîrua! Waruîre kû!? (You circumcised! From where did you do it!?)

C: T4  Nûîre Kavondorî! (I was circumcised at Kavondorî!)

In the above example, C becomes furious at D’s suggestion that he is not circumcised. He quickly protests that he is circumcised, thus identifying himself as a grown man through angry swearing.

This data from recorded transactions validates the data that was collected in the interview schedule. It is a confirmation of our earlier findings that swearwords in the language of traders perform both psychological and social functions. Perhaps to reinforce the social function of swearing as the most prominent, we found that expression of emotions served not only intra-individual functions (psychological swearing) but also inter-individual ones (social swearing). In other words, the speakers’ expression of anger, frustration e.t.c. was directed at hearers.
The findings in this section indicate that miraa traders used swearwords in various ways to attain social goals as well as thrive in a market setting full of competitiveness. Swearing was a means with which insults, aggression, protest and resistance were exhibited. While some of these properties might not be sought after in other areas where Kimbeere speakers engage themselves, they seemed of high value among traders during interaction. Precisely, they were a means by which these traders were able to transact compellingly thereby maximizing their profits as well as buying at considerably low prices for sellers and buyers respectively. Research by Rainey & Granito (2010) has demonstrated that the use of swearing for the purpose of insulting other people is used by athletes to belittle their opponents in a bid to boost themselves and improve their own performance. At another level, the speech of traders was characterized by forcefulness of utterances where swearwords were involved. Since this was employed with communication intention, it served for dynamism in their communication. Ginsburg, Ogletree & Silakowski (2003) are of the opinion that swearing serves as a way to intensify communication. What seemed evident was that swearing was a way in which traders had established their identity implying that Kimbeere speakers in Kūrtirī miraa market don’t just use swearwords in their language; swearwords are part of their linguistic identity.
4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has identified and presented the common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kīrītīrī miraa market. It has also categorized the common swearwords into the various domains from which they are sourced. An evaluation of the influence of the social variables of gender, age and education in the usage of swearwords has been done. Finally, an account of the function that these swearwords performed in communication has been done. The next chapter deals with the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations for further research.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of the findings, conclusions, and suggestions for further research. The objectives of the study were to identify and present common Kimbeere swearwords in the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market; describe the domains from which the swearwords are sourced; evaluate the influence of gender, age, and education on the usage of swearwords; and explore their function in communication guided by the NPS Theory of Speech (Jay, 2000).

5.1 Summary of findings

To begin with, this study established that the language of traders in Kiriri miraa market is characterized by frequent use of commonly uttered swearwords. Our study presented 17 common swearwords with a total lexical count of 460. Using our notion of domains, we found that common Kimbeere swearwords are sourced largely from what is tabooed in the society including sex organs and body parts, religion, animal names, sexual activity, and bodily discharge agreeing with Andersson & Trudgill’s (1990) assertion. This research found that sex is the major domain from which common Kimbeere swearwords are sourced which agreed with Shoemaker’s (2000) viewpoint that majority of swearwords across
cultures contain sexual orientations. Apart from these typical domains from which swearwords are sourced, our study found that common Kimbeere swearwords are sourced from areas to do with cultural orientations like circumcision as well as social areas related to people’s behaviour. Wardhaugh (2000) asserts that sources of swearwords can “quite often extend to other aspects of social life.” (p. 234)

Gender was found to have a considerable influence in the usage of swearwords in speech. Indeed, swearing was found to be highly gendered in reported and actual swearword usage. Contrary to assumptions that women don’t swear and that they are masters of euphemisms (Allan & Burridge, 2006), the present study found that women used swearwords. Female traders were found to engage in swearing in a bid to counter the competitiveness and aggression of their male counterparts. Stapleton (2003) is of the opinion that women engage in swearing to counter male dominance in a bid to rebel against social roles. Nevertheless, this study found that men used more swearwords than women. This finding conforms to Limbrick’s (1991) and Berger’s (2000) findings. The presence (or absence) of the opposite sex during transactions was found to influence the usage of swearwords. Women were found to use higher frequencies of swearwords in the presence of other women than in the presence of men as a bonding factor. They therefore employed swearing as a means to maintain in-group solidarity and friendship and, as well, strengthen out-group boundaries (Coates, 2004). Men were found to employ higher use of swearwords in the presence of women than in their (male) company to mark swearing as a male domain (Fagersten, 2012). They were also
found to use swearwords related to sexual activity only in the presence of women to assert male dominance (De Klerk, 1992). What emerged from our findings was that swearing is employed by both male and female traders as a form of ‘power play’ between the two in a bid to not only socialize but also fruitfully engage in buying and selling of miraa in the market.

Our study found that age influenced the usage of swearwords. This research found that young traders swear more than old traders agreeing with frequency studies based on naturally occurring informal interactions (Cameron, 1969; Nerbonne & Hipskind, 1972). This resulted in young traders using a larger inventory of swearwords than old traders. Young traders swearing patterns confirmed the linguistic freedom associated with the youth. It was also found to be aimed at converging with age and friendship groups in their desire to express solidarity with the youth’s culture of rebellion. Old traders’ use of lower frequencies of swearwords was found to be a function of social and linguistic responsibility dictated by old age. It was also found to be a reflection of in-group identification and a strengthening of out-group boundaries. Ultimately, this study found swearing as a means by which both young and old traders achieved social goals of interaction and also traded effectively.

Education was also found influence swearing behaviour. Traders of elementary education were found to swear more than those of higher education. This resulted to those of lower education using a larger inventory of swearwords. Low education is associated with little power and status something which accorded
those of lower education the linguistic license to swear frequently since they would lose neither power nor status. On the other hand, the linguistic and social responsibility associated with higher education was found to be an inhibitor to swearing leading to a considerable decrease in the usage of swearwords by traders of upper education. Such use of swearwords by both groups showed strong elements of group marking. What was evident was that for both groups, swearing played a key role in the facilitation of both interactional and transactional motives.

This research also aimed at explaining the functions of swearwords in communication. From our findings it emerged that swearwords were used to express strong emotions, to insult, to degrade miraa, to deride, to identify with friends/age mates and to isolate people. We found that the principal motive of swearwords was expression of emotions. What emerged from our findings was that for traders to achieve their goals, expression of emotions through swearing played an important role. This is in agreement with Jay & Janschewitz (2009) observation that swearwords can be used to communicate emotional information allowing speakers to achieve a variety of social and personal functions. Using the Psycho-Social viewpoint on the NPS theory of speech, our study found that use of swearwords served two principal functions in communication: psychological function (expression of emotions) and social function (to insult, to degrade miraa, to deride, to identify with friends and isolate people). Our study found that use of swearwords in the language of traders was largely socially motivated. Crystal
(1995) argues that social swearing is the most common swearing pattern noting that when we join a social group, we are very much influenced by the language norms within the group.

5.2 Conclusions from the findings

Significantly, this study acknowledges use of swearwords among traders in Kiriiri miraa market as a complex social practice which fulfils intricate pragmatic functions. Swearing is a means with which these traders are able to socialize and more significantly, achieve highly precious transactional goals of maximizing their profits as well as buying at reduced prices. Swearing therefore becomes some form of a survival strategy. Courtesy of swearing, the language of traders is characterized by forcefulness of utterances something which instills dynamism in their communication (Ginsburg, Ogletree & Silakowski, 2003). Ultimately, swearing is a way in which these traders have come to establish their linguistic identity.

5.3 Recommendations and suggestions for further research

This study focused on use of swearwords in the language of Kimbeere speakers in a miraa market. A similar study can be done to focus on other speakers who exhibit such a linguistic phenomenon. Since our study involved a transactional context, an investigation involving other forms of interaction, for instance, ordinary casual conversations could reveal different patterns of swearing.
behaviour. In this study, only adults were studied. We therefore propose a similar study to cover speakers of an age lower than 18 years. During the course of our study, we found that swearwords take different forms. Therefore, studies focusing on morphological and syntactic analyses of swear items would be timely.

5.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the summary of findings, conclusions, and recommendations and suggestions for further research. To start with, the chapter has looked at the summary of findings and the conclusions from the findings. Finally, the chapter has proposed the areas of further research.
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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The purpose of this interview schedule is to get information on common Kimbeere swearwords used in Kîîtirî miraa market. Any information that you give will be treated with utmost confidence and will only be used for the purpose of this academic research. Please answer the questions as truthfully as possible.

Age (tick as appropriate)

18 – 25 years ☐  40-60 years ☐

Sex (tick as appropriate)

Male ☐  Female ☐

Level of education (Tick as appropriate)

Standard 8 and below ☐  Secondary School and above ☐

1. List the swearwords used at the market and indicate their frequency of use.

   (a) (i) Swearword…………………………………………………………………………………

   (ii) How frequently is the swearword used?

     Less frequently ☐  Frequently ☐  Most Frequently. ☐

   (b) (i) Swearword…………………………………………………………………………………

   (ii) How frequently is the swearword used?

     Less frequently ☐  Frequently ☐  Most Frequently. ☐

   (c) (i) Swearword…………………………………………………………………………………

   (ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
(d) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □

(e) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □

(f) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □

(g) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □

(h) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □

(i) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □

(j) (i) Swearword……………………………………………………………………………….

(ii) How frequently is the swearword used?
Less frequently □  Frequently □  Most Frequently. □
2. What are the reasons or intentions of using these swearwords in speech?

Please give the examples where possible.

(i) ........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................

(ii) ........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................

(iii) ........................................................................................................
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(iv) ........................................................................................................
........................................................................................................

(v) ........................................................................................................
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Thank you for your response.
# APPENDIX B: KIMBEERE SWEARWORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KIMBEERE SWEARWORDS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
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<td>Ntheke/ Makende</td>
<td>Testes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng’ombe</td>
<td>Cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngitũ /Kurũ</td>
<td>Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kivičũ/Kavĩčĩ</td>
<td>Uncircumcised male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mũthuti</td>
<td>Arse</td>
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<td>Kagura and its forms</td>
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<td>Mbũño/gĩciaro</td>
<td>Vagina</td>
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<td>Uncircumcised female</td>
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<td>Foolishness</td>
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<td>Fuck you/fuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ťgišũ</td>
<td>Behave like a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matoko</td>
<td>Genital discharge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thote</td>
<td>Anus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nthinwa/Nũgũ</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gũtoka/toka</td>
<td>To be foolish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngai/Ngai Mwathani</td>
<td>Reference to God /God as king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gĩkonde</td>
<td>The foreskin removed from the males’ peni during circumcision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ügura  
Gross immaturity and stupidity
Nyũkwe  
Your mother
Mavira  
Pus
Mbũri  
Goat
Kīrimũ  
Dumb person
Üritu  
Foolishness
Ügūruki  
Madness
Marwaya/ũrwaya  
Prostitutes/prostitution
Mbaka  
Cat
Mai  
Faeces
Kumbavu  
Stupid person
Akiangai  
Swearing by God
Ng’ondu  
Sheep
Ndũri  
Clitoris
Matina  
Buttocks
Ücũguo  
Your grandmother
Mbunda  
Donkey
Ngoma  
Devil
Jinga  
Fool
Mbiti  
Hyena
Mbwe  
Wolf
Kavagara  
Bad omen
Kiŋenge  
Mongoose
Ücenji  
Stupidity
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<td>Devilish</td>
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<td>Skunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ùrĩgũ</td>
<td>Immaturity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gĩcũnũ</td>
<td>Baboon’s buttocks</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX C: RECORDED TRANSACTIONS

RECORDING ONE

Participants: Male

Age: Young (18-25 yrs.)

Education level: Lower education

A: We ngarana! (Hey namesake!)
B: Ndi ngaranaguo! (Am not your namesake!)
A: Ûka ûka ûka, tiga ûgura! (Come come come, stop being stupid)
B: Ógura wa ndũî!? (Being stupid for what?)
A: Ógura wa ndũî! (Selena!) (I want (to buy) that miraa of yours)
B: Êno? (This?)
A: Tarete mone ingî kana nî mîgwatu ingî kana nî mimbia ntheke ya kwenyu. (Let me check whether it has matured or whether it’s that which makes balls bloated from where you come.)
B: Óyũ órona ótunî vîte ùguo! Órona ótunîvîte afîa? Amba ũtige gũakîra!! (Don’t you see how ripe it is? Don’t eat first!)
A: Kwenda! Nî ũndũ wa kî? kwa ũtuîkire ndũî? (Why? What has it (miraa) become?)
B: Nîwakîra ūtambete mbia nîkî? (How can you eat before giving me money?)
A: Rete nyambe ngague menye ingî indo ino cia kwenyu… (Bring, let me check these things that you people produce)
B: Nî ᾃrîta rîu! (You are now becoming stupid!)
A: Ŭno nî mimbia ntheke! (This (miraa) is that which makes balls bloated)
B: Gũtirî ũrete mîraa yakwa we… (There’s nothing like that give back my miraa!)
A: Amba ũtige! (Just wait!)
B: Nîkî? Ndũgũakîra…nîwakîra nîkî na nî yakwa? (Why? you won’t taste, why taste and it’s mine?)
A: Aah amba ũnũmie…amba ũnũmie tũa kũambîrîria. (Aaaa just give me some little so that I taste first)
B: Kwa ngûakîrie tûnini… (Okay, let me give you some little)
A: Nawe weguia yandurithia ntheke, ūmenye ũcûguo wenyu nîwe ngwîcîra! (If it pains my balls, just know that I’ll come for your grandmother!)
B: Órona arî ndũî gîkî kîaro ũguo. Ta mùirîtu mùtunte ta…(Don’ you see how good quality it is? Like a girl as brown as…)
A: Tiga ũrîmû! (Stop stupidity!)
B: Ta mùirîtu ũtarî wa… (Like a girl who has never been…)
A: Kwenda! Kwenyu kwaneke kîndũ kîega? Mûambîrîria na ũcûguo wana nyũkwe mûkoragwa mûritûle ũguo muonthe! (Stop it! Has there been anything
good from your place? From your grandmother, even your mother you are all stupid!

