PATTERNS AND MOTIVATIONS OF CODE SWITCHING IN STAFFROOM CONVERSATION: CASE STUDY OF NAIROBI AVIATION COLLEGE

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DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND LINGUISTICS,
KENYATTA UNIVERSITY.
DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this Project is my original work and has not been previously presented for examination by any other University.

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DATE: 10/03/2008
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DEDICATIONS

I would like to dedicate this work to my family; my father, my mother, my brother Frank, sisters Aggie, Sande and Hilda.
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It is with great humility that I acknowledge the inspiration and strength from God for guiding me throughout the entire work.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

ASSESSMENT- This is the process of obtaining feedback from the learners by administering tests and examinations based on what they have been taught.

CODE- A linguistic variety that is used at any instance during communication.

CODE SWITCHING- The juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. This mostly occurs between phrase, sentences and even words.

LANGUAGE NEEDS- Specific language needs of a communicator.

POWER IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS - This is the level of influence that an individual has on his or her colleagues and the ability to control or manipulate decisions.

MULTILINGUALISM- A language situation whereby a speaker has the capability of communicating in more than one linguistic variety.

SHENG'- A Speech variety that arises from the mixture of different languages and is used by speakers in Cosmopolitan areas in Kenya.

SOCIOSTRUCTURAL FACTORS IN CS- This is the way an Individual, Group or Speech Community views itself as compared to others and also how it is viewed by others in a society and which determines the level of confidence the individual or the group exhibits when with others.
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<td>Code Switching.</td>
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<td>SAT</td>
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<td>MT</td>
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<td>ENG</td>
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<td>KISW</td>
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ABSTRACT
The Study investigates Motivations and Patterns of Code Switching in a Multilingual urban setting in a College staffroom in Nairobi, Kenya. It outlines the Codes used and the Code Switching patterns in the Staffroom; the reasons for using different Codes in such a setting and the factors that determine the different patterns of Code Switching. In addition, the Study examines the influence of Variables such as Gender, Rank and Age in Code Switching and Code selection. The Study also examines the manifestation of Formal, Informal Code Switching and also the effect of ‘outsiders’ on Code Switching. All these are determined through an analysis of spontaneous speech tape recorded from College staff conversing in the Staffroom.

It is observed that speakers switch Codes in an attempt to exhibit their level of confidence, domination and also when they desire a need for Social integration and approval. It is further revealed that Formal (English/Kiswahili) and Informal Codes (Sheng'/Mother tongue) are used for different functions; Formal Codes are used to convey a more official context and seriousness while Informal Codes are used for a relaxed context and Informal contexts. The various groups; Male and Female, High and low Rank are consequently found to use these Codes in different ways. It is therefore realized that each of the Codes has a specific function and social symbolism to each individual group.

The analysis of the Data reveals that in the College staffroom, Female Speakers tend to be more Formal in that they use more of Formal Codes and Formal Code Switching than their Male Counterparts. On the other hand, the High Rank/Senior Age group is also
more Formal as compared to those speakers who are of Low Rank/Junior Age group. Consequently, it is also noted that Rank of Speakers also determines Code Switching during the entry of 'outsiders' into the staffroom during conversations.

Therefore the Variables; Gender, Rank and Age are found to influence Code Switching and Choices differently. Female Speakers and High Rank/Senior Age Speakers are found to be more status-conscious and use more Formal Codes compared to the Male Speakers and also Low Rank/Junior Age Speakers who use more Informal Codes. Age is however found to determine the use of Informal Codes; Mother Tongue and Sheng.' Mother tongue is also found to symbolize conservative attitude and seniority in Age and is therefore used by the Senior Age group/High Ranked Speakers while Sheng' symbolizes Low age or youthfulness and radicalism and is consequently used by the Junior Aged/Low Rank Speakers. Therefore these Variables are found to strongly influence the way interlocutors Code Switch in different conversations.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In Kenya, it is considered normal for a person to speak more than one language. Multilingualism is a state whereby an individual has access to two or more linguistic codes as a means of communication (Hammers and Blanc, 1982). It is such communication that creates a phenomenon called Code Switching (CS). Code Switching is also defined as the alternate use of more than one language in the same conversation.

This study falls under the field of Sociolinguistics and focuses on language use in a multilingual setting. The study focused on a staffroom of a major commercial college in the Nairobi city center (Nairobi Aviation College). The college is appropriate in that, due to its Cosmopolitan location, it has many lecturers and other support staff, all from different ethnic backgrounds. The study examined the staffroom interactions of the lecturers at the college.

In an academic institution like Nairobi Aviation College, the staffroom is the only place where staff can converse naturally and freely. Therefore it is possible to observe issues such as Gender variances, Power manifestation in conversations and Conversational behaviour of different types of speakers on different contexts and topics. The study therefore aimed at explaining and establishing reasons why people Code-switch, how specifically different genders Code-switch in different topics, existence of Formal and Informal CS and also the influence of certain variables in Code selection. The study also attempted to analyze code switching in its various levels. The staffroom is a place where the staff can relax and produce spontaneous conversation.

In a Multi-lingual society such as Kenya, due to Socio-structural factors, different Speech Communities, Gender, Age groups and even Professional Rank determines a speaker’s Social
vitality and therefore the level of confidence a speaker has amongst other speakers. It was these factors among others that determined the patterns of conversation and the Code-switching pattern of different speakers. It is very normal to find people of ten different ethnic backgrounds working together. It is also possible to find a mixture of races. Apart from Blacks, one may encounter Whites and even Asians.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Many Nairobians are multilingual and employ the habit of CS in their day-to-day interactions. It is quite a complex linguistic situation whereby several language systems are used. People communicating in such a situation need to use language very creatively and productively. Consequently this study aimed at establishing how males and female speakers and also staff of higher and lower Ranks Code Switch, bearing in mind that language doesn't exist in a Social Structural Vacuum. The study intended to show that although CS is just speech behaviour, it also indicates the Socio-cultural position and beliefs. Professional Rank and even as a manifestation of Power or influence of different speakers.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research attempted to answer the following questions:

i. Which CS patterns exist among the two genders: male and female speakers?

ii. Is it possible to have Formal and Informal CS?

iii. Is CS pattern influenced by the presence of 'outsiders' in the room?

iv. How is CS manifested among staff of different Ranks?
1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.

The objectives of the study were:

i. To establish the CS patterns existing amongst the male and female speakers.

ii. To establish the existence and manifestation of Formal and Informal CS.

iii. To show whether the ‘outsiders’ in the room affect the CS patterns and specifically to examine CS as an ‘in-group code.’

iv. To establish manifestation of CS amongst speakers of different Ranks.

1.5 RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS.

i. The male and female speakers have different and distinctive CS patterns.

ii. Formal and Informal CS exists as a Conversation behaviour in the area of CS.

iii. The audience significantly influences the code-switching pattern and in this regard, CS plays the role of an ‘in-group code.’

iv. Speakers of different Ranks have different CS patterns.

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY.

CS has been studied widely worldwide. Studies have shown that CS is not a product of poor language background or lack of competence but is a creative use of language. People have good reasons for CS and it is not accidental, instead it deserves respect, not contempt (Trudgill 1994).

It has been noted that people need to communicate efficiently even when there is no common language (Angogo 1990:13). It has also been established that in cosmopolitan setting, people of different ethnic backgrounds have to interact with one another on a day-to-day basis i.e. at work or in business transaction (Kanana 2003). CS is a major feature of such transactions.

This research aims to expand the knowledge base existing in the field of CS. The study analysed CS into more specific patterns of Formal and Informal categories, which had not
been done before. The study therefore was based on a strong assumption that some speakers, depending on their linguistic backgrounds, would always switch to Informal codes (Mother tongue or Sheng’) and some speakers from other linguistic backgrounds alternatively, switch to Formal codes (Official or National language). This is because speech communities have different vitalities or perceived strength, in that some speakers perceive their languages to be stronger. These speakers are therefore more confident even when they always code switch to their mother tongues (Informal CS).

This study also delved much deeper into the realm of CS patterns by examining more specifically, the patterns of CS existing among the male and female speakers. This study assumed that there was a high probability that the male and female speakers also had distinct CS patterns of Formal and Informal categories. The Gender distinction was also assumed to be in the areas of Divergence, Convergence and even marked or unmarked utterances.

The research also contributes to the phenomenon of CS by examining its Psychological role. On this perspective, the study analyzed CS as a speaker’s psychological behavior, which was a result of i.e. the presence of a particular group of audiences. In such a scenario, CS could play a role such as ‘in-group Code.’

Therefore, it is our intention to continue the work done previously by other linguists in the area of CS patterns such as Kanana (2003), Muthwii (1986), Muthuri (2000) and Parkin (1974). The study specifically contributes by examining the Gender patterns and also the Formal/Informal categories of CS. Apart from the new data of a college staffroom, the study consequently unveils more interrelationships and detailed features resulting from the broad CS behaviour, which have not been given serious attention previously.
1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION.

The central concerns of this study were to identify the Codes used in different staffroom conversations and then establish the general code-switching patterns. The study hoped to explain and establish the reasons why people code switch, specifically amongst different genders, ranks, age groups and topics. The study also examined some socio-psychological motivations, which would determine CS in certain contexts.

The study had certain limitations. This was mostly due to limitations of time and material resources. The research had been allocated only 2 months of data collection and elicitation. Due to such limitations, the study was only limited to Nairobi Aviation College staffroom. The study also focused only on the conversational exchanges in the said staffroom, specifically, exchanges amongst the college staff: whether lecturers, management or subordinate staff.

The study was also limited, in that, it only looked at the Code Switching aspect. The area of code switching was then narrowed down into patterns: General patterns, Ranks and Age groups and categories (Formal and Informal). The study acquired data that was fully representative and from which wider, academically viable conclusions and generalizations could be made, so as to contribute significantly to the area of CS.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this section, literature is reviewed in three main levels. Firstly, a review of literature on the Theoretical Framework, involving both empirical studies and issues raised on the theories. Secondly, an account of the General Studies on CS. Lastly, studies on CS done in Kenya that were relevant to this study.

2.2 STUDIES ON THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.2.1 STUDIES ON SPEECH ACCOMMODATION THEORY (SAT)

Giles et al (1979) offer a social psychological approach to language study. They developed the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), that draw on the four social psychological theories to focus on the interactive aspects that social psychological factors help to explain why individual speakers use speech strategies they do in terms other than just social norms and rules. These factors may consist of speakers' moods, motives, feelings, beliefs, loyalties in ethnic interaction, as well as their perceptions of the intergroup relation and their awareness of the existing social norms. They call these strategies Speech Convergence and Divergence.

2.2.2 STUDIES ON MARKEDNESS MODEL

Myers Scotton (1993) developed the Markedness model, which focuses on the social motivations for CS. The model allows for individual variations in choices with the proviso that their meanings are constrained by reference to a common interpretative component shared by all members of the speech community. The Markedness model takes cognizance of personal motivational factors such as those, which were proposed by Giles. The theory takes account of the potency of both interactional dynamics and also of social features and overall
societal norms in explaining any linguistic choice. Linguistic choices can be explained as individually motivated negotiation of identity. But the success of these negotiations depends on the extent to which they abide and exploit the constraints of the communally recognized norms on which any linguistic choice relies for its meanings.

2.3 STUDIES IN CODE SWITCHING

Most of the studies on CS have focused on the patterns that emerge during CS or the syntactic structure of CS (see Gumperz 1982, Romaine 1982, 1989, 1994).

Gumperz (1982) studied conversational CS, he defined it as juxtaposition within the same speech exchange or passages of speech belonging to 2 different grammatical systems or subsystems. In conversational CS, speakers communicate fluently without hesitation or pauses to make the shift in codes. Participants immersed in the interaction itself are often unaware which code is being used at any one time. Selection among linguistic alternates is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall. Gumperz points out that the bilingual exchanges studied show that CS did not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of grammatical systems in question. The study gives insights on CS and reiterates CS as functional and not imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems.

Romaine (1994) examined CS and its role in bilingual communicative competence. The study was based on researches done among a Punjabi speaking community in Britain and bilingual children in Papua New Guinea. Two codes were distinguished: the “we” code and the “they” code. The “we” code typically signified in-group, informed, personalized activities. The “they” variety marked out group, more formal relations. She also distinguished metaphoric and transaction switching as one that is controlled by components of the speech event like topic and participants while Metaphorical CS as the various communicative effects the speaker intended to convey.
The central concern in Romaine's study was constraints for code choices. She recognized that CS served some specific functions and behind CS were some motivations for doing so. Another observation made was that attitudes of the participants involved in language use might affect switching behaviour.

In this study CS was seen as serving an expressive function and had meaning. Romaine's study also recognized CS as functional. However her study differed from this study in the choice of the sample and the languages in question. Our sample was drawn from English, Kiswahili, Sheng (slang) and local languages.