B: Mira ino måruru ūguo? (This good miraa?)
A: We ūtokoe, ūkavițuğa ngū ino cia kwenyu. (You are so foolish, more foolish than these dogs from your place!)

B: Rete mbia! (Give me money!)
A: Mbia ivo ingā (I have the money!)
B: Ūguo nwanginya nuguone ūkĩnjerera? (So I must soothe you as if am courting you?)
A: Thiria ūrimā... Na kĩgura ngagũkũna mūthenya ūmwe! (Stop stupidity! And (clitoris) I'll come to hit you one day!)

B: Rete mbia mbaro! (Give me good money!)
A: Gwata mbia ino nguonie. (Hold this money and let me show you.)

B: Ndigũtoka! (I will not be foolish!)
A: Nĩmũtũarĩre andũ menyu. (I can't sell you this miraa. No, take this (money) to your people.)

A: Vau twakinyania kivici ṇṭụvịṭaṇia mūno. (The far we have come uncircumcised we shall really not be in good terms)
B: Gūra mīraa waro, thiria ūgitĩ (Buy miraa at a good price and stop being a dog)
A: Nǐkwa mbiacara īrutagwa atĩa? Amba ūgwate mbi akorũ waĩna vata ya kwendia. (How is business conducted? Hold this money first if you really want to sell!)
B: Mbi a ino nyūkwe nĩ nini mũno. (This money your mother is too little!)
A: Nĩkwa mbi a njamba īra, aũke wone kana ndikũmũgũrũra mündũ wĩngĩ. (Or let me call that guy, let him come and you’ll see that I’ll buy from somebody else)
B: Akũ we ndũmũũte wĩna miega gũkiraĩno. (Where is he with better (miraa) than this? Call him.)
A: We Julius taũka…(Calling)
B: Akũ we ndũmũũte wĩna mĩega gũkiraĩno. (Where is he with better (miraa) than this? Call him.)
A: We Julius taũka…(Calling)
B: Ndi na vata ya mĩwa ngũkĩbĩ, we wĩna vata ya mĩraa yakwa? Ka mbĩkire yakwa mūvuko. (Am not interested in too much talk, do you want my miraa? Let me put mine in the pocket.)
A: Īkwa ūtokou wĩnagu, gwata mbi a ūkĩnareta mĩraa! (That stupidity that you have, take this money and give miraa!)
B: Ika! (No!)
A: Ūrenda tũũte atĩa? Ndũoce mbi a kĩvĩčī. Wana nĩ ngũgũrũra na njoke ngakũgũrũre gacigara kamwe, ũ. (What do you want us to do!? Take the money uncircumcised! I’ll buy this from you then I’ll buy you one cigarette.)
B: Ndũmũkĩra mĩndũ wĩna gũkĩmũkĩra. (This is my property! Why do you insult me because of my property?)
A: Auuuwa! Nĩwenda atĩa? (Exclaiming) (What do you want!?)
B: Nĩkwa ngũcũtha mündũ wĩngĩ ūngĩmũgũrũra… (I’ll look for someone else who can buy.)
A: Gičũńi! Kwenyu anga nĩwe waćiarištwe ūkavingĩra ūritu? (So, in your place you were born to last with all the foolishness)
B: Ino nĩ indo ciakwa. Ūranũmũ kĩndũ ţaakwa nĩkĩ? (This is my property! Why do you insult me because of my property?)
A: Ika we wĩ kĩvĩčī gĩa gweti, ngarana…nũwĩčī nũmendaga atĩa? (No you are my homeboy, my namesake…you know what I want?)
B: Ūkĩnambiĩta ngarana, ŋmendaga wongerere mbi a ino ciakwa. (You call me namesake; I want you to increase this money of yours.)
A: Tũgacemania vandũ! (Uncircumcised we shall meet some place)
RECORDING TWO

Participants: Male

Age: Young (18-25 yrs.)

Education level: Lower education

C: Njamba karĩ nǐatĩa! (What’s up, tough guy)
D: Mũndũ ūũ nũkũgũra kamũraa gaka gakwa avai? (Will you buy my miraa?)
C: Ĭĩ nĩngũkagũraĩ, kamũraa gaka nĩngũkagũra nĩkwa gwĩ kũmanu mũno. (Yes I will, this miraa I’ll buy, only that these are very tough (economic) times.)
D: Ĭräuma atĩa tondũ ndi mũku thoko kavinda…? (How much is it going for? I’ve been away from the market for quite some time)
C: Ĭräuma magana mana kana matano… (It is going for 400 or 500.)
D: Ndũrete matandatũ ingĩ. (Why don’t you give me 600.)
C: Afti matandatũ? Ĭka nĩ mbia nỹĩngĩ mũno! (What! 600? No, it’s a lot of money)
D: Kamũwana nũwĩčī ũrũña nduũte ũrwa mũŋĩ wa gũcĩmbĩra? (Young man, don’t you know I’ve done a lot of digging (in the farm))
C: Afti ũrwa wa gũcĩmbĩra? (What do you mean digging?)
D: Ĭni wana gũūtūrũria manjį! (Yes, and even watering!)
C: Rūu gũūtūrũria manjį nĩkuo kagũa atĩa? Nduoce magana maũrĩ avai (What does watering mean? Why don’t you take 200?)
D: Kagura! (Swearing) (Clitoris)
C: Tikwa ũrwa ũcio wĩna kĩrĩa…(It’s not as if that work (digging and watering) has any…)
D: Nũwĩčī nũtũkũvũtania mũndũ ūũ… (You know we are going to disagree…)
C: Ĭka tũtĩngũvũtania mũndũ ūũ. (No, we can’t disagree.)
D: Ongerera mbia! Gũra mũraa waro kamũwana nduondererere mbia! (Then increase that money, buy miraa well young man, increase the money!)
C: Nũmongerera ciriŋi ithano kana Ĭkũmĩ, ti mathe… (I’ll increase by 5 shillings or ten shillings, no joke!)
D: Kwa ũkũgũra atĩa mũndũ ūũ kwa arĩ ngũkũ? (What! Is this chicken?)
C: Nũheke mũndũ ūũ tigana naniĩ nĩkwa nĩrاغũra tondũ wa ũrĩa kũvana. (Balls leave me alone, am buying (that way) because of the way times are.)
D: Kagura rūu tũtiavũtania. Na nĩkwa ũrenda gũakĩra!? (Swearing) (Now we are done! You mean you want to taste?)
C: Ĭni nĩkwa arĩ ndũũ? (Yes, what is it?)
D: Ĭka Ĭka (No no)
C: Mũtĩ mũtiri nũrũregĩa gũakĩra nĩkirĩ? (This poor quality why would I not taste?)
D: Wanaona mũtĩ mũtiri ũvana ūũ? (Have you ever seen poor quality looking like this?)
C: Mimbia nũheke! mũndũ ūũ nũwĩčĩ…(That which makes balls bloated! You know what?)
D: Apana! (I don’t!)
C: Nî nhîkûgûra mimbia ntheke! (I will not buy that which makes balls bloated!)
D: We waremwa mbûra nhîh ngenderie mûndû wîngî, mûndû ūû tunginya ûgûre!
(If you are unable (to buy) tell me to go sell to another person. It’s not a must that you buy.)
C: Nhîh ükendie nakû kîvîcî mûraa nîkwa î mîgûu. (Go sell away from here uncircumcised the price of miraa has gone down.)
D: Ongerera mbia ingî wanya, ndîkûnda gûgûti githia indo ino brother. (Increase that money brother, I don’t want you to miss buying this brother.)
C: Nhî ngendie nakûu kĩvĩcĩ mîranda ngũ. (Go sell away from here uncircumcised the price of miraa has gone down.)
D: Wanacimba ûkegua, wee? Wanacimba ûkegua? (Have you ever farmed?)
C: Rî wana wenda mbeca, nû kwa mîrara mûno. (Now, even if you want money, the price of miraa has really gone down.)
D: Ongerera mbia ingî wanya, ndîkûnda gûgûti githia ino. (Increase that money brother, I don’t want you to miss buying this brother.)
C: Rî wana nûkare! Rî wana nûkare! (Now we are dropping to 250 shillings.)
D: Yani ûramona nî ngunda mwere nî? (So you see me as an ignorant guy?)
C: Kwa üte ngunda mwere kwa wî ndûî? (What are you? You are such!)
D: Nûngîtvota kûrata wîra ucie ucoke ümbûte ngunda mwere? (How can I do all that work (digging and watering) then you refer to me as an ignorant guy?)
C: Ini na nagûra wa rû wa rû nûnguonerera ciringi 30 wa rû. (Yes, and I’ll buy precisely this moment from you and give you 30 shillings more.)
D: Aaah! Tûremanwe rû, mûndû ūû rete mûraa. (Enough, give back that miraa!)
C: Ndûoe mûraa yaku! Rû wana nûkare! (Take your miraa! I’ll not even buy!)
D: *Kavici* rete miraa ūyo! (Bring that miraa!)
C: Mūndū ūu ērambi *kavici*? Nīwīcī nī múthuri, wē renda kūarangia atīa nīwīcī nīnaruire? (You call me *uncircumcised*? Don’t you know am a grown man, what do you want to imply? Don’t you know I went through the cut?)
D: Ūkīrua! Waruure kū? (You circumcised! Where did you go for it?)
C: Nūrure Kavondori! (I was circumcised at Kavondori!)
D: Waruire na kīenji? (Were you circumcised with a shaver?)
C: Kwanja na kīrīa kīruhia ngīrī, wana kīruhia ngīrī? (In fact, the biggest (shaver), the one they use to circumcise a warthog, have you ever heard it?)
D: Ndūrete miraa ūno. (Bring this miraa then.)
C: Nakuūria kana nūguoca kīyo kūndū kwīrī. (Am asking whether you’ll take twenty shillings on top or not.)
D: Ndīguoca! (I won’t!)
C: Nūguoca kīruhia ngīrī. (You are joking a lot.)
D: Nūkwenda ngūve yo mana? (Do you want me to give it to you for free?)
C: Ndūmbe yo! (Go ahead!)
D: Nīngūva mana ndūfīte wīrī mūngī ūguo wa gūcimbīra nīkī? (How do I give it to you for free after doing that much work of farming?)
C: Ūtinde ēgūcimbīra, ēgūcimbīra ūrīkū? (A lot of farming, who do you do it for?)
D: Nīkwa *iratokoire* ūkūmbīra ngūve mana. (It is that you have become *foolish* telling to give it to you for free.)
C: Kwa *natothiko* tene múno nī. (It is that I grew *foolish* a long time ago.)
D: *Ugītokoya* *ugītokoya* viū. (You grew *foolish and foolish* completely.)
C: Īyo nī lugha ya gwetū ūru no nginya tūgeka ūguo. (That is the language in our place, so we must do that.)
D: *Kaagura!* Anga nīguo? (Swearing) (So it is true?)
C: *Kaagura* ndūcī? (Swearing) (Don’t you know?)
D: Nīkwa ūrarega kūmba icio nūrwīra nīkī. (Why do you refuse to give me the money am asking for?)
C: Ngūriire nīngūra 220 na ndiongerera mbia! (I told you I’ll buy it for 220 shillings, not more!)
D: Ongerera mbia ingī nīguo mone cia kūgūra gatawa ga kūvūrvīra ingī. (Increase that money please so that I may get some money to buy some pesticide.)
C: Nǐkwa ŋuragūra ge gakwa? (Is the pesticide that you are buying mine?)
D: Mongerera mbia! (Give me more money!)
C: We tiga ŋuviči! (Grow up!)
D: Ūkimbira ngūthirīrie ŋuviči na nǐkwa ute mbia! Riũ nǐwatoka, nǐgūtoka ŋuratoka. (You tell me to stop immaturity while it is you who has no money! Now you are stupid, you are getting stupid.)
C: Kwa namgũthia riũ nǐmūgūra 150. (I’ll now lower its price, I’ll now buy it at 150 shillings.)
D: Rete maŋi rĩmbi na ŋuwa ńgũtiga ŋuμũra ŋuam. (Give me that 200 shillings that you were talking about.)
C: Ůkwa ŋuva ŋi vundaga ŋi inse. Nǐkwa arĩ nũti? (What is it?)
D: Ůrera andũ ŋi mënūtĩ atia? Atĩ mĩmbia ntheid! (Why are you telling people that it’s poor quality? That it is that which makes balls bloated?)
C: Ůravandaga andũ ŋi mîtĩ mūtiŋĩ ava ati ůkūnauga nĩ mūgũka. Ůyũ nĩ mūgũka? (You are planting normal leaves for people and claiming it is múgũka*. Is this múgũka*)?
D: Aiyai! múndũ ŋũ ndũkathũkiri thoko! (Don’t spoil my chances of selling!)
C: Na ŋdiongerera mbia, nǐkwa ŋūgūtiga kumenderia ŋutoko ŋyũ waku. (And am not increasing the money, you’ll stop selling me this nonsense of yours.)
D: Mūndũ ŋũ waririe na ndũrargũra ongerera ŋigana ŋūkiniŋĩ na mūrara, naniŋ mone mbia. (You are talking so much and you are yet to buy, give me 100 shillings more and go with miraa so that I may make some money.)
C: Ůkivandaga ntheid ta ino. Nĩngũva magana maiři. (For these balls that you have planted! I’ll give you 200 shillings only.)
D: Rete mbia tu we. (You just give me the money.)
C: Ůtuti ŋiwambaŋi. Nwa nĩ sawa tu rete mbia nĩnētkĩra. (And you dog have conned me, but it’s okay give me the money I give in.)
C: Ůfĩ. Nawe ŋuvianda tũmĩraa tũaro gũkĩra ŋũ.
D: No ati nîwambeniaî. (*Taking the money*) (You have taken advantage of me.)
C: Oca mbia! (*Giving the money.*) (Take the money!)
D: Nî sawa tu we. (It’s Okay.)
RECORDING FOUR

Participants: Mixed-sex

Age: Young (18-25 yrs.)