2.4 SPECIFIC STUDIES OF CODE SWITCHING IN KENYA.

In Kenya, because of its multilingual nature, the use of more than one language is a common phenomenon. Whitely (1974) notes that an attempt to make any useful comment about the state of multilingualism poses a big challenge. This is because one has to specify the unit or area that one is referring to. Also one has to find out (this has also been a major focus of study) the incentives, which, in Kenya today, impel men and women to learn and speak other languages other than their first language. For instance is a Second language acquired in order to be able to deploy it to one's own advantage in the game that is everyday living? Scotton (1993) responds to the question when she says that researchers have not provided enough evidence from multilingual settings in Africa, explaining why people code switch. CS as a subject therefore has not been widely studied in the Kenyan context.

Parkin (1974) studied CS in the speech community of Kaloleni in Nairobi. He observed that in this Speech Community, people switched between English, Kiswahili and Mother-tongue. In this study two variables were considered; ethnicity and socioeconomic situation of the respondents. The socioeconomic areas considered were wealth, education and occupation.
Parkin observed that when people interact, they try to judge consciously what mode of
behaviour best suited the interaction e.g. conversations concerning ethnic and status
relationships are frequently jocular and accompanied by banter. Those who chose English
tended to have high status connotation. Kiswahili was used by all groups to connotate
“brotherhood” or neutrality. Kiswahili was said to bridge both ethnic and status differences.
The ethnic language connoted “solidarity.”

Parkin’s study like the current one focused on CS during social interaction while Muthwii
(1986) studied language use in Pluri-lingual societies and the significance of CS. She
observed that most people in Kenya used CS as a speech code that was emblematic of
community identity. She studied CS among 3 languages: English, Kiswahili and Kalenjin.

Using the Functional Framework Theory proposed by Gumperz (1983), Muthwii identified
the stylistic functions of CS: mimicry, quotations, interjections, reiteration, personalization,
objectivization and addressee specification. In that study, she argued that it was not always
absolutely possible to predict the situations to which English or Kiswahili might have been
used apart from very formal situations because they were considered very important to
individuals and communications at the interpersonal or interactional levels, and as a marker
of ethnic identity. Muthwii observed that language alternation by speakers was either
intended to have communicative intent or not. Muthwii’s sample was drawn from a rural
setting.

Muthuri (2000) examined the functions of CS among multilingual students at Kenyatta
University. The study described the choice of codes involving the use of English, Kiswahili
and local languages. Other than the stylistic functions, the social functions of CS, the social
symbolism and functions of the codes involved in switching, were investigated. The
strategies the speakers adopted in meeting their goals were also examined. The study looked at CS based on 3 theoretical approaches: Giles SAT, Scotton's Negotiation Principle maxims and Gumperz's Conversational Functions Model.

Kanana (2003) used Theoretical approaches of Markedness Model (Scotton) and Giles SAT, to study CS in a cosmopolitan market setting in Nairobi. The study focused on the functions of CS and also the motivations behind the choice of a particular code at any given time. Her study examined CS and choice of codes involving the use of English, Kiswahili and local languages. The chosen codes were found to fulfill the functions of "solidarity" (whether it is the more formal English, Kiswahili or even the local languages). When such a function had been fulfilled, it became easier for a trader at the market, to convince prospective customers to buy their products. It is important to note that in this study, the respondents were cosmopolitan (local Kenyans from different ethnic communities and races). This is because the study was conducted at Maasai market in Nairobi, where curios are sold to Kenyans of all tribes and races and even tourists from all over the world. This cosmopolitan characteristic applied also to our current study of the staffroom conversations.

2.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The CS Theories of Markedness Model (Scotton, 1993) and Speech Accomodation Theory (SAT) by Giles have been used to study CS in a Cosmopolitan setting in Kenya. One of the best local examples of the use of both theories was Kanana (2003) in her study of CS in a Cosmopolitan market setting in Nairobi. Her study focused on the use of CS by the traders at the market to sell their products to customers who were from different ethnic and racial backgrounds.
2.5.1. a SPEECH ACCOMMODATION THEORY.

Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) was proposed by Giles (Giles & St Clair 1979). SAT is a social psychological Theory of language use in society and has been used by social psychologists as well as linguists in studying language behaviour during contact between speakers from different linguistic groups (Giles & St Clair 1979).

The theory explained the dynamics of speech adjustments in the process of interaction. Central to this theory was the claim that during social interactions, participants were motivated to adjust their speech styles as a means of gaining or not gaining social approval, attaining communicative efficiency between interactants and maintaining positive social identities (Giles et al 1982).

The value of SAT rests in its ability to explain and predict CS in terms of social psychological processes operating both at interpersonal level (e.g. similarity-attraction: Byrne 1969) and the intergroup level, where social categorization processes are of primary importance (Giles 1978; Tajfel 1982).

The process of adjustment is called Accommodation. Accommodation works in two opposite ways. The first way is called Convergence. The speaker uses the language that the hearer knows or likes best – speakers therefore converge when they desire social integration and approval. In speech convergence, the interlocutors become more alike in the languages they use.

The SAT also views Convergence as social exchanges during which interlocutors incur certain costs in order to obtain potential rewards. The rewards of converging may be in form of material rewards or social approval and the costs may include linguistic effort or group identity loss (Giles & Robinson 1990).
The second form of Accommodation is Divergence; the speaker tries to distance himself from the hearer by maximizing differences in language use. Speakers would therefore diverge when they wished to differentiate from each other socially. These phenomena may occur simultaneously on a variety of linguistic levels (paralinguistic, content style, accent etc) and speakers are not always aware that they are modifying their codes.

This study also adopted 3 social psychological theories of SAT: Similarity attraction, Social Exchange and Social Identity theories. These theories helped to account for speech divergence and convergence in interpersonal encounters. Similarity-attraction and Social Exchange theories explained Speech Convergence and Social Identity theory accounts for Divergence.

According to Similarity attraction, a person might induce another to evaluate her or him favourably by reducing dissimilarities between the two of them. Speakers automatically adjust themselves to each other, both in gesture and often positioning of the body and type of speech. This theory helps in interpreting the choice of a particular language in terms of the other speaker’s language and identity.