Education level: Lower education

G: Rũũ ũno ũvana ũũ ũrenda ũtũke atĩa? (Now this (miraa) that looks like this what do you want us to do?)

H: Niwe ũkũmbĩra. Niĩ ũruĩa ũrenda... (You will tell me. What I want...)

G: Aaah! Kĩgũra ndũũŋigĩ we! (Leave it alone! Hey!)

I: Êka aŋiriĩ, miraa ũno, Njũũ ũte mũũye...ũkuvaŋe ciriŋi 80, kana ũgana ũũmwe nĩ sawa. Nĩ ũma kana ũ ũma? (Do this Njũũ, this miraa, without being cheated, if you are given 80 shillings, or 100 shillings it’s okay. True or not true?)

H: Êĩũ ũgũrĩa!(100 shillings no!)

I: Nũgũru nawi! (You dog!)

G: Rũũ na nĩ ũruĩaŋe nũgũruĩre ũũciriŋi 70... (Now and I plan to buy it from you for 70 shillings...)

I: Niŋeĩma vau ũtuũrũrie! (So that we can be through with it!)

H: We tiga kũũŋa ũte mũũŋuru! (To I) (Don’t you eat without paying first!)

I: Ndũũŋuũrũve...ndũũŋuũrũve! (To G) (Go ahead and pay for it!)

G: Tiga haraka icio wĩna cio. (To I) (Stop being in such a hurry.)

H: Amba ũtũgũre. (Wait a moment.)

I: Nũňũ ũtũgũre? (Who is he keeping it for?)

G: Nĩ ũrona ũŋuũkere, andũ nũmũnuũkere, agũũ nũmũnuũkere kwoyo, ũrenda kũũŋeĩria aŋiriĩ? (To H) (You can see it’s already late, people have gone home, buyers have left to their homes, who do you want to sell to?)

I: Eh! Na nĩ aŋiriĩ ũũŋuũrũte? (Eh! Who do you keep it for?)

G: Ūruĩa ũũŋuũrũte nĩ aŋiriĩ mbũũra aŋiriĩ... (Who are you keeping it for, tell me this...)

H: Êka, Êka! (No, no!)

I: Tũũŋeĩria tiga ũũrũĩ ũcio wĩnaŋuo nawi! (Sell it to us and stop that foolishness that you have!)

H: Êka! (No!)

G: Nũũwũna aŋiriĩ? (What do you want?)

I: Nũũkũũrũa 80? Ningũũrũta 80! (Will you take 80 shillings? I’ll buy at 80 shillings.)

G: Ūruũ auga nũũkũumongerera gaŋũũm. Nũguoca 80? (This one has said she give me 10 shillings. Will you take 80 shillings?)

I: Ūruũga aŋiriĩ? (What do you say?)

G: Nawi ũtũgũre kũũte ũĩkũku koŋguwo nagiyo...wa mũthũnũ ũcio wuku... (And don’t bring that stupidity that you always have...of that dick of yours.)

I: Nũgũkuũrũ, ũŋeĩria nyũkuwe kana aguwo Nũgni! (It is late; will you sell it to your mother or your father? Dog!)
H: We kira!! (You shut up!)
G: Akorwa ūrimū ūcio waku nūguo ūrēcaga… (If that foolishness is what you feed on…)
I: Rū wana nī nī mwakīru? Nīwīčī kīvīčī nī mūrī mūraa! (Have I even tasted? Do you know I am good consumer of miraa?)
H: We Mbura tiga. (To I) (Hey! Mbura keep off!)
G: Tiga aone ūrī aīvana. Wanakorwa nī mimbia ntheke nūguo nakwīra? (Let her check the quality. Even if it (miraa) is that which makes balls bloated will you agree to what am telling you?) (taking 80 shillings)
I: Mendaga “pineapple”! (I prefer pineapple! (variety)
H: Iń ngūtīkīra. We tatiga ūndū ūcio waku! (Yes I will agree. (To I) You stop what you are doing!)
I: Atī kīria avai. (What!?)
G: Rū nītwīka afīrí, we kira! (This is what we shall do, you shut up!)
H: We tatiga ūguo ūreka, tondū nūratoka ūru! (Stop what you are doing hey, because you are behaving foolish!)
I: Nī nūkūnyima mīraa! Tiga ūgitī nawe Njūe kīgura nīgtūkīre. (You will not stop me from tasting miraa! Stop being a dog Njūe, it is late.)
H: We tatiga ūguo ūreka, tondū nūratoka ūru! (Stop what you are doing hey, because you are behaving foolish!)
I: Nī nūkūnyima mīraa! Tiga ūgitī nawe Njūe kīgura nīgtūkīre. (You will not stop me from tasting miraa! Stop being a dog Njūe, it is late.)
H: We tatiga ūguo ūreka, tondū nūratoka ūru! (Stop what you are doing hey, because you are behaving foolish!)
I: Nī nūkūnyima mīraa! Tiga ūgitī nawe Njūe kīgura nīgtūkīre. (You will not stop me from tasting miraa! Stop being a dog Njūe, it is late.)
I: Rĩu atokire, agũoka, agũoka mĩraa ndũrenda Ĭrĩwe. (Now he has been foolish and foolish, he does not want that miraa to be eaten.)
G: Tígana na ũyũ. (referring to I) (Ignore this one.)
H: Ûrĩatokire, agĩtoka, agĩtoka mĩrara ndũrenda ũwe. (What am going to do only I can tell because the miraa is mine. (referring to I) (And there is a voice (a person) I don’t recognize here.)
I: Nauga atũrĩrĩ, thũnĩ wa 70 nũmuongerera Ĭkũmi cikinakinya 80. (Am saying, on top of the 70 shillings he has, I will add 10 shillings to make it 80 shillings.)
H: Tamba ũmũrorie. (Just check it first.)
G: We endia waro. (You sell it at a good price.)
I: Nauga atũrĩrĩ, thũnĩ wa 70 nũmuongerera Ĭkũmi cikinakinya 80. (Am saying, on top of the 70 shillings he has, I will add 10 shillings to make it 80 shillings.)
H: Tamba ũmũrorie. (Just check it first.)
G: We endia waro. (You sell it at a good price.)
I: Mbere, wana Kariũki ndarãcaga mĩraa. (First of all, Kariũki (G) doesn’t even eat miraa.)
H: Nauga atũrĩrĩ, thũnĩ wa 70 nũmuongerera Ĭkũmi cikinakinya 80. (Am saying, on top of the 70 shillings he has, I will add 10 shillings to make it 80 shillings.)
H: Tamba ũmũrorie. (Just check it first.)
G: We endia waro. (You sell it at a good price.)
I: Mbere, wana Kariũki ndarãcaga mĩraa. (First of all, Kariũki (G) doesn’t even eat miraa.)
H: Nauga atũrĩrĩ, thũnĩ wa 70 nũmuongerera Ĭkũmi cikinakinya 80. (Am saying, on top of the 70 shillings he has, I will add 10 shillings to make it 80 shillings.)
H: Tamba ũmũrorie. (Just check it first.)
G: We endia waro. (You sell it at a good price.)
I: Mbere, wana Kariũki ndarãcaga mĩraa. (First of all, Kariũki (G) doesn’t even eat miraa.)
H: Nauga atũrĩrĩ, thũnĩ wa 70 nũmuongerera Ĭkũmi cikinakinya 80. (Am saying, on top of the 70 shillings he has, I will add 10 shillings to make it 80 shillings.)
I: Nauga atũrĩrĩ, thũnĩ wa 70 nũmuongerera Ĭkũmi cikinakinya 80. (Am saying, on top of the 70 shillings he has, I will add 10 shillings to make it 80 shillings.)
H: Tamba ũmũrorie. (Just check it first.)
G: We endia waro. (You sell it at a good price.)
G: Ŭĩ kĩnana kĩnana... (Joins in singing)
I: Ng’weng’we ng’we ng’we... (Continues singing)
G: Tiga nengere mündũ ũũ mbia! We cikũ ciaiku? (Let me give this guy money!
(To I) (Hey! Where is your money!?)
I: Īńi nakũva! Kīgura we ńnakũva! (I’ve given it to you! (Swearing) Hey you
I’ve given it!)
G: Aiya, wambera kũ!? (Given me from where!?)
H: Tũvanji twĩnwavewa. (Two 5 shilling coins you have been given.)
G: Gwata ava, rũ nũvũvute yatigara. (Hold here, now 50 shillings is what is
remaining.)
I: Wanarũa mĩraa ũkĩgũra, mũthuit! (Have you ever bought miraa and eaten,
arse!?)
H: ŉi ndũũ miwi? Nŵŵi thoko ŉi kwaranĩrua na kwĩgucana... (What is wrong
with you people? You know business is talking and agreeing...) I: Naniyo īragwa thogora ŉi ndũũ? (And it is what is said that price is what?)
G: Naĩ ŉi kwambia kũrũra mĩraa, rũ nĩrona ĩgũtũwa twambia... (The problem
would be starting to quarrel because of miraa, I can see now it’ll cause us to
start...)
I: Kurũ! (Dog!)
G: Kwanja wana ndirenda kũgura ũkĩari! (I don’t even want to hear you speak!)
I: Njũe wanawe urĩ mũira, Kariũki ndarĩcaga mĩraa! (Addressing H) (Njũe you
are also a witness, Kariũki does not even eat miraa!)
H: Rũ nake ŉi ndũũ kĩna thĩn? (And what is wrong with him?)
I: Ūmwakirũ? Kurũ! (Have you eaten (miraa)? Dog!)
G: Amba ũti ńkũrĩgamia ũkĩra mũndũ ũũ! We Njũe gwata mbia. (This is our business
together with this person. Njũe take this money.)
I: Ah! Thicwa! (Argh! Get fucked!)
G: We tatigana na kĩrimũ ìkĩ, tiga gũtĩndanĩrĩra na kĩrimũ! (To H) (You leave this
fool alone, don’t argue with a fool!)
I: We Kariũki! (Hey Kariũki!)
H: Nũguo rũ mba mbeceni. (That’s enough, give me the basin.)
I: Tegua atĩ tũkĩnamũva mbeceni. (Listen, now he wants the basin
H: ŉi ya rũrĩ ya kũnathimũra wira. (It (the basin) is for blessing my business.)
I: Hoo! ũĩ nũguo. (Okay! Yes it is true.)
G: Na tũkĩgayana wanakorwa ŉi kĩratathi mũndũ agĩkira. Ikara ntũi Njũe. (And
then we’ll share even if it’s a paper bag and each will be satisfied. Sit down
Njũe.)
I: Ikara ntũi! (Sit down!)
G: Namo marĩa me varĩa makagũrũwa ŉi ũrũkũ? Thicã! (What about those
traders there who will buy from them? Fuck!)
I: Kira we ūri *kurū!* (Shut up you are a *dog*)
G: Tigana nake! Rete mīraa we. (Leave her alone! Bring that miraa.)
I: Tiga we Kariũki! (Keep off Kariũki.)
G: Nũguo nũguo nũguo, maũndũ ama nĩmathire. We nĩtũthĩi. (That’s enough, let these things stop. *(To I)* You let’s go.)
RECORDING FIVE

Participants: Mixed-sex

Age: Young (18-25 yrs.)