Social Exchange theory states that before one engages in an action, he or she weighs up its potential rewards and costs. This suggests that people have a tendency to engage in behaviour, which reap rewards and avoid behaviour that result in unpleasant outcomes. Hence, one expects speech convergence to occur only when it entails more potential rewards than costs. In ethnic interaction, rewards for converging to the output language could include either being better perceived or accepted by the outgroup interlocutors, while potential costs may include linguistic effort. The theory is used to investigate the motivations for convergence and it also helps to find out whether convergence results in any rewards.
The theory of Social Identity analyzes Divergence; speakers modify their speech away from interlocutors in order to sound least like them. The theory states that linguistic divergence primarily reflects motivations to assert positive ethno-linguistic identities when with outgroup members or show disapproval of them.

This study therefore used the above 3 theories of SAT to explain the motivational factors that influenced the choice of codes by speakers during interactions with interlocutors from a different linguistic background. The theory attempted to explain why speakers converged to or diverged from their listener's language. From the above outline of speech divergence and convergence, it was apparent that not all speech strategies could be explained in terms of psychological motivations.

2.5.1. b MARKEDNESS MODEL

There are other motives for CS such as Normative factors which are not accounted for by SAT hence the need for using another theory, the Markedness Model. Speaker's motive, perceptions and attitudes may be as important in determining speech behaviour as the social norms dictating appropriate language behaviour in ethnic encounter.

While SAT explained the psychological motivations for CS, Markedness model was used to explain the social motivations for CS based on the norms of the society and the social functions of different codes. It accounted for the speaker's socio psychological motivations when they engaged in CS. This model consists of a set of general maxims that applied to any code choice.

The theory proposed that speakers have a sense of Markedness regarding available linguistic codes for interaction, from which some codes can be perceived to be for relaxed interaction
and some for tense or formal contexts. They therefore choose their codes based on their personal relation with others, which they wish to have in place. The “Negotiation Principle” proposed by Scotton (1983) embodies the strongest and central claim of the Markedness Theory; that all code choices could ultimately be explained in terms of speakers’ motivations. It allowed for code choice as long as meanings were constrained by reference to common interpretative components shared by all members of a speech community.

The Negotiation Principle was modeled after Grice’s “Cooperative Principle.” (Grice 1975). A Negotiation principle is seen as underlying all code choices. The principle says, “Choose the form of your conversation such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange (Scotton 1993:113).

The Markedness Model rests on the Negotiation Principle and its set of maxims. These maxims are “unmarked choice maxim,” “the marked choice maxim,” and the “exploratory maxim.”

Unmarked choice maxim states that speakers choose the most expected linguistic variety as a medium of talk exchange, given the norms of the society regarding the salient situational factors present, for instance the speakers and addressees, the topic and setting. The unmarked choice is termed “safer” in well-defined role relationships since it conveys no surprises but indexes an expected interpersonal relationship.

The unmarked choice maxim is complemented by a virtuosity maxim. Virtuosity maxim states that whenever any participants in the conversation don’t have the linguistic ability in the unmarked choice, the virtuosity maxim directs speakers: “switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation and accommodate the participation of all
The speaker in his code selection takes into account the competence of the listener.

The Marked choice maxim; though it is "safer" to make an unmarked choice, speakers don't always do. They assessed the potential cost and rewards of all the alternative choices and made their decisions unconsciously. They thus resorted to marked (unexpected choices), the speaker is saying, "put aside any presumptions you have based on societal norms for these circumstances and view our relationship to be otherwise." (Scotton 1993:131).

Exploratory choice maxim; speakers might employ CS when they themselves are not sure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or at least not sure which one would help achieve their social goals. Exploratory choice might be found when it was not clear which norms applied in a particular interaction, for instance when little was known about the social identities of the new acquaintance.

Since speaking is an interactional behaviour, code choices are therefore a function of Negotiation; speaking is seen as a rational process involving decisions. A Negotiation Principle and its set of maxims govern conversations. The Negotiation directs the speaker to choose the form of conversational contribution such that it symbolizes the sets of rights and obligations which he/she wishes or forces between speaker and addressee for a given exchange. Scotton observes that the Negotiation principle deals with the use of conversation to negotiation of social identities.

The importance of these maxims as Scotton pointed out was that, central to any form of conversation was giving and receiving of information, influencing and being influenced by others, the theory therefore accounted for the societal norms in explaining code choices and the functions these codes served in a marked setting. The Markedness Model had a
Normative basis in that it looked at the normative factors influencing CS. Scotton (1993) observed that choice of one code, rather than another would be seen as identity of negotiation by participants in a conversation.

Consequently, this study presumed that 3 sets of motivations are the main determinants of CS. These were:

i. Normative factors

ii. Motivational factors

iii. Sociostructural factors.

Normative factors are the situational norms of CS according to topic of communication, the social setting, the purpose of communication and the characteristics of the interlocutors (e.g. Hymes 1972; Trudgill 1974; see Giles & Powesland 1975, for a review). For instance local vernacular was restricted to the role of informal communication in private settings, while the more prestigious cosmopolitan language was considered the voice of intellect and of public, formal communication.

In Scotton's (1983b) theory, norms did not determine language choices but language switches took place within a Normative framework so that norms determined the relative markedness of linguistic codes. Scotton suggested that interlocutors were free to assert their individual motivations as all code choices were open to them, with interlocutors weighing up the relative costs and rewards in seeking their goals.

Central to SAT was the notion that interlocutors code switched in order to satisfy a variety of motivations. The theory proposed that speech convergence reflected interlocutor's needs for social approval. It was therefore clear that when interlocutors became more similar in the codes they used, there could be greater liking between them. On the other hand, linguistic
dissimilarities might otherwise be a barrier to communication (Bourhis 1979; Giles et al 1987b). A recent study by Kanana (2003) illustrated that sales people in a market converged more to client’s languages, which maximized potential monetary gains.

Bilingual and Multilingual communication primarily took place between members of contrasting ethno linguistic groups. As differences in the socio-structural factors of group’s members, power and status characterized such intergroup situations. Bilingual and multilingual communication could be assumed to occur in a Sociostructural vacuum. In an attempt to place social psychological processes mediating such communication in their appropriate sociostructural contexts. Giles et al (1977) proposed a taxonomy of factors which were hypothesized to affect group’s ethnolinguistic vitalities, i.e. their ability to behave and survive as distinctive and active collective entities in intergroup settings.

Group status, demographic strength, institutional and control factors combined to make up the vitality of ethnolinguistic group members and their distribution throughout urban, regional and national territories. Research assessing language attitudes in multilingual communication has shown that speakers who perceived their own group vitality to be high, had more positive attitudes about the use of their own group language in a wider range of public and private settings than do speakers who perceived their group vitality to be low (Bourhis & Sachdev 1984; Sachdev, Bourhis, Phang & D’ Eye, 1987). In multilingual contexts, languages (codes) often served as powerful categorization cues, which trigger social categorization effects.

Recent studies have shown that group numbers, status and power differentials had predictably independent and interactive effects on pattern of intergroup behaviour and perceptions (Sachdev & Bourhis 1984, 1985, 1987, 1988).
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES.

One sampling technique was used in the study. This was; the Judgment Sampling method. The Judgment sampling method was used to choose the college, the staffroom (of all the other places) and also the specific group of people to be studied at any given time. The college had numerous staff but only a selected number were studied. The underlying principle of this method involved identifying in advance the type of speakers to be studied (Milroy 1987:26). This sampling technique was considered appropriate because the researcher to identify in advance a college that would give representative data on which to make generalizations.

Due to the fact that the Staff was studied as they conversed, the researcher hoped to get their natural speech behaviour at a particular time. This assumption was guided by the fact that at different times, some staff in the staffroom always sat in clusters or groups for conversations. It is such groups that the study sought and studied.

Variables considered by the researcher were Gender and professional rank (at the college). These variables were also used or considered when selecting the conversation groups studied at any given time. This was another reason for using the Judgment sampling. The objective of the research being to find out the gender distinctions in CS, existence of Unmarked and Marked CS and also describe the Motivational, Normative and Sociostructural factors that influence the choice of codes in the college staffroom conversations, it was necessary to observe the influence of these variables in code selection and then find out the general CS pattern in the college staffroom.
Since the researcher was also a lecturer at the College and also interacted with other lecturers, he reassured the informants about the aim of the study and before any study commenced, the basic features of each speaker in the group were noted down. These features were like: Name, Age, Mother tongue, Gender and Professional Rank. The researcher met all the respondents in order to talk and reassure them about the research, before the study began. From those meetings, the researcher was able to lay down a program of how the research could be carried out.

3.2 SAMPLE SIZE.

According to Milroy (1987:21) socially sensitive study of language variations depend on a good data, which entail the provision of sufficient types and quantities of language. He further observed that large samples tended not to be as necessary for linguistic surveys as for other surveys because they tended to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems, with diminishing analytical returns. This research consequently adopted few samples, which could be easy to analyse and interpret so as to obtain straightforward conclusions.

The sample consisted of a total of approximately 20 informants selected through the Judgmental Sampling. The informants were studied in 5 different Conversation groups. The researcher also established that most of the conversation groups had a representation of different ethnic groups. The researcher did not have the power to determine the number of speakers in particular groups as he chose the groups that had already been formed but the researcher preferred groups comprising of 6-8 speakers which ensured ease in studying each speaker at any given time. The number was also large enough to represent all the variables targeted at any given moment.
Small samples were sufficient for useful accounts of language variation in large cities. Large samples are no longer necessary for studies in speech communication because sampling procedures have improved greatly (see Milroy 1987: Trudgill 1974). Also the small sample of 20 was due to the fact that the entire college had a total staff population of about 90, of which 40 were the ones who always interacted in the staffroom. Therefore the number of 20 for staffroom was an adequate number for the researcher to make generalizations.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Given the objectives of the study, it was necessary to collect spontaneous speech so as to find out how, why and when switching of codes occurred.

Therefore, two methods of data collection were used in this study viz: tape recording and observation. Tape recording of data was to ensure that all the conversations of the participants were efficiently recorded and observation was to note the gestures and moods of the speakers when they were speaking or code switching at different instances.

The tape recorder was visible and placed at the center where it could adequately record all conversations from all speakers. The researcher believed that such openness would enhance trust between the researcher and the informants. In theJudgemental Sampling technique used, the researcher selected a group that was conversing in the staffroom as long as the group met the researcher’s requirements. In this regard, the data collected was from 5 groups, which were:

- A group of only male speakers of different Professional Ranks.
- A group of only female speakers of different Professional Ranks.
- A mixture of both male and female speakers of different Professional ranks.
- A mixture of both male and female speakers of lower Professional rank.
- A mixture of both male and female speakers of higher Professional rank.

The study specified Professional Ranks as either Lower staff e.g. Receptionists or Security, Junior Lecturer, Interns while High Rank as Senior lecturers like Head of a Department and
Course Coordinator. The observation method included only participant observation. In participant observation the researcher became a part of the conversation. This helped to build confidence between the researcher and his informants because they no longer viewed him as an outsider (Milroy 1987:60).

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES AND PRESENTATION

The Qualitative and Quantitative approaches to data analysis were used in this study. The data were initially described and summarized using descriptive statistics (Mugenda et al 1999:117). Consequently, the tape-recorded conversations were transcribed on paper. The extracts from the transcribed text were studied to identify the codes used by different speakers and in different contexts in the staffroom conversations. Observation notes were also surveyed to gather any useful information on CS in the college staffroom. The data was divided into five categories:

- Male speakers of different Ranks
- Female speakers of different Ranks
- Mixture of male and female speakers of different ranks.
- Mixture of male and female speakers of lower Rank
- Mixture of male and female speakers of higher Rank.

The data was analysed and also presented in tables and graphs portraying the specific CS variances as affected or determined by each variable. The data was also descriptively explained and finally, from the total outline or flow of CS depending on different variables in the college staffroom conversations, viable conclusions and recommendations were made.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION.

The Quantitative and Qualitative approaches to data analysis were used in this study. The data was initially tape-recorded and the conversations were later transcribed on paper. The extracts from the transcribed text were studied to identify the codes used by different speakers and in different contexts in the staffroom conversations. Observation notes were also analyzed to gather other useful information on CS in the college staffroom.

The Study examined four main Variables that were:

a. Gender. (Male and Female)

b. Ranks and Age Group (High, Low Rank and Senior, Junior Age)

c. Codes used. (Formal and Informal Code Switching)

d. CS as an ‘in-group Code’ (effect of outsiders on CS).

However, Gender was the variable permeating through all the other Variables: this means that the other Variables such as Rank were examined in different Genders, for instance in Low Rank Male and Low Rank Female Speakers.