Education level: Lower education

J: Rūrī, madamu, nyina wa kana, tambīra atīrīrī, mūraa ūũ nūkūmenderia? (Now madam, mother of a child, tell me, will you sell me these miraa?)
K: Rete mbia! (Give me money!)
J: Ūrenda cigana? (How much do you want?)
K: Rete matano! (Give me 500 shillings!)
J: Aaaai nyũkwe! (Swearing) Atī matano!? (Your mother! Five hundred!?)
K: Matano! (Five hundred!)
J: Mūraa rīrīa yambirie kuma mbaũ mbaũ yani ūrambīra Jirongo!? (While miraa is going for as little as twenty you are asking for 500!?)
K: We īrauma mbaũ kū, īrauma mbaũ kū mūraa!? (Where is it going for twenty, where is miraa going for twenty shillings?)
J: Haiyaani! Mwaṭhani! Kīgura! (Swearing) (Jesus!)
K: Tarete kīa matano! (Give me 500 shillings!)
J: Nyũkwe nginya varīa ūguo nītwendagīrio ciringi vīvute vīvute kīrai kīgīma gīkīvange, tīga gīkī ēte kīvange. (Swearing) (Even there, they were selling to us at 50 shillings a whole basin properly sorted, unlike this of yours that is not even properly sorted.)
K: Wambe ūmenye nī kūraringana na mūraa-ī. (You need to know first that it depends with (the quality) of miraa.)
J: Mūndū! (Hey!)
K: Kwa kūraringana na mūraa ūrīa ūvana! (It depends on how that miraa looks like! (The quality)
J: Nī ngūveneria ndūi. Mūraa ta ūyū-īrī, kwa ūkuona ūvana afa na ūkaroria nī ta maṭī matheri. (Why lie. This miraa, how do you think it looks, and when you check it looks like common leaves only.)
K: Wee ūũ nī mūraa, kwa ūtaronu nī mūraa ūũ tī kīnyenyi. (Hey, this is good quality, don’t you see these are not common leaves.)
J: Kagura kwa ūtangīamba uthīi urorie rangi iria ūrīa ivana! (Why don’ you go first and check all those good colours. (Good quality in the market)
K: Ūũ nī mūraa tī kīnyenyi! (This is good quality miraa it is not common leaves!)
J: Rangi imwe iraūka cia nguvu nguvu nguvu mbaro… (Some very good quality (colour) is coming to the market.)
K: Nīwenda kūmbē mbeca cigana? Kwa ūkūendaga kūrūta cigana? (How much do you want to give me? For how much did you want to buy?)
J: Ava nwangūvere tuge, tuge nguongérerete muno nī 70! (Here I would give you, let’s say 70 shillings.)
K: Îka! Uuui îka wooi. (No! Please no.)
J: Atî ndũ nhâ wâna? (What?)
K: Îka Kîgura! (Swearing) No!
J: Haiiayai, ene! Mûndû! (Exclaiming) (Haaiya look at this one!)
K: Mongerera mbia! (Give more money!)
J: Narî! Twarie ũuma ngîvete ciringi mûrongo mûgwâna nî mbega. (No! Let’s be honest, 70 shillings is good money if I give you.)
K: Tathî ûrorie wone nî mûraa ũkwa arî kûria... (Why don’t you check and you’ll see it’s good miraa and not…)
J: Mîraa înô ona ûkâroria ivana sukuma wiki! (It is clear even if you look that this miraa is like kales.)
K: Îka wooi ũû nî mûraa mwega... ũû nî mûraa! (No please this is (good variety) miraa.)
J: Atî mûraa? Wana ũvâna ta mbare kaguri! (Good variety you mean? It looks like reject.)
K: Îka wooi ũ mbare! (No please it’s not reject.)
J: Haiya we Ngaimwathani! (Swearing) (God!)
K: Wooi matoko-î, Kîgura-î! Ūû nî mûraa! (Swearing) (This is (good) miraa.)
J: Aiyaiyaiyaiya! Baba wana nûnumûrevo! Kana nî atîa? (My father, you have even insulted me or what?)
K: Nengera mbia! (Give me money!)
J: Ai îka twarîe ũuma nî ngûva ciringi cigiste! (Let’s be truthful I’ll give you 60 shillings.)
K: Îka ndingtoa icio! (No I can’t take that amount!)
J: Kîrai angîkorîo kîrauma ciringi vîvute-rî, wana ũkwa nîrugûra nûndû nî mûtheratheru. (If a basin is costing 50 shillings, am buying it at a fairer price from you because it looks a little bit more sorted.)
K: Îka icio ndingfoa! (No I can’t take that amount!)
J: Nûndû wa kî Żru? (Because of what?)
K: Icio ndingfoa roria mûraa ũria ũragûrwa! (I can’t take that; consider the current price of miraa!)
J: Aiyâ ũma ũngûreva ava, ava nûkûvîngûca ngiaria ũma! (If you truly don’t take this, you will really mess yourself truly!)
K: Îka wooi (Oh! No!)
J: Nûkûvîngûca ũngûta mbia ino nyina wa kana... (You will mess yourself if you don’t go with this money mother of a child.)
K: Îka wooi... (Oh! No!)
J: Aiii! (Exclaiming.)
K: Ngûrîra mûraa wega, gûra wega. (Buy from me at a good price, buy well.)
J: Narî, narî! (No, No!)
K: Gûra wega, ngûrathimûre mûraa! (Buy from me at a good price that I may bless miraa for you.)
J: Kagura ndingîongerera mbia icio! (Swearing) (I won’t increase that amount!)
K: Gūra mūraa wega, gūra mūraa wega. (Buy miraa at a fair price; buy it at a fair price.)

J: Aii mwaitū kwa ũkwenda kwāga atī ciana ititua mwathi ũkīrega mbeca!? (Mother do you want to make it that children will not take breakfast as you refuse to take money.)

K: Ïka gūra mūraa wega wanawe avai, tiga kũnginy ũrī namũkire thaa cigana? (No, you buy miraa at a fair price, don’t be such hard on me, do you know what time I woke up?)

J: Tī gūgūkiny ũrī na kana ingūkiny ũrī nĩkĩka ũkĩruka? (It’s not being hard on you mother of a child why would I be hard on you?)

K: Thaa kenda cia ũtukũ ũydĩ namũkire gũtua mũraa ũyũ! (I woke up at three in the morning to harvest this miraa!)

J: Rũ wana waramũka thaa kenda cia ũtukũ ũreciria tumire macakũ thaa cigana? (Even if you woke up at 3 a.m. what time do you think we left Nairobi country bus station?)

K: Ïka wooi tafadhali tu. (Ooh! Please no.)

J: Na tũrere kũu tũkĩmbare! Tiga ũguo twatiga mbare! (And we spent the night there selling miraa. And we have left very poor variety.)

K: Gūra mūraa waro! (Buy miraa at a fair price.)

J: Ngai ũrĩa ũqūgũru ũqekinyia macakū, nĩ ũndĩ ũngĩmenya nyina wa kana. (God in heaven if you were to visit Nairobi country bus station, that’s when you would know mother of a child.)

K: Wana Ngai ndecĩ ndingĩtikĩra kũendra mũraa ũguo Kagura. (Even God knows that I can’t sell miraa that price.)

J: Haiyaani Ngai Baba! (Exclaiming) (God the Father!)

K: Nengeria mbia! (Give me (good) money!)

J: Ndũthi kwĩ athuri ari a monthe wone ũrika maramĩgũra! (Go to all those gentlemen and witness the price at which they are buying it!)

K: Ïka wooi, nengeria mbia! (Oooh no, give me (good) money!)

J: Aii naari ndingongeca mbeca icio. Tafadhali tu akorwo ũkwenda wega, menderia… (No I won’t increase that money. If you please want, sell me…)

K: ũguo nakwũra… (At the price am telling you…)

J: Wana ũngĩndigĩthia guo, Ngai ũrika ũrišũru ũkwũvũŋĩca! (If you make me miss buying it, God in heaven you’ll mess yourself up!)

K: ũguo nakwũra naguo nĩ mũraa mwega… (What am telling you is, this is good miraa.)

J: Haiya nyũkwe! (Exclaiming) (Your mother!)

K: ũũ nĩ mũraa mwega wana uoretie ũguo… (This is good variety miraa just by looking at it.)

J: Nĩkwa ũkwenda atĩ kũreka atĩ? (Now do you want to refuse (selling to me)?)

K: ũũ nĩ mũraa mwega wana uoretie… (This is good variety miraa just by looking at it.)

J: Roria macambĩki marĩa monthe kwa marũgamiite maŋĩtəŋĩra…makũragna ũrika ũkwũmũruka mũraa nĩkiĩ nĩrakũva mbeca. (Look at all those sellers who
are spectating wondering who will buy from them and that is why am giving you this money.)

K: Tarũ wana nũkwa marakũvenia nĩguo ũrege mũraa nĩguo nthiĩ nĩmanengere. (Some of them are deceiving you; they want you to decline buying from me so that I can take it to them.)

J: Kagura! (Swearing)

K: Ndũrege kũruta mbeca wone nĩmanengere. (You just keep your money and you’ll see I’ll take it to them.)

J: Ngaimwathani we nũkũvĩngĩca ũgwĩre ũuma. (Swearing) (God the ruler you will mess yourself let me tell you the truth.)

K: Nĩngũmavirĩra…nĩngũmavirĩra mũraa! (I will take to them…I will take this miraa to them!)

J: Aaaaii geria wone, geria wone tu. (You try, try and you’ll see.)

K: Nĩngũmavirĩra…nĩngũmavirĩra mũraa ũthi ute kĩrĩa… (Then produce money. You’ll see I’ll bless miraa for you and you’ll go without…)

J: Ino cionthe ingĩ nĩrakũnengera ciringi cigiste. (Am giving you all this money 60 shillings.)

K: Ruta mbia, ruta mbia mbega! (Give me good money.)

J: Kagura Ngai kwa atũrathimĩte! (God has really blessed us!)

K: Ika ongerera mbia ngagũrĩre ciana ũria. (No increase that money that I may go and buy my children some milk.)

J: Tiga kwenda gũkarita vau! (Don’t desire to become stupid!)

K: Ongerera mbia! (Increase that money!)

J: Tondũ mbura ũraura kura kura ũkũva ũgitũra manjĩ. Kwa ũraũka gũka mana mana mana atĩ na ngĩkũva mbeca ino nũkwa ũrarega, nokwa ũgethire, mũndũ ũũ ũkarita! (Because rain is just pouring and pouring you don’t even need to water miraa. It is raining for free free free, and when I give you this money you refuse to take it, and you have really harvested. You are being stupid!)

K: Ika ongerera mbia ngagũrĩre ciana ũria. (No increase that money that I may go and buy my children some milk.)

J: Tiga kwenda gũkarita vau! (Don’t desire to become stupid!)

K: Ongerera mbia! (Increase that money!)

J: Iria wanakathĩũ ũgũre ngirathi igĩrĩ igĩrĩ igĩrĩ, cia twendi twendi… (If you went and bought three glasses of milk each at 20 shillings…)

K: Mmh (Mmh)

J: Nũwatigaruwa na… kĩvaũ kĩa ũmugate! (You would still be left with…20 shillings for a loaf of bread!)

K: Ika wooi, ongerera mbia! (Oooh no, increase the money!)

J: Ya! Wewee! (Exclaiming)

K: Ongerera mbia, ma Njũkĩ ongerera mbia! (Increase that money, Njũkĩ increase the money!)

J: Athica! Ndĩngĩongera ciŋĩŋi wanangekwo atĩa. (Swearing) (Fuck! I won’t increase the money whatever they would to me.)

K: Matoko-ĩ nĩ mbĩka atĩa? (Swearing) (What will I do?)

J: Woyooiyo! We kwa ũgwĩĩkũra akorwo nũkwenda mbeca icio, ngĩnengere cio wařĩme…tũthirie nthoko, tene ni tene ona mbura nũkũona ũria yũkĩte. (What
you will do is agree to take this money, that I give it to you once and for all, and we finish this business, the earlier the better you can even see that rain is about to fall.)

**K:** Ongerera, nũkuona nĩ gütwigire kura. (Increase the money, you can see it has stopped raining.)

**J:** Aiíi-i! mũndũ! (Exclaiming.)

**K:** Ongerera mbia, ngwítíkírië mũraa. (Increase the money and allow you to go with miraa.)

**J:** Îka ndingíongeca mbere ya vau akorwo nũkwenda mbeca uga, cash cash, twĩ kandi. (No I won’t give more than that if you want money take it now.)

**K:** Ongerera mbia we! (Increase the money hey!)

**J:** Tũrikie mathabu acio. (Let’s finish this calculation.)

**K:** Ika ongerera mbia we! (Increase the money!)

**J:** Na nĩngũra, nĩngũra ũkĩonaga live live! Kagura! (Swearing) And am going to buy it as you look with your own eyes.)

**K:** Rũ nĩ wambia gウィkania atia? (What are you up to now?)

**J:** Wooo, Ngaimwathani! Tokwa ũregua ta mathe! (Swearing) (God the ruler maybe you think am joking.)

**K:** Kũu tí gĩčirani gia kĩroko. (Isn’t that starting my morning in such a bad way?)

**J:** Kwa tũngíetíkíra ngũvěe mǐcara. (Let’s agree that I give you this money.)

**K:** Ûcio nĩ wĩra ũrĩkũ? (What kind of deal is that?)

**J:** Icio mbeca ngũvete…tarete Njerũ! Njerũ! (The money that I’ve given you… Calling while beckoning) Hey! Njerũ bring that!