The study came up with Data comprising of conversations of both male and female speakers in the staffroom. The speakers from both genders were mixed during some conversations, but there were other conversations of only male speakers and also for female speakers only. The different Gender groups were also further specified in terms of Ranks. The figures were organized in Tables and Graphs: Qualitative Techniques whereby the results were elaborated using words, comparative Citations from other Scholars and examples from the Data. It was then possible to establish how the variables determined language choices in different contexts in the college staffroom. The data presented in Graphs and Tables portrayed the specific CS
variances as affected or determined by each variable and generally, the total outline or flow of CS in the college staffroom conversations; from which Conclusions and recommendations were made.

4.2. THE CODE SWITCHING AND UNSWITCHED CODE PATTERNS IN DIFFERENT GENDERS.

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION.

One of the most important Variables examined was Gender: how the Code Switching Patterns of male speakers differs from that of the Female Speakers. During the Conversations, the participants were either using language without switching or at times they were Code switching. The first category examines the CS levels among Male and Female Speakers (Figure 1) and then the Unswitched Code levels between Male and Female Speakers (Figure 2) respectively. It was therefore imperative to analyze the different levels of Code Switching (CS) and also of Unswitched Code among the different Genders as shown in the sample data below where the Female Speakers (Arango and Halla) are conversing with the Male Speaker (John):

54. ARANGO: There is a fact that you have to understand; a man is still a man. A good man is the one that can provide all those you mentioned plus much more, if you can provide your woman with all that and make her happy, there will be no other man in her life; who is this foolish woman to walk out looking for another man when she has such a man at home?

55. JOHN: Akitaka nimpe kita pia yeve inia awe na courtesy, nikiingia kwa nyumba aniulizce. “ulishinda ajee sweetie?” achukue briefcase yangu halafi anichenzie maji moto ya kuoga! (If she wants me to give her everything then she should also have some courtesy, when I enter the house she should ask, “how was your day sweetie?” she then takes the briefcase then heats for me bathing water!)

56. HALLA: Hata wewe inafaa umuilize bibi yako ameshinda aje? (You should also ask your wife how she spent her day)
57. JOHN: Sasa nikitoka job jioni nimechoka, napata amenuna, halafu ananiuliza, "umetoka wapi saa hizi?"

(Now if I come back from work/job tired, I find her moody, then she asks me, "where are you coming from at this time?)

The above sample is an example of a conversation segment portraying Female Speakers as using the Unswitched Code while the Male Speakers using the Code Switched sample. The trend is classified into two categories. There are several observations from the above data sample, which show a pattern of Male Speakers using CS while Female Speakers are shown using Unswitched Code in the same Conversation. From the example, Arango (Female) asks a question at 54 in a full Unswitched Code of English and then John (Male) in 55 replies in CS variety of Kiswahili/English. Halla (Female) speaks next at 56 with a Kiswahili variety and John again responds in a CS variety of Kiswahili/English. This shows that the Male speakers prefer non Standard (CS) while Female Speakers prefer the Standard (Unswitched Code). This trend is therefore assumed to be a prevalent feature. The results portrayed in figure 1 below are the number of times the CS feature occurs in different conversations among both male and female speakers respectively. The results are tallied according to gender and finally the total for each is attained after adding all the results in all conversations for a specific Gender.

KEY

c1 - conversation with male speakers of different ranks and age groups.
c2 - conversation with male and female speakers of different ranks and age groups.
c3 - conversation with female speakers of different ranks and age groups.
c4 - conversation with male and female speakers of lower ranks and junior age groups.
c5 - conversation with male and female speakers of higher ranks and senior age groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONVERSATION</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c1</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c2</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1. Distribution of CS among male and female speakers.

4.2.2 THE CS LEVELS AMONG MALE AND FEMALE SPEAKERS

The total CS instances were 373.

In c1 where there were only Male Speakers, there were 73 CS instances while on the other hand in c3 where there were only Female Speakers, there were 85 CS instances. Therefore in these two Conversation groups where the Male and Female Speakers are not mixed, the Female Speakers tend to have more CS levels than the Male Speakers. However in the other Conversation groups (c2, c4 and c5), the Male and Female Speakers were mixed. In c2 the Male had more CS instances than Female Speakers: 41 and 37 respectively. in c4 again the Male Speakers had more CS than Female Speakers: 53 and 37 respectively while in c5 the Female Speakers had more CS than Male: 34 and 13 respectively. Therefore Male speakers generally have more CS than Female Speakers whenever the two Genders are mixed in one conversation. In 2 out of the total 3 mixed Conversation groups, the Male Speakers have more CS than Female speakers.

On the other hand whenever the Male and Female Speakers are not mixed, the Female Speakers exhibit more CS levels in comparison to their Male counterparts. This shows that Female Speakers tend to be more informal and relaxed whenever they are alone and this is the reason for the high levels of CS but they tend to be tense and formal when they are mixed with Male speakers. This shows that Male speakers tend to be more informal whenever they
are conversing with Female speakers as compared to when the female Speakers are alone. On the other hand Female Speakers are much more informal when they are alone but they become less informal when they are mixed with Male Speakers hence the use of CS.

Linguistically, CS being a non-standard variety of language, it means that Male Speakers deliberately use non-standard language (CS) whenever they are mixed with Female Speakers, while the Female Speakers use the standard variety in such instances. This reflects to the Social Psychological approach to language by Giles et al. (1979) who noted that CS is the Psychological reaction by both Male and Female speakers. In this instance the male speakers react through CS to the presence of the female speakers. For Male Speakers, they tend to use the non standard variety when they are with Female speakers as a way of showing their dominant social position and confidence, while the Female Speakers tend to be more standard whenever they are mixed with Male Speakers as a Psychological reaction which indicates their opposition to the existing ‘Male domination.’ The instances of Unswitched Code, is also examined among the Male and Female speakers in all conversations. The numbers in figure 2 below reflect the instances of Unswitched Code in each conversation for both Male and Female speakers. The results are tallied according to Gender and finally the total for each Gender is attained after adding all the results in each conversation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONVERSATION</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c3</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c5</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. **Distribution of Unswitched Code among male and female speakers.**
4.2.3 THE UNSWITCHED CODE LEVELS BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE SPEAKERS.

The total Unswitched Code instances were 333.