**K:** Kĩgura ndingítičíra kwendía mũraa ũcio ũguo kwa ũkuongera! (I won’t agree to sell that miraa at that price; you will have to increase the money!)
J: Rete! Rete! Rete miraa tigana na madamu ŕũ kwa aratinda akîthokora. (Beckoning) (Bring! Bring this miraa; leave this madam alone she keeps on taking me in circles demanding more money.)
K: Ongerera mbia! (Give more money!)
J: Aaargh! Gûtirî kîa múthemba ŕucio! (There’s nothing like that!)
K: Ongerera mbia! ŕutige ÿvîčî! ŕutige ŕutokou! (Increase this money! Stop immaturity, stop stupidity!)
J: Ti ÿvîčî! Ngai ŕûria ŕûgûrû nìrakùva mbeca cia mana… (It’s not immaturity; by God in heaven am giving you free money.)
K: Ongerera mbia. (Give more money!)
J: Kišoko. Kwanja rîu ona kamûraa aka kegana atìa? (Give more money!..free money)...in the morning. Wait a moment is this miraa even enough?)
K: Ndûrona nî múraa, ndûrona kwanja wana nî kîndû kîtheru? (Don’t you see it’s good variety, don’t you even see it’s something clean (properly sorted)?
J: Aaaaii! Kûmbîa! (You want to steal from (deceive) me!)
K: ŕutige ŕûkûvî! Ongerera mbia! (Increase this money!)
J: ãNNûtuu mwathi ingûkûveu mîcara! (If you had taken breakfast, I would have given you money!)
J: Kîrai gîkî na gîkî na gîkî na kîra n Kagura nagûra ciringi magana maîrî cionthe! (This basin and this one and this and this and that I have bought them all at 200 shillings!)
K: Mündũ ndaugaga îngî niaoongerera cigan. (You should be saying how much money you want to add on top of what you are offering.)
J: Rîu âî îno yaku na nîrakûva cigiste nûrarega. (Now you refuse to take 60 shillings for your basin.)
K: Varîa ûgûrîre nîkwa mündũ arûgamaga? (You don’t just give one figure when buying and become rigid.)
J: Aii rîu ûrenda ìgana riumekû Kagura!? (Where do you want 100 shillings to come from?)
K: Ongerera, ongerera mbia ngûtkîrîre miraa. (Increase the money and I’ll allow you to go with miraa.)
J: Aiî! We! We! We! Mündũ! (Exclaiming) (You!)
K: Ongerera mbia ngûtkîrîre miraa. (Increase the money and I’ll allow you to go with miraa.)
J: Githe múcîi vatikoragûo naava Iriamûrai? (Isn’t your home just here at Iriamûrai?)
K: Tiga kûmbîra Iriamûrai kwa nyumire kuo magûrû na mbûkire na ngari? (Don’t tell me about Iriamûrai? Do you think I trekked, didn’t I travel by a vehicle?)
J: Ndû ûva ûguo eeeeh thana î maîra maumire Ìkambere? (What! Just here, you’re joking! What about those who came from Ìkambere?)
K: Nyumire kûu na ngari mbakagia ngiuragîrwa, ya! (I tavelled by vehicle and I was rained on!)
J: Ü maîra maumire Ìkambere? Na maûkire by foot naûtukû! (What about those who came from Ìkambere by foot and at night?)
K: Ùrona nî múmamu, nîmûvingu ritho? (Do you think I’ve slept even a wink?)
J: Na maravewa mbaû mbaû mbaû! (…And they (from Kambere are selling at 20 shillings!)
K: Mbakagia wana mwathi wana roko mbakagia ndi mûrutu. (I’ve not even taken breakfast.)
J: Ìka wana nîngûkîrûta rîu rîtî na thina twarîkania thogora. (I’ll buy you breakfast once we are through, no problem.)
K: Ongerera, ongerera mbia ngûtkîrîre miraa. (Increase the money and I’ll allow you to go with miraa.)
J: Aii we tiga… (Hey! You stop it.)
K: Ùû ni múraa avai! (This is good miraa!)
J: Aaaa avai ndûtige nginya Gacherû aramenderia 30… (You know Gacherû is selling it to me at 30 shillings.)
K: Ndûabe ürûme wîgûe. (Why don’t you taste first and you’ll see what am telling you.)
J: Irai iria! Nawe nírákuva ìtandatũ tondũ kwa ge katheru kiasi. (Those basins (of miraa)...Am giving you 60 shillings because yours is a little bit sorted.)
K: Ongerera mbia! (Increase that money!)
J: Na níráraũga! (And you don’t want!)
K: Ongerera mbia ngüßtkârie mùraa. (Increase the money and I’ll allow you to go with miraa.)
J: Na芉 wooi mündũ...ndingüßûkîra kuongeca tu. (No please...I won’t agree to give more.)
K: Ongerera mbia! (Increase that money!)
J: Tafadhali tafadhali tafadhali! Roria tu nginya ama ní makûmũ. (Please please please! Just look, your miraa is not all that top quality.)
K: Roria wone ūū nî mùraa múthembũ úříkũ. (Check and see what variety of miraa this is.)
J: Nwanginya úthí ãgacanivũe. (It must first go and be sorted carefully.)
K: Úū nî mûraa, tĩ kamûraa, tĩ manyenyi. (This is good miraa, not leaves from the wild.)
J: Úyũ, ūũ nwanginya ãcanivũe tafathali. Roria tu. (This must be carefully sorted first please. Just check.)
K: Ongerera mbia nawe. (You increase the money.)
J: Mbeca ício rũ wa nãi kandi mwisho nwanga na nguonererere kîvaũ, kana ũkũmi. (That money can’t go above that, I have reached my limit, maybe I will increase by 20 or 10 shillings.)
K: Kwa ũgûtu kí ãmùthembũ ũríků? (What kind of clitoris are becoming?)
J: Êni, tiga āgîtû! Tûkwa wî wa ki-sure. (Yes, stop being a dog! It is not that you are hot.)
K: Êno nî mûraa ya kuma mbia cia múthembũ ũcîo? (Is this miraa worth such kind of money?)
J: Kwa nî wa ki-sure angîkorkwa nírákuğûrîra mûraa ũguo. (I’m such hot if am agreeing to buy that miraa from you at that amount.)
K: Ongerera mbia, ongeza pesa! (Increase that money.)
J: Na芉 ndingûtongecã! Aaaaii. (No I won’t!)
K: Ngûräthimũřre mûraa ũkendie. (So that I bless it and you’ll go and sell.)
J: Nguonererete blue nayo nûkûregã? Aaaaii! Thicwa! (Am increasing by 20 shillings and you’re still refusing? Fuck You!)
K: Ongerera!! (Give more!!)
J: Ndikuongera cíngĩ! (I won’t give more!)
K: Êka nûkuongera, nwambakagĩa wongerere! (No you will, you must increase!)
J: Ndikuongera cíngĩ Ngáiů rîa ūrigûrů! (I won’t give more by God in heaven!)
K: Nombakagĩa wongerere. (You must increase!)
J: Aaaaii we! (You!)
K: Nwambakagĩa ciongererewe! (It (that money) must go up!)
J: Kwa ingĩ nguonerera nginya va? (Up to which point will it increase?)
K: Roria wone nĩ mũraa. (Look this is good miraa.)
J: Tūrarĩ cigisterĩ, nakuongerera kĩvaũ ikinye 80, na nūraruŋa. (We moved from 60 shillings, I offered you 20 shillings so that it reaches 80 shillings and you still refuse.)
K: Roria wone nĩ mũraa tĩkwa arĩ kamũraa kau. (Look at it, it is good quality miraa.)
J: Wanakorwa, kwa wĩ wa mūthemba gani? (Even if it were whatever variety.)
K: Ûcio nĩ mũraa. (That is good miraa.)
J: Tigaa ũrimuu! (Stop stupidity!)
K: Nũtiko ũrikuĩ? (What foolishness is this?)
J: Mavira! Mũndũ! (Swearing) (Pus!)
K: Nūrũṁĩ, nūrũmi mwana mũndũ avai. (This is farming my friend this is farming.)
J: Tigaa mbũrĩ! Tigaa mbũrĩ! (Stop madness! Stop madness!)
K: Amba ũrorie. (Just have a look first.)
J: Tigaa mbũrĩ! Mũndũ ambia kuma ngoma anga ambagĩrũria waũguo! Ūngĩndia mũraa ũyũ mbere ya vau, kwa wĩvokete, kwa ũraũkũte na thina cionthe cia mũciĩ? (Stop madness! When someone is becoming insane, they behave just like you are doing! If you sold this miraa at an amounthigher than that, what are you hoping, is it that you came with all the problems in your house?)
K: Kwa ũtaraona nĩ mũraa nawe? Kĩndũ kiega nĩ ko kĩendagia. (Don’t you see it is good quality? A good product sells itself.)
J: Aaaii nwa anga nĩ ũraĩ na thina cionthe cia mũciĩ Ngai ũrĩa ũrĩgũrũ! (It is as if you had carried with you all the problems from your house by God in heaven!)
K: Ûũ nĩ mũraa mbakagia wanaũtagĩte wanaũrĩ ũndũ. (This is good miraa even without you arguing much.)
J: Naŗĩ naŗĩ ya! Nginya ũguo ũru wana ndagĩka icio cionthe mũraa ũyũ ndingĩgũrũre wa tene!? (No no since all this time would I have not bought this miraa?)
K: Kĩgura ndũrorie mũraa ũcio wambe ũmenye. (Why don’t you have a good look at it first that you may know.)
J: Arũme tiga. (Leave it.)
K: Ndũũrorie wono. (Have a look at it.)
J: Wana nǐkwa ũkwenda kũvanga ũru nĩ ũndigithia mũraa ũrĩ na nũrona kwa mbura ũraura. (Gesturing) (Now you want me to miss buying all that miraa and you can see that it’s raining.)
K: Nduovore mbia! (Release the money!)
J: Úrenda ũndigithia mũraa kwĩ mũndũ ũrĩa mana mana mana. (You want me to miss buying that miraa from that person for no good reason.)
K: Nduovore mbia! (Release the money!)
J: Ũkiregaga mbeca ciakwa. (As you refuse to take my money.)
K: Ovora mbia! (Release the money!)
J: Nkwa ngūovora maita megana!? *Athica-i!* Kwa ngūika atĩ arũme!? (For how many times do I release the money!? *Swearing* what am I going to do?)
K: Kwa ũkuongerera. (You will increase.)
J: *Ngaimwathani!* Mûndû ũũ Mûrûthi ndûereithie mûndû ũũ kana nîmûika atĩa? *(God the ruler! Why don’t you convince this one or what do I do to her?)*
K: Ya! Ongerera mbia we. (You will increase that amount.)
J: Aregire mbia viũ viũ viũ! Taroria avai ndorerie, ndorerie tu! (She has refused to take the money completely. Just check it, check it for me.)
K: Ndûrona nî kîndû kiega we, wanawe ũkîroria ũguo tu? (Can’t you see it’s good miraa, just by looking at it?)
J: Kîndû kiega atĩa? mûraa ũũ kwa wî mûtheru kûrî ũũ? òyû wî ava? (Is it good really? Is this *miraa* (L’s *miraa*) better than this one, this here?)
K: Íkî nî kîndû kiega mûno! (This is something that is very good!)
J: Mûraa ũyû tî mûtheru kûrî ũyû. (This miraa is not better than this.)
K: Ya! Rete mbia! (Give good money!)
J: Naî ndîngûongeca ingî mbere ya vau ũu. wana ngînya *Ngai* nûrakuona! (No I can’t give above that now, even God in heaven can see you.)
K: Íkî ongererera. (No increase that amount.)
J: Naî ndîngûongeca indîngî mûno! (Even God can see you refusing to take this money.)
K: Icio ndîngîtîkîrâ! (I won’t accept that amount.)
J: *Wooi Ngithi!* *Mwathani!* Nî nîkwa ngûgûkundîkîrâ mûraa ũũ waku ùthi nago ũu akorwo ndûkûenda mbeca ũu. (Exclaiming, referring to his mother.) Ngîthi *Jesus* I’ll just tie this *miraa* of yours so that you leave with it if you really don’t want money.)
K: Icio ndîngûtîkîrâ! Ongerera mbia! (I won’t accept that amount increase that money!)
J: Naî wooi. Ûngûriória Mairû endia wake cigana vâria. (No please. If you knew at what amount Mairû has sold hers there.)
K: Ika ongerera tiga kũ… ((No increase that amount stop…)
J: Ngîria ūma *kagura!* (Am speaking the truth!)
K: Nîkûrînganaga na mûraa! (It depends on the quality of *miraa*!)
J: Kithe ndavewa 50 ũkîionaga? nawe nûrakûva 80! (Hasn’t she (Mairû) been given 50 shillings as you witnessed, and now am giving you 80 shillings.)
K: (Nîkûrînganaga.) (It depends…)
J: Aaaai mwana tiga tiga tiga. (No, just leave it.)
K: Nîkûrînganaga. Rete magana mârî! (It depends. Give me 200 shillings!)
J: Wee we ndûrakûva 80! (Am giving you 80 shillings!)
K: Ika ndîngûtîkîrâ, rete mârî! (No I won’t take that, give me 200 shillings.)
J: Rete kana ūkūthicwa! (Give me this miraa or get fucked!)
K: Īka kīgura rete māřī! (Swearing) (No bring 200 shillings!)
J: Kwa ngūthīg naguo kīa vinya warega! (I’ll take it by force if you agree.)
K: Īka-ī (No.)
J: Nařī! Nīguo kwa ngumūṛīa naguo. (No I’ll take it away.)
K: Rete māřī. (Give me 200 shillings.)
J: Üngīrega kwa ngumūṛīa naguo kwanja ngūrīg ūkūkinya ūñī. (If you don’t take it I’ll possess it you the vehicle (that takes miraa to Nairobi) is very near now.)
K: Īka. Rete māřī. (No. bring 200 shillings.)
J: Ya! Mūndū we we we! Tūkūaria ūma Njerū-rī, taroria mūraa ūyū. (Honestly Njerū, why don’t you take a look at this miraa.)
K: Īka rete magana māřī. Nagūtinūria ico ingī ciothe. (No give me 200 shillings. I have brought the price down completely.)
J: Aaaai nīrakwīra nīngūva 80. (Am giving you 80.)
K: Īka ndingītīkīrā 80. Rete māřī. (I can’t take 80. Give me 200.)
J: Githe tūtiauma 60 nakuungerera mbaũ? (Haven’t moved from 60 with me giving 20 on more?)
K: Īka nīrenda māřī. (No I want 200.)
J: Aaaai īka ndingionecca cīngī. (No can’t give more.)
K: Īka nūkuungerera. (You will increase.)
J: Nītūthogorane thaα ino ūñī tūthiranie, ngūve mīcara. (Let’s be over with this now and I’ll give you the money.)
K: Rete magana māřī! (Give me 200.)
J: Aaaai nīt ndikwīrire ndiongecca? (Didn’t I tell you I won’t increase?)
K: Rete mbia, rete mbia we! (Give me that money, you give me that money!)
J: Gwata mbia na tūthiranie. Kwa ngūicīrīrie ūkīrwo ū rī mūthuri. (Take this money so that we’re done.)
K: Nī sawa! (It’s okay!)
J: Nī kamili? Nīwandathimūra thoko? (Is it okay? Have you blessed it that I’ll go and sell?)
K: Nī kamili sana kīgura! (It’s very good) (Swearing)
J: No ați nīwamība naĩ mūno. (But you have done me very bad.)
K: Īka! (No!)
J: Wee! Ya! (Exclaiming) You!
RECORDING ELEVEN

Participants: Female

Age: Young (18-25 yrs.)

Education Level: Lower education

W: Îñ nîatîa Maima. (Greetings Maima.)
X: Nî kwaro Jane. (Am fine Jane.)
W: Nîmbîra âtâ, ūvorî wa matukû. (What’s up? How have you been?)
X: Îka nî mbûkîre thokorî kwendia múraa. (I came to the market to sell miraa.)
W: (Inaudible)
X: Ìgî wananî fûraugire… (I have also decided…)
W: Rûrî wananî mbia ino ciakwa fûraugire nyambûrûrie kawîra, ūru na nûrenda nthîi direct na ngari cia Kitui nîkwa nîregwîre mûndû aramba kwândîkithia, na ūmûntûl kûgandûte… (I also decided that this little money of mine, I should start a business. Now I want to travel express with vehicles heading to Nairobi, but I heard that someone must register (by paying) yet today the business is not good.)
X: Mûno! (Very true!)
W: Na tondû nînakwona na ūtûraga wî mûrata wakwa Kûrîtirî-rî, nîî nîwatigire kawâida ngîvûraga ūrwaya, îkanangia aûrîrî, ndîgârîtie kàrai gîkî… (And now that I’ve seen you and you’ve been my friend at Kûrîtirî for long, the last time we met you left me whoring myself, do this, I just need only one more basin (of miraa)
X: Kûmwe. (One.)
W: Nîmenda wîke ūguo, na irai ici cionthe ūrona nyûmbîte ava, ngûrîte na ciringi 150 150 150. Ūru gîaku tondû ūrî mûndû wakwa-rî, ndûmbeyo na īgana, nîgetha guo ngânde gûkinya Macakû (I want you to do this, all these basins I’ve heaped here I’ve bought them at 150 shillings each. Now that you’re my friend why don’t you give me yours at 100 shillings, so that I may make it to Nairobi first…
X: Êno yakwa ûte na ngiri, tiga ūru ūrangwetera 150… (Don’t even mention 150 to me! Without a thousand for this…)
W: Nîî ndûkûndûria tondû rîrî, irai ino cionthe ūrona ava wana ûkaûria a Njûkî na a Kûnyua, cionthe tûragûra ciringi īgana īgana īgana! (You’ll not keep me because all these basins that you see here, should you ask Njuki and Kinyua, we’re buying them at 100 each!)
X: Tambe ūtîge nî, nîkwa tûkûaragia ūkûmigwataga atîa!? (Wait a moment, why’re you holding it like that as we talk!?)
W: Thira ūgûra! Kwa ūgûkaga nayo nthoko ya wîra ūrikû? Ūgûkaga na miraa ūgacoka gûcokia mûcîî? (Swearing) (Stop it! For what reason were you coming with it to the market!?)
X: Ino nĩ indo ciakwa! (This is my property!)
W: Ino mīraa yaku wana Ḣvana mũnthuranga, kagura nĩkwa ngwamba kūthiĩ kūthambia! (This miraa is full of sand, (swearing) will I go to wash it first!?)
X: Nĩngwĩkĩra ava ūguo nĩkũthi quickly (I’ll put it here and it’ll be clean!)
W: We menderia mīraa! Kwaũguo marwaya marĩa matũranga, marika kũgwũra mũthuri nĩkwa maritaga…Rũ ndũmenye mūndũ mūrũme ũcio gūti gũgũtethia aragũtethia! (You sell me miraa! So that is what happens when prostitutes get married!? They become foolish… now, you should know there’s no way that man is going to help you at all!)
X: Ingĩ ndarandũma nthkorĩ. (He’s sending me to the market.)
W: Rũrũ mīraa Ḣraũ ri na mbia-rĩ, rũrũ kĩraũ kĩraũmaga ngũrĩ igĩrĩ-rĩ ararekaga gũkũva nĩkũ? (Why didn’t he send you when miraa had high prices, when a basin was going for 2000 shillings!?)
X: Ingĩ nĩraũkaga! Ingĩ nĩraũkaga! (I was coming!)
W: Wanawe ũrĩ kigura gĩtaku muno! Nĩkĩo nĩmwũrũra mũcanũke! Mūndũ mūrũme arakũva mīraa ũke ũmwenderie! (Swearing) (You’re a very foolish clitoris! That’s why I tell you people to style up, a man gives you miraa to come and sell it for him!)
X: Nũrĩ kigura na nĩkũ ũramona… (Am a clitoris and that’s why you see me…)
W: Ţũ rũ kĩo! Ūrũ kĩo! ghasia! Rete! (Yes you are! Give it!)
X: Wana ndũkũguũra! (You’ll not buy!)
W: Twaũra andũ menyu makuũre ũcio nyenyi! (Take that to your people to eat those green leaves!)
X: Nĩ ũnatinigire kũvuũra ľurwaya! (I stopped whoring!)
W: Menderia mīraa tiga kigura! Menderia mīraa ũguũre műtu, wanakorwa ndũkuũria mbia, ũthiĩ varĩa kosoũrũ woce műtu na maguta, warũũ ũthũnũya rũa gũtũnda ava ũgũtoka wũkũrũtũie mīraa ava! (Sell miraa to me and stop that foolishness! Sell it to me so that you can buy flour, if you don’t want money, just go to that shop and take flour and cooking oil, just now stead of being stupid and keeping miraa here!)
X: Rũu nũrangũrũra wega kana nũgũra nogĩtũ ũcio wũnaguo!? (Are you really buying, or will you buy with that pretentiousness that you have!?)
W: Mīraa nĩrugũra ciriŋi ñgana! Kwanja ũrũ nĩmũgũrũte na ũgana rũa vũvũte! (Am buying that miraa at a hundred! I’ve bought that miraa at one hundred and fifty!)
X: Mmmh!
W: Nũregua!? We kĩrũgũ we, gwata ciriŋi ñgana wũnũkũrũre ciana! (Do you hear!?) You uncircumcised take this one hundred and go home to your children!
X: Nũwũcũ ingĩ wana wamũbũa kĩrũgũ nĩmũnũka gwakwu!? (Do you know even if you call me uncircumcised I’ll go to my home?)
W: Tiga kigura! Na ũrũgũ ũcio nĩguo ũrαtũmũre ũrutwe tãũnĩ, aŋĩ wũnũkũgũ gĩcũgĩ! Kwa ũrũ kuruũ mũthũmũba ũrũkũ we!? Nĩ wĩrũ mũrũtu, twaugũre tũtũkaũrũtũ kuma twang’arũwa kigũrũ, nũwũnũkũ gĩcũgĩ ũkũnũrũma ngũnĩ mũgũngũ ũcio wakũ ũgambe twa! (Stop foolishness! And that you’re not
circumcised made you agree to be taken away from town and back to the village! What kind of dog are you!? It’s a very difficult job, we said we’ll never do it since we went through clitoridectomy, you’ll go home dig and dig until your back breaks!)

**X:** Nwa nūramenya wanawe  ūrī ngīti tondū ērāmbīta ngīti ūgwatire mīraa yakwa ya ndūi!? (Do you know, as you call me dog you’re also a dog, why are you holding my miraa!?)

**W:** Nī nīkwa naũka gūkūgūrīra tu tondū nīrona  ūrī ēgandire… (I’ve come to buy from you and rescue you from too much waiting…)

**X:** Ndī mūgandu nī! (Am not tired of waiting!)

**W:** Ēgandire,  ūkīganda na mīnyamū nī manyenyi! (You’ve waited and waited and your miraa is just common leaves!)

**X:** We kīgūra tīga gūnthūkīria thoko! (Swearing) (Don’t make me lose market!)

**W:** Ŭgūdwa kīgūrī ūcīo nīguo wātūmaga ngīnay wīnūkwe gīcagī we! Nīkwa nīramiagine ūrī mūndū mūrūmē arākūenjoy, ăgūkūrīrāgē ați mūbūra nīraurīre! (That pretentiousness of yours is what made you to be taken back to the village! Am imagining how a man was able to pull your leg, telling you that it’s now raining!)

**X:** Kwaguo gūkū marwaya mena mbia takī, wanani… (So, prostitutes here are making good money!)

**W:** Mūno, mūno! Mbiashara ya mīraa kīguri ndīna namba! (So much, so much! miraa business is nothing!)

**X:** Nīkwa wanawe… (So, even you…)

**W:** Kīgūra! Gūkū tūcānūkīte mūno tondū mūndū mūrūmē tōciō wakū, nūmwendia mīraa, arābu nīgūmāmūcūna ngīri! Na nwanakwīrāgē ūtīge kūthīī kūgūrwā! (We have really styled up here because for instance, that husband of yours will sell miraa, and then he’ll come to me and I’ll take that thousand! And I had warned you not to go get married!)

**X:** Kwāna mbia tūcīgūtī vandū! (There’s money we (my husband and I) have saved somewhere!)

**W:** Ěrakenua na kīrai kīgūra gīkī nīkīo nūrakwīrā tariū nīkīō nūrakwīrā ava wīra wakū nī manji! Tarīū nīguo ūrūmīte wūrīte ta ngīti! (You’re being hoodwinked with this basin, and that’s why am telling you that your work is nothing! Look at how you’ve worked in the shamba; you’re as black as a dirty dog!)

**X:** Kwāna ngīri thirty i vandū ndūūtīge nthīī ngoce cio! (There’s thirty thousand shillings somewhere, why don’t you let me go get it!)

**W:** Nīwīcī kīgūra gīkī wūrīte ta mūnjarūi!? (Do you know you clitoris are as black as a Luo!?)

**X:** Nūndū nūndathīre gīcagī!? (Because of living in the village!?)

**W:** Ini na kūrīma riūari! (Yes, and always working in the shamba in hot sun!)

**X:** AkiaNgai nwmwenye nūravīnjīre-ī. (By God you know I’ve grown thin.)
W: Nakwîra Ûrî kîgûra nginya kirû-ri nûkwenda ngûkînyinthie yo ūmûnthî? (Am telling you’re such a clitoris do you want me today to cause you…?)

X: Ūrwaya nîguo ngûkâ kûvûra kuma ntha a ino. (I’ll start prostituting from this moment.)

W: Ümenye ūmûnthî nî mûthenya wa thoko kîgûra! Nîwîcî ūmûnthî nîkwa thoko? (Note that today’s market day! Do you know today is market day!?)

X: Rû urambenereria ndikenûke!? (Are you trying to influence me that I may not go home!?)

W: Nîwîka Ûrwaya kîkî cama kwînûka, mbia ino ngûkûnengera wanandûkaume ëkû, ëmbeterere nyume Kitui, nauma Kitui ngûká… (Do this, forget going back home, this money that’ll give you don’t even leave this place, wait for me to come from Kitui, from Kitui I’ll come straight here…)

X: Nîkwa ëtûngînthî ngendie kírai gíkî ëlakwa kuô! (Why don’t we go there so that I can sell this basin of mine there?)

W: Nîwîka, tigiti nayo nûrûta kû na ñdingîgûkôvithia mbia ngûi! (Okay, where will you get bus fare from and I can’t loan you, you dog!)

X: Üreciria ndîna mbia!? Mbiā nînacio! (You think I have no money!? I have money!)

W: Íció ciî na mûndû mûrûme! Rû mûndû mûrûme akûvenirie atî ûgîkûa kwendia irai… (That money is with a man! A man has lied to you and now you’re selling basins…)

X: Íni nîtëgaga! (Yes, as I look for ‘male customers!’)

W: Arûmë acio nîmecî nîn njoraga ndîra! (Those men know that am a master planner!)

X: Nthiûte Kitui rû nawe tûnthî te gûtega! (Am going to Kitui now with you as we hunt for male customers!)

W: Niwîcî ëjîngà ëció nîguo ëtûmîre ngûwëre nûravitirie ënûnthîte kûgûrwa we!?! Wítuûte kûnyenyi! (You know that stupidity that you have is what made me tell you that you blundered when you allowed yourself to get married!? Making yourself foolish!)

X: Nîkwa ngûcokia kírai gíkî! Ndimûnûkia kírai! (Will I take this basin back!? I’ll not take this basin back home!)

W: Nûkûŭthî kîkwa varîa va Kûnyua kana nîatîa? (Will you go to store it there, at Kinyua’s place, or what’ll you do?)

X: Nîtûthî këkio nakhû mbia nûkûma tûkûvûraga ërwaya. (We shall head there and we shall make money as we sell our bodies.)

W: Íka nërenda twîkîre ava ëpa ërgârî mîn nërekîra ëthenya rîa gûkûa maratathi ama mengî. (No, I want us to put it in this paperbag instead of carrying such many bags.)

X: Íka nûgû! (No, you monkey!)

W: Nîrakwîra ëguo tondû warûrî, cînàa githe ndûttîgîre kwa mûthuri! (Am telling you this because, didn’t you leave your children with your husband!?)

X: Íi (Yes.)

W: A Jackie namo nûmathî ñakû? Tondû nûmagweterere, nake mûthuri nûrona nàûkire nûkwa aravaravara-ri, atî gâfîjî kana banji-ri…rû ëravanga cînàa irîe
ũrikũ? (Where will Jackline and the rest go? Because they’re waiting for you, and don’t you see also that your husband came here, and he’s hustling to make at least fifty shillings. Now, from whom do you think children are going to get food?)

X: Irio ikuo nǐngūtūmana… (There is food, I’ll send them…)

W: Hoo műkerwa műnthiire na Jane? (Okay, now people will say you went with Jane?)

X: Nǐkwā tūtavūraga ārwaya nake!? (Don’t we go whoring with her?)

W: We ndūgatūme mbiūrangwe we! (Hey, don’t expose me to an attack!)

X: Twavūraga ārwaya nake! (We used to whore with her!)

W: Tigana na ⒚ūgū utive ētambūrangu ūngũcio ūtanambiũranangithia kwĩ mûrûmeguo we! (Stop that bullshit before you make me get attacked by your husband!)

X: We nakwũra wĩna ēgura mwūngĩ mũno we! Nĩūthiĩ we! (Am telling you have a lot of bullshit! Let’s go!)