The Male Speakers who are not mixed (c1) had less Unswitched Code of 44, as compared to the Female Speakers (c3) who are also not mixed; who have 58 while in mixed Conversation Groups; in c2 the Female Speakers had 42 instances as compared to Male Speakers which was 27, in c4 again the Female speakers had more, 31 as compared to 21 for Male speakers while in c5 the Male Speakers had more compared to Female Speakers. The results of the Unswitched Code are the exact opposite of the case in Code Switching. Whereas CS is non-standard language and shows relaxed atmosphere or non-formality, the Unswitched Codes are standard language varieties, which indicate more formal atmosphere. While the Male Speakers use more CS whenever they are with Female Speakers, their Female counterparts on the other hand use more Unswitched Code whenever they are mixed with Male Speakers. This therefore shows that while Male speakers tend to be more informal when Female speakers are around, the Female speakers tend to be more formal whenever Male Speakers are present. This deduction confirms the idea that, 'women tend to be more Standard Speakers than men,' (Cheshire. 1978).

4.3 THE CS PATTERNS AMONG THE GENDERS IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS AND RANKS.

4.3.1. INTRODUCTION

The Rank of the Speakers was another Variable in the study. It is important to examine the patterns existing between the two Genders in their respective Ranks. There were two distinctions of Ranks: the High Rank and the Low Rank. It is also important to note that Age groups were synonymous with Rank, such that the High Rank Speakers were also the senior aged (Early 30s and above) while the junior aged were also the Low Ranked Speakers (Below 30 years.) Therefore we shall examine how Rank/age affects the Gender CS pattern.
In Figure 3 below the levels of CS and Unswitched Code are tallied according to High and Low Ranks respectively. The figures are the number of occurrences of each feature in each respective Rank.

c5

14. HILDA: I'm sure that was not the reason.
15. YVONNE: The man from Kakamega saw that they have too many kids.
16. VICTOR: That guy is a cobbler by the way, before it was televised, it was in the print media yesterday, he was saying that he had no money to buy the stuff he could use in his business so he went to the wife and the wife refused to give him the money: so when the wife was doing some garden work, is when he came to the house, rushed to the kitchen, picked that mboga (Kales) knife and did it.
17. YVONNE: So it was because he did not get the money?
18. VICTOR: I think this whole incident is not just about the money: it can be traced back to when that guy had married the lady. Maybe they had been quarrelling each other, its not normal for someone to just decide one day and....
19. PATRICIA: Something funny, they say this person is a real Christian, God fearing and doesn’t drink.
20. VICTOR: I doubt that!

c4

122. FRED: Sasa hivyo inaitwanga Champions League, sio Premier league, sio ya amarteurs. (*Now that one is called Champions League, not Premier league, it is not for amarteurs.*)
123. CHRISTINE: Arsenal sivo amarteurs, ona kama Chelsea, hao hufanya tu kununua the best players budala ya kumould players hapo kwenu; hata hawana Academy. (*Arsenal are not amarteurs, look at Chelsea, they prefer buying only the best players instead of moulding players; they don’t even have an Academy.*)
124. FRED: Tuna Academy! (*We have an Academy!*)
125. CHRISTINE: Imetoa hakina nani? (*It has produced which people?*)
126. FRED: John Terry na Obi Mikel wametoka Academy! (*John Terry and Obi Mikel came from Academy!*)
127. DESMOND: Uwongo! (*Lie!*)
128. CHRISTINE: Arsenal is great! Hata Man U wanavaa jersey imeandikwa AIG; "Arsenal Is Great." (*Arsenal is Great! Even Manchester United wears a jersey written AIG; "Arsenal*
The two examples of c5 and c4 above show conversation extracts of High rank/senior age Speakers (c5) and Low rank/junior age Speakers. The two conversations upon comparison reveal trends, which were prevalent in respective conversations. In c5, the entire extract from 14 to 20, the speakers used Unswitched English Code while in c4 there is a high prevalence of CS in the whole extract for instance in 122 and 123 Fred and Christine respectively use a CS mixture of Kiswahili, Sheng and English, in 124 and 126 Fred uses CS of Kiswahili and English and in 128 Christine uses a CS mixture of English, Kiswahili and Sheng. The general trend in both Rank and Gender for both CS and Unswitched Codes is presented in Figure 3 below:
4.3.2. CS/UNSWITCHED CODE LEVELS BETWEEN MALE AND FEMALE SPEAKERS (LOW RANKS/HIGH RANKS)

Among the Low Rank Speakers, the Female Speakers have more CS and Unswitched Code than their Male counterparts, while in the High Rank speakers, the Male Speakers have more CS and Unswitched Code than the Female Speakers. Also, the Female Speakers of Low Ranks have more CS levels than those of High Ranks, while the reverse is the case for Male Speakers: where the High Rank Speakers have more CS than the Low Rank speakers. It is therefore logical to conclude that among the Low rank speakers, the Female Speakers are more dominant than Male Speakers in entire conversation (CS and Unswitched Code), while among the High rank speakers, Male Speakers are more dominant than their Female counterparts.
It is clear that the Male Speakers and Female Speakers have different characteristics depending on their Ranks. The Male Speakers in Low Rank do not have the confidence or even the goal of controlling conversation, this therefore gives the Female speakers who are more relaxed and confident, to control and dominate the conversation. The general atmosphere seems to be informal and that is why CS is higher than Unswitched Code among Low Rank Speakers. While in High Rank Speakers, the atmosphere seems more formal and that is why Unswitched Code Seems higher than CS but Male Speakers seem to be more dominant than their Female counterparts. Among High Rank Speakers, both Male and Female Speakers seem to be conscious of the formal atmosphere, as Unswitched Code is higher than CS in both cases. However, Male Speakers seem more conscious of their status and the expected norms as compared to their Female counterparts, this is why the male speakers in high Ranks use more Unswitched code than their female speakers.

And as Scotton (1983b) states, "norms do not determine language choices but language switches take place within a Normative framework so that norms determine the relative markedness of linguistic codes". Scotton also suggests that interlocutors are free to assert their individual motivations as all code choices are open to them, with interlocutors weighing up the relative costs and rewards in seeking their goals. This seems to be true because while the Male and Female Speakers may have the same Rank, there are significant differences which occur due to gender distinction; male speakers have more Unswitched code than female speakers in high ranks. This is probably due to the fact that the Male speakers of higher Ranks are very much conscious of their High status than their Female counterparts of High rank who have relatively less Unswitched Code levels. The Male speakers therefore exhibit this characteristic by using the Unswitched Code, which is more standardized than the CS variety.
On Markedness model, both male and female speakers seem to weigh the potential 'costs and rewards' before making their respective code choices. Both male and female speakers seek different rewards in different conversations and this explains the differences in CS and Unswitched codes. For instance the male speakers who are mixed with female speakers seek the reward or goal of socialization and making friendships in a relaxed, informal level with their female counterparts and therefore in such conversations the male speakers prefer unmarked code (CS), while in the same conversations, female speakers seek the reward or goal of interacting and socialization in a formal and serious context with the male counterparts, they therefore use marked code (Unswitched Code – mostly English.) However the male speakers tend to be more formal and serious when they are speaking to themselves and Marked Code (Unswitched) is prevalent while female speakers tend to be more relaxed and informal when not mixed with Male speakers and unmarked Code is more prevalent (CS).