W: Kwa wamwendere mĩcũthĩ kana nĩ ndũũ kũwamwendere!? (What did you love him for, or is it his penis!?)

X: Nĩwĩcĩ wanaguo kũrĩngũkoma ūkĩgwa wĩna mûrio!? (Do you know there is one that’ll hit you and you’ll feel it is sweet!?)

W: Ŕū atĩ ārwaya ūcio wonthe ūvũre ērwaya nãku! (Right now you’re just eating miraa while I’ve not even tasted! Let’s go whoring this way!)

X: Mmh? (What!?)

W: Na wĩnũe ũkũria wĩna kũria wĩna mûndũ ūũ, kũria wĩra nĩkũrũta! (And as you go home to your children, get used to your situation!)

X: Mmh? (What!?)

W: Na wĩnũe ūkũrũnwagya nakwĩra wirĩte ta njaruũ tondũ, wana nĩregua ūkũnũngua kĩgege we! Wananũrungnĩgwa ūgurũrũlu! (And as you go home, remember I told you you are as dark as a Luo, I can even feel you smelling bad, very bad!)

X: Ndũvũvagĩrũra maraci mũno! (I use body spray many times!)

W: Nũndũ wa kũthiĩ kũrĩmã gĩcagi! Ūragendaga kũrĩmã gĩcagi nĩ gótoka! (Because of going to the village to work in the shamba! Were you doing it out of stupidity!?)

X: Nwa kũrĩmĩa mwana! (It’s just fending for myself!)
W: Kīriti ē̈ũtūrīte ūrīte mbecā cia kūrīma!? (Have been living on farming at Kīriti?)

X: Wanakuamīrīria mūgūndari!? (Did you ever bend your back in a shamba?)

W: Iria wanaʁīcia ūrīmi nī ciigana!? (How much money have you made from it?)

X: Īka wanardi ē̈ũrīga! (I’ve not made money for quite some time!)

W: Iria wanar ē̈a cia ūrī mi nī ciigana!? (How much money have you made from it?)

X: Ika wanandi ē̈ũrīga! (I”ve not made money for quite some time!)

W: Makũmbī metű me thokor! Rīu nîmendaga gũkwīra kīraĩ gīkī, nīngūgūrīra ciringi īgana ūru… (Our granaries are in this market! Now, am telling you I’ll buy this basin of yours at only one hundred…)

X: Rīmwe! (One!)

W: Na wīgān̄ire! Kana warīo nwaũnjamīri ukithi ūkũmbī̈ra atīrīũk! (And be contented! Another way, you can give it to me for free and go tell your man)

X: Eh! (What…)

W: Mūthuri, kwa netūrūra mīraa nūndū mīnyamū, yagire kīnye- (My husband, I just threw away miraa because it was declared poor quality in the market…)

X: Kīnyenyi! (Poor quality!)

W: Niī nīndurīre wakūngūrīra! Jane nīwe ūkūmbīrāga… (I didn’t get anybody to buy it from me! In fact, it was Jane who was advising me…)

X: Rīu tokwa ūkūngūrīra kanyamu tondū nīngūgūtīgūra mīraa yakwa!? (Won’t you buy me something because am leaving my miraa with you!?)

W: Jane nīwe ūkūmbīrāga anguamūre, namo ngāri nīyećūra, īria īthīhte Kītui. Rīu wananūkūmbīrāga ntiī Kītui ngeyenderie. Rīu mūthuri īkanangia atīrīũu, niī ndigūkāra gūkū gūngu derie mīraa! (Jane was the one willing to help me out, but their car was fully boarded, the one going to Kitui. She was even proposing that I go to Kitui to sell it from there. Now my husband do this, I’ll not continue staying here and selling miraa for you!)

X: Kwa nīī ītākūnjorīethī ingī īriā ngathīũi kuga kūrīa… (Will you not help me plan what I’ll go to say there…)

W: Niī ndigūkūkāra gūkū mendagie mīraa ya kīnyenyi, mba tūkuo twakwa niī njoke Kīrītirī, Jedī nūragwīrē mbia ničio arabroker mīraa nayo. Nwamenye vau mwakinyā nwanginya mūviūrananganie! (I’l not live here to sell poor quality miraa, give me my clothes so that I can go back to Kīri, Jedī stumbled on some good money and now she’s a miraa broker…And beware that when you reach that point it’ll be a tussle!)

X: Nānī nwaneminya nīnavata ya kūthī. (And you know I’ll be willing to leave.)

W: Nake Jane nīaũkka kūviūranangwa! (And then Jane will come to be attacked!)

X: Īkāvūrīrīwa nīduũ!! Nīkka ngamūrā? (What for? Will I tell him?)

W: Ngīrī ino mbigite ya kūgūra mīraa-rī, kwa yanthīra ngeka afaĩ? (What will I do when this one thousand shillings that I’ve set aside to buy miraa runs out?

X: Kwa niĩ itakarũma ciakwa! Wana mbũke na iģīrī! (Will I not come with mine, even two thousand!?)

W: We thira ūgūra īčio ndūkūndokīthīa nī! (Don’t be silly, you’ll not fool me!)

X: Ngagūkīra na iģīrī! (I’ll bring you two thousand!)
W: **Ndūkūndokithia** mīraa irauma ūguo! Oca mbia! (Don’t fool me! Take this one hundred, that’s what miraa is going for!)

X: Ndūtīhī nayo ūkīretā mīraa nūndū nūnthīnirī mūno… (Go with it and bring me money because you’ve really taken me in circles!)

W: Wanawe nīwīcī Jane **nditokaga** navota kūvūra mbakagia mūrūme ūcio waku… (You also know that Jane Mburua, I don’t play foolish, I can beat up even that husband of yours!)

X: Ndwoce ūnthi nīnayo ni…Nawe ūmenye wegua wanthi nūndū nūnthī nūnthī nūndū nūnthī kūvūra mbakagia ūchƯ kho… (Just take it and go with it, but you’ll have to give me the rest of the money later!)

W: Nān mbīcī ūrī ūkīro nūngĩ wa nūngĩ ūkīro mbu nān mbīcī ūkīro nīmba ūkīro kwī mūmũmegu! (Remember not to go make me a fool to your husband!)

X: Hahahaaha! (Laughs)
**RECORDING TWELVE**

**Participants:** Female.

**Age:** Old (40-60yrs.)

**Education level:** Lower education

**Y:** Mama nātā? (Greetings mother!)

**Z:** Nīkwega *sana*! (Am very fine!)

**Y:** Nūndetere mīrāa ūmūnthī? (Did you bring me miraa today?)

**Z:** Nīmbūkire nayo. (I came with it.)

**Y:** Kwa ūmūnthī ūroneka iviūvite aṭiāa wanandūrenda kwaria naniī? (Why do you look such angry today that you don’t want to even talk to me!?)

**Z:** Aaai! Nīrenda kwaria nawe wana nīna pirū ithano. (I want to, I even have five paper bags (of miraa)

**Y:** Kwa ūtarenda kwaria naniī ndūnguvīrīrie ingī twarie, ūmbīre aṭīrīrī, mīrāa ūramenderia aṭiāa ūmūnthī? (Why don’t you come closer that we may talk, so that you may tell me, for how much are you going to sell me *miraa* today!?)

**Z:** Mīrāa ūmūnthī kuma rūrā nyambūrīrie kuma kūrā īgūrū ngīnīya ava tūrī, mīrāa ūrań ra nmbẹi ya ngirī igīrī igīrī. (Today, since the time I started selling from the upper section of the market, to where we are now, *miraa* is selling at 2000.)

**Y:** Mīrāa īnō yaku tīga twambe tūm̖ūrīrie wega. Wambīrā nī pirū ithano? (Let us first of all check this *miraa* of yours keenly. You tell me it’s five paper bags?)

**Z:** Mmmh… (Nodding) Yes!

**Y:** Mbọna īmwe īroneka īna manjī kwa ūthūkiriẹ nthoko nīkī? (Why does it look like some of it is wet, why did you spoil the market?)

**Z:** Nīwīcī nūndenīa īmwe varīa īgūrū na nawendīa ngirī na magana manana! (Do you know I’ve sold one paper bag at the upper section, and I’ve sold it for 1,800?)

**Y:** Tigana na īcīo wendīa, niī nīnīī ūretaqīra mīrāa mama na ndūkareke tūvītane… (Leave the one you’ve sold out of this, I’m the one to whom you supply *miraa* and don’t let us fall out…)

**Z:** Īt (Yes…)

**Y:** Menderia mīrāa wega, kana ngīnagūtīganīrīa! Menderia ngirī ngirī ngirī! (Sell it to me at a good price, lest I leave you with it! Sell it at 1000 each!)

**Z:** Nīngwīra aṭīrīrī *customer*, tūtīkūthondēka ūguo nūndū mīrāa nīwīcī kwīna vandū ingīmīvīra… (Let me tell you this customer, we can’t work with that figure because you know there’s somewhere I can take this *miraa*)

**Y:** Mama kwa ākwarangia aṭiāa!? (Mother, how do you speak!?)

**Z:** Rū nītwīkā aṭīrīrī mīrāa gūra cīrīngi ngirī igīrī! (This is what we shall do now, buy this *miraa* at 2000 shillings!)

**Y:** Mama wanawee nūrenda *gūtōka*! Na niī ndūraga ngūgūrīrē mīrāa kuma vīndī ya riūwa, ngīnīya ndagīkā īnō kwaūguo tīga kūvəna takwa ūrenda kūmbīkaniya
ëguo! Na nwaniĩ mĩraa wana yağıa mbia nwaniĩ ngakügůragĩra! (Mother, now you want to be stupid! And I always buy miraa from you in all seasons, even now. So don’t behave like you want to mess me now! And it is me who will buy from you even when the prices go up!)

Z: Mba nthogora īrĩa ūkũmba, ëguo twiğůcanĩre. (Give me your price, that we may agree.)

Y: We nthogora waku nūrikũ!? (What is your price!?)

Z: Ongongerera mbeca icio! (Increase that amount!)

Y: Ùrenda atĩa!? (What do you want!?)

Z: Rete mwico 1800! (Give me 1800 shillings, no more, no less!)

Y: Ndikũrete 1800 mathe, tiga ūndeta gũkwĩguithia ndwanetĩra. (I’ll not give you 1800 mother, let me give you 1200 for each, so that next time, you’ll be supplying miraa to me, and I’ll be your principal buyer!)

Z: Na ūkũmba, nĩguo twĩkũmba, na ūndetagũrĩ! (I’ll not give you 1800 mother, let me give you 1200 for each, so that next time, you’ll be supplying miraa to me, and I’ll be your principal buyer!)

Y: Aii we mama wĩnũvira mwũngĩ mũno tondũ rũrĩ vĩndĩ ūrĩ īngĩ nwaguwo wambũrĩre mũraa yaku ĩkũthĩi kũnjina, yanũthĩi kũnjina, nũika gũkwĩguithia ndwanetĩra. (You’ve a lot of bullshit you mother because, that’s the same thing you told me that other time, then your miraa brought me great losses, and when I came back and told you, you never listened to me.)

Z: We wambire kũmbũra ciugo cia kavira-รก, ndũmbire ngwenderie mĩraa! (But you started using swearwords; tell me to sell you miraa!)

Y: Tondũ ūyio nũ lugha ya thoko… (Because that is the language of the market…)

Z: Ì (Yes.)

Y: Ìní twaremamwa ngĩoca mĩraa vandũ vengĩ. (Yes, if we don’t agree on the price I can go and buy miraa from elsewhere.)

Z: We nwaũthĩi ūgĩoca vandũ vengĩ naniĩ ngienderia customer wĩngĩ ūrĩa ngũmũnwenderia. (You can perhaps buy from elsewhere so that I can sell mine to a different customer at a good price.)

Y: Narũ ūrenda atĩa ni ndũthondeke mũraa ĩno wega twĩke atĩ… (And what do you want now why don’t you give me a good price so that we can…)

Z: Nwanginya gũkorũo nĩwe nĩrareterete mũraa yakwa we!?! (Is it a must that it was you that I had brought this miraa for you to buy?)
**Y:** Twani ūrareterete-ĩ, na nwanginya ūmenderie tondũ wananwanĩmioce wana ite na mbia... (It was not meant for me, but remember I can even take it without money (on credit))

**Z:** Vau īngī vatingũka nündũ ūmũnθī wananũrathiĩ nguruũbuĩ! Ūmũnθī ndingikwenderia na credit... (Things can’t go like that today because am attending a women’s group meeting. Today I can’t sell on credit...)

**Y:** Nündỹ wanača mbia nĩ cia nguruũbu mathe, ūmbiũre mboce miraa ngũnengere mbeça ūθīi kĩrĩari! (You know if money is for savings in your women’s group, tell me to take this miraa and give you the money so that you can proceed there.)

**Z:** Aaai vau tĩvaũka ūguo ūmũnθī, tĩvaũka ūguo ūmũnθī wananũngendaga. (No! That’ll not be the case today, even if I wanted it.)

**Y:** Ùrendia atĩa miraa īno ndaŋgĩka ya muico kana ūmbiũre ndigane nayo mbĩke atĩ... (What is your final selling price for this miraa, or tell me to leave it and...)

**Z:** Angĩkorwa nũregua ūkĩenda kũrūta mbeça wega, nĩndgũtũrũra ĵgana rĩmwe kũrī 1500, rete 1400! (If you really are interested in buying, I’ll slash 100 from 1500, give me 1400!)

**Y:** Mama nündĩ wana vĩndĩ īyo īngĩ nĩnagũtethiriɛ!? Vĩndĩ ya mũũr ţu waku ūkĩmbiri ngũvẽ mbeça cia miraa ūkĩreka kũndetere miraa! (Do you know I really helped you that other time? That time of your daughter when you told me to give you money so that you w’d bring me miraa which you never did?)

**Z:** Narī nĩŋgĩka ūguo tondũ nawi kũndũ wamɔ́bĩvĩtĩ mũthẽnya ūcũio wa vuva! (I’d have done that since you had caused me great losses earlier.)

**Y:** Aii mathe ūtũtiratwarana wega ţiũ, ūrendia atĩa ndaŋgĩka ya mwisho kana ūtǐge gũtɔka nũthĩre! (We are not heading anywhere mother, what do you want finally, or stop being stupid and let me leave!)

**Z:** Mba 1400! (Give me 1400!)

**Y:** Aaai 1400 nthi ūkenderie nyũkwẽ! (Swearing) (1400! Go sell it to your mother!)

**Z:** We customer tiga ngũvẽ kũvĩtĩ鸢 ni kĩndũ gĩcũku mũñu tũrũtanĩtĩ kuma... (Let me tell you customer, it’s not good to fall out having come that far...)

**Y:** Tũtũŋvĩtĩarı, nwa ţĩrĩ ūrarega tũnyi탄ĩre nĩkĩ! Ūrarega tũnyiтанĩre mum nĩkĩ! (We can’t fall out, but why don’t you want us to come together, why!?)

**Z:** Nũndũ wa nthogora yaku! (Because of your prices!)

**Y:** Nthogora yakwa ţi njũku, nthogora kwa andũ maragia makaŋgwatanĩra, ūkĩmęnyu rũciũ nĩńi ngekaŋĩ we ūrenda kũmbiũva nĩkĩ! (My prices are not bad, when it comes to prices, what people do is to talk and agree, bearing in mind that tomorrow I’ll be the one to sell you, but why do you want to take me at a loss!?)

**Z:** Aftĩrĩ ţi, wona nacũkĩa nthogora, ţi njimbĩra, ţi mbuvĩra, na ţi mbĩka maũndũ mengĩ kũu mũcũi! (Listen now, if I don’t sell at a good price, I’ll not be anle to prepare my farm, to spray, and do many things at home!)
Y: Ingī na nwaniī nagūkomberete mbeca vīndī iyo ūkiuga atī ngūike atī ūkagūre ndawa, rīrīa nthoko yacagacire tūramūguṟagira mīraa na 50. Nokīmbīra mathe tondū nīnīt ndūranga ngūnyītuřite, ūka atīa, ngūrīa wega, ngūnakūguṟa tondū wī mūndū wakwa! Nvarīū ūrenda kūngarūrika! (And I was the one who loaned you money when you told me you wanted to buy some insecticide, when the market became so bad and miraa was selling at only fifty shillings. And you told me to loan you some money because you knew am a good friend of yours! But now you want to turn your back on me!)

Z: Tīngūgarūrika, nwarīū nīwika atīrīri, vamwe nwaūguo tūkiarāgīa wongerere mbia ndūkambige nthī warīmwe! (I won’t turn my back on you, but this is what you’ll do, even as we talk add more money to what you’re offering, don’t just…)

Y: Nawe tiga kwenda kūvana rīri… (And you don’t be like…)

Z: Rūū ūndutire kuma kwa ngīri ĭgīrī, nakūretē 1500, nakūretē 1400… (You brought me down from 2000, I asked for 1500, and then dropped to 1400…)

Y: Tūrathīī kūringanā na ūrīa nthogora ivana ya mīraa na ūrīa mīraa nayo ĭvana. Mīraa ūno yaku wamūcūthīa ĭna manįjį, nwatwambirie kūmīnīarištīhīa, naguo ūcīo nwa wīra, nwa twambirie ĭwīka atī… vandū ī maūndū macio monthe kavī īkūndinīriā mbeca! (We’re being guided by market prices and the quality of miraa. When you keenly look at your miraa, it is wet, we must first of all dry it, and it is a task…instead of doing that why don’t you lower the prices for me!)

Z: Īno ūī business tūrārūta na mīraa yakwa nī gacàngū gacàngū! (This is business that we’re doing, and my miraa is top quality!)

Y: Īka mīraa ūno nītigārītie ndūrōna wana tīkwa ĭmīku atī…nī mīraa mītuκanu, ūtukaŋšiie vamwe na mūtī mītūri! (No this miraa is lacking, don’t you see it is even a mixture of different varieties, you’ve got even common leaves in it (poor quality)

Z: Wakwa nī mūgūka original nwakorwa nūkũenda kūmenya! (Mine is mūgūka original for your information!)

Y: Aca mathe ndūroīrie! (No mother, just look!)

Z: Īta Sammy varīa ūmūrie kana gwakwa kwanakorwa mūtī mūtūri! (Call Sammy from there and ask from him whether I grow that poor quality)

Y: Nwanga atui āria magūtuηre makūthūkūriē mīraa basi. (Maybe those people that you had hired to harvest did this!)

Z: Kwa maratuire ya mūtī mūtūri. (Is it that they plucked this?)

Y: Ū makūmī amakūntie… (Yes, all these…)

Z: Ndingūṛīkīra, tondū rīu kwa tūgūtiŋana kana tūremenwe, kana tūrenwe. Rīu kuma vau tūthīite… (I won’t accept it, now we must either agree or go our different ways! Now where we are headed…)

Y: Rīu basi nwathīre gūcāria mīraa kūndū kwīngū! Tondū tūravītānīria kūndū kīnīni, na ndūcī we ūrarega tūgucanīre nīkī… (I’d rather now go look for miraa from another place! Because we’re disagreeing over a very small issue, and I don’t know why you won’t agree to my proposal…)
Z: Riu mbia navo nituga afia? (What do we say now?)
Y: Ugwithie mbe! (Reduce that price!)
Z: Mbei urenda ithii ngingya va? (How far do you want me to reduce?)
Y: Kavi ugioca na 1200. 1200 nikietha nagenda kuri kwaruve… (It w’d be better if you take 1200 for each, so that when I go to there (to sell) and things go well…)
Z: Natiruka kuma 1400 wandete 1200, kwa ureterere customer ithii niiogo ithii ukigucagucagia mbei? (I had dropped from 1400 now you want it for 1200. Were you waiting for other customers to leave so that you can go this down?)
Y: Customer itithu mum, na wanani customer waku. (Customers have not left mum, I am also your customer.)
Z: Aai! We nutumire customer! Guku nthokwaniya kwa ureterere customer ithii! Guku nthokwaniya customer waku. (You made customers leave, even as we trade in this market you’ve kept me here for so long!)
Y: Githiitiwe urukata, mei we ureterere customer! (It is you that is being foolish mother! It is you being foolish!)
Z: Nwovire miraa uno yakwa muno! (You have held hostage my miraa, for too long!)
Y: Nakuo kuraka mungu na ngiri na mbe! (Let’s set the final price to be 1200! Let that be the price we agree on now.)
Z: Kuringana na mbe iiriia tukwigungucanira. (Depending on the price we agree on.)
Y: Githe titugwanire niiigo menye ruyu nigungweterera. (I thought we have already come to an agreement, and that I’ll be waiting for you tomorrow.)
Z: Wanaari, wanatukirutaga wira wa miraa, wana Ngai nikuwendekana vandu vau! (Even as we engage in miraa, we need to put God into this business!)
Y: Ihhaa riiri tiri Ngai tiga twambe tuguranire miraa, twarikia kuguranira ucoke umbire uvorwa Ngai tondu riiri, twambia gutoka na uvorwa Ngai-rii… (This is no time for God let’s first trade in miraa, and when we’re through you can mention about God. If we start being stupid with issues of God…)
Z: Nuronanya nginya ngari iria ukuthii nacio kiroko ni Ngai ukoragwa agutongoretie? (Do you know that even the vehicles you travel in the morning are in the hands of God?)
Y: Ngai andathimire wa kiroko riria mbukire! (God blessed me in the morning when I woke up!)
**Z:** Riu ūrīa ūgwika-rī, mbeca icio wanaũkūrūta ūkwa irangenia mūno, tondū nikwa ūjinūnte. (Now this is what you’ll do, even as you give me that money, am not so happy because I’ve already incurred losses.)

**Y:** Ŭkūrīa igūkenie tondū ūrī… (Just be happy with this offer because…)

**Z:** Twana twakwa twī cukuru, kamwe ge university, kau kengī ge secondary, na karā kengī standard eight… (My children are in school, one is in the university, the other one in secondary school, and another in class eight…)

**Y:** We mama wanadũngūririkana nwanī nakūvere mbia cia gūtwaru kamwarī gaku kau kengī!? Rō ūtūkī ūkī January nwakwa ūkambūra ūngī mba mbeca! (You can’t even remember it was me who gave you money to take your daughter to school!? And we’re now heading to January and you’ll start again to tell me to loan you some money again!)

**Z:** Kwa wambūka wega nwanginya… (Is it that whenever you do me well you must…)

**Y:** Na mūraa nwanginya ngakūgūragīra wamūnthenya wamūnthenya! (I’ll be bying miraa from you day in day out!)

**Z:** Nīguo lakīni vandū vau ūvaĩka wega kūringana naũrīa wīra ūvana. (Yes, but the way we’re trading is not good for business at the moment.)

**Y:** Nūwenda atīa? Tūtue namba cišgana? (What do you want? How much do we agree on!?)

**Z:** We mba ngiri na mārī, na rűciũ ūgūrka wimbaimbitie mbei ndagūcũkia wīra! (You just give me 1200 for each, and tomorrow you must increase that amount lest I kill my business!)

**Y:** Wanakorwa nī mūmū, eh? (And you’re really difficult, mother.)

**Z:** Mīraa nī wemaila ngirī! Tīgā kūra ūkwa ūkūrū! Kwa ūdū kūmīrīeni? (Swearing) Is it that you want my children out of school?)

**Y:** Ngwa mama wī mūmū, eh? (And you’re really difficult, mother.)

**Z:** Mūraa niũcũĩ ūrauma ngiri igĩrī!? Tīgā kūmīnĩtĩri! Kwa ūrenda ciana itikathome? (Do you know the market price of miraa is 2000 shillings!? Don’t you be such unfair to me! Is it that you want my children out of school?)

**Y:** Nī niɗirauγa ciana itikathome! Naniũ niɗukareke natuo twakwa tūtūnivie njuũrī! (I don’t intend that your children should miss school! But also make sure that my children’s hair doesn’t turn color out of malnutrition!)
Z: Kwa tūrarera ithuī aîrī... (We’re raising children, both of us…)

Y: Kwa tūrarera, ũnthondeke naniī ngũnthondeke tūtegũkinyanîrīria. (We’re raising, do me good and I’ll do you good with none of us being mean to the other.)

Z: Nawe ũrute mbeca ntheru, tondū nūranthondeka nthoko ya ũmûnthī na ya rûciū! (And you give good money, because you want good business not only for now but also for the future!)

Y: Êno nûnagûra, nva ũru nûngwendaga ũmbûre ũvorō wa ũrīa ũkanthondekagīra thoko nûkethagwa ngaûkaga mbocete guoca! (I’ve already bought this, but perhaps you should give me the prices for tomorrow so that I’d come and just pick the miraa!)

Z: Na tondū nûwagûra ëno, nûtûmîtuûre na average ya ngiri na manana! (And now that you’ve bought this, let’s give an average price of 1800!)

Y: Pîrû mbûcûru kana tûcoca!? (Is this for a well filled paper bag or just additions?)

Z: Cuma numa! (Fully fully filled!)

Y: Na ndîkandûîre mûraa múcûku mathe, tûtikavîtanie! (And don’t bring me poor quality miraa mother lest we fall out!)

Z: Nawe ndûkandûmîre mbia na mpesa tondû nîî nî mbîcî ũvorō wa andû ma mûraa. (And don’t you send money through mobile money transfer service because I’m wary of miraa traders.)

Y: We nî sawa tûtîngîvîtania! (It’s okay, we can’t fall out!)

Z: Nî sawa sawa, rûciū ũgaûka wega. (It’s okay, come safely tomorrow.)

Y: Nûguo thina waro. (Go well)

Z: Nî thengîù (Thank you!)
APPENDIX D: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@kcu.ac.ke
Website: www.kcu.ac.ke
OUR REF: C50/CE/23159/10

The Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Higher Education, Science & Technology,
P.O. Box 30040,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

I write to introduce Mr. Muturi who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. He is registered for M.A Degree programme in the Department of English & Linguistics in the School of Humanities & Social Sciences.

Mr. Muturi intends to conduct research for a proposal entitled, "A Psycho-Social Analysis of Common Kimbeere Swearwords in the Language of Traders at Kiritiri Miraa Market, Embu County."

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MIP MUKURU D. MUTURI REG. NO. C50/CE/23159/10

Committed to Creativity, Excellence & Self-Reliance
APPENDIX E: RESEARCH PERMIT

THE PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR & COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegrams: 'Districter' Mbeere South
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dembeeresouth@gmail.com
When replying please quote

REF: MBRS/EDU/12/1/VOL.1/237

DATE: 1st September, 2014

Assistant County Commissioner
KIRITIRI DIVISION

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION
MR. MUKUNI D. MUTURI REG.C50/CE/23159/10

This is to inform you that Mr. Muturi who is a Postgraduate Student of Kenyatta University
Nairobi has been authorized to carry out research in your Division.

This research is based on A Psycho-Social Analysis of Common Mbeere Swearwords in the
Language of Traders at Kiritiri Miraa Market, Embu County.

Kindly accord him the necessary Assistance.

[Signature]

Samuel Mburu
For: Deputy County Commissioner
MBEERE SOUTH SUB COUNTY

Copy to:
The Chief
KITHUNTHIRI LOCATION

The Chief
KIANJIRU MARKET LOCATION
APPENDIX F: THE MAP OF KİRİTİRİ DIVISION