On Ranks, generally the high rank speakers tend to seek the goal of creating a social and economic distance from the low rank counterparts, and therefore they tend to use more of marked code (Unswitched code) while the low rank speakers seem to be more relaxed and therefore seek the goal of socialization on an informal context, they therefore prefer the unmarked code (CS). According to Scotton (1993:15), everyone has a 'Markedness metric,' this means that no Code is permanently Marked or Unmarked. This means that a particular code can be marked in a particular context and unmarked in another context, depending on the rewards, goals and costs incurred by a particular speaker. Therefore this study perceives using CS in informal context with a goal of creating friendships as unmarked. The use of Unswitched Code in such context can therefore be viewed as Marked and vice versa.
4.4 DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS CODES (FORMAL/INFORMAL).

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Whenever People interact, they judge consciously what mode of behaviour best suits the interaction. For example conversation concerning ethnic and status relationships are frequently jocular. Those who switch to English code tend to have high professional status while Kiswahili is used by all groups to connote “brotherhood” or neutrality because it acts as a bridge between the English and Ethnic language differences. The Ethnic languages on the other hand connote “solidarity” (Parkin, 1974).

The study therefore perceived the languages used as having different levels of Formality: English is perceived to be the most Formal, followed by Kiswahili while Sheng, which is a fusion of Kiswahili English and Mother tongue, (Kanana, 2003) is less Formal. Mother tongue is perceived by the study as the least Formal. The study also classifies the languages into 2 groups: Formal Codes comprising of English and Kiswahili and Informal comprising of Sheng and Mother Tongue. This classification therefore makes it possible also for the study to assume the existence of Formal CS and Informal CS. Formal CS is viewed as a situation whereby the speaker switches to Formal Code of either English or Kiswahili while Informal CS is viewed as a situation whereby a speaker switches to Informal Codes of either Sheng or Mother Tongue.

The conversation data samples of c3 and c1 show an example of the communicative behaviour in regards to Formal and Informal Codes between male speakers and female speakers. c3 is a data sample of female speakers of different ranks. Arango is of high rank while Sayapa is of lower rank. c1 shows the data sample consisting of a section of conversation between male speakers of different ranks. Rony and Josh are of high rank while Andrew is of low rank. Both data samples show a trend, which was evident across most of the conversations and is summarized in Figure 4 below.
110. ARANGO: Ukweli ni kwamba; unapotakikana, utaambiwa chochote. Babangu husema, “nyako kapodi idwari, gimoramora itimoni!” (The truth is that when you are desired, you will be told anything. My father says, “if a lady is desired then she is given anything she wants.”)

111. SAYAPA: Sasa hiyo ni kusemaje? (Now what does that mean?)

112. ARANGO: Inamaanisha, ukitafutwa, chochote utakacho utakipata, kama wataka kusikia hamna chochote, ati hakuna wife, utaambiwa hivyo hivyo unavyotaka, pete atakitoa mfukoni akiingize mkononi. Siku ile utapelekwa kwao nyumbani… (It means that, when you are wanted, whatever you want, you will be given, if you want to hear that there is nothing, that there is no wife, you will be told that as you want it, he will remove the ring from his pocket and insert it into your finger. The day you will be taken to his home……)

39. RONY: Wachawacha adiera Ainea, niluongebange (just say the truth Ainea, you called her later)

40. JOSH: Nyinyi mbona mnatunyima hivo siri yenu? Kwanini kijaluo sasa? (You guys why are you denying us that secret? Why Dholuo now?)

41. ANDREW: Unajua kuna vitu huwezi sema kwa lugha kama Kiswahili. (You know there are some things you cannot say in Kiswahili language)

The number of instances of both Formal and Informal codes are tallied according to Gender and also Rank (High and Low rank). Therefore figure 4 below shows the statistics for each code both formal and informal against high and low ranks of the different Gender. From this it is possible to get the distribution of both Formal and Informal Codes in all ranks and Gender.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>High Rank Male</th>
<th>High Rank Female</th>
<th>Low Rank Male</th>
<th>Low Rank Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheng</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother tongue</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4. Distribution of Codes During CS (Formal and Informal)
NOTE: The High Rank Speakers are also the Senior Age Group (above 30s) while the Low Rank is also the Junior Age group (below 30s).

Marked Code (Markedness Model) can be seen from instances where a speaker uses a code that most speakers do not expect or do not understand, this is very costly and it requires a high level of confidence, this is the reason why this phenomenon is more common among High rank speakers whenever they are mixed with low rank speakers, for example, in c2 a high rank speaker Arango in 110, uses Dholuo which is not understood by some listeners and also Rony who is also a High rank speaker, uses Dholuo in 39, to the discomfort of some listeners like Josh who shows his displeasure in 40. It can thus be assumed that the High rank speakers tend to initiate such unexpected choices (Marked) without caring about the displeasure of others because of their high level of confidence, which comes from their high positions and senior age bracket.

4.4.2 DISTRIBUTION OF VARIOUS CODES ACCORDING TO GENDER AND RANKS.

The female speakers have more formal codes and formal CS. This conforms to Cheshire (1978) who stated that Female Speakers use more Standard Codes than Male Speakers. Kanana (2003) also stated that Female Speakers are ‘Status Conscious’ and hence preferred English. Cheshire adds that Sex and Age are important variables in CS. As regards Ranks, the High Rank Speakers Male and Female, have more English than their Low Rank counterparts. The High Rank Speaker, Male and Female also have more Kiswahili than their Low Rank counterparts. Therefore the High Rank Speakers have more Formal CS as compared to Low Rank Speakers. As regards Informal Codes of Sheng and Kiswahili, the Low rank Speakers have more Sheng’ than High Rank Speakers but the High Rank speakers have more Mother tongue than the Low Rank Speakers.
The use of all the Codes connotes “Solidarity” for the particular group using it, whether it is the Formal or even the Ethnic languages, (Kanana 2003). This seems to be the case because the High Rank Speakers aim for the ‘High Status Solidarity’ by using more of the Formal Codes and Formal CS, as compared to the Low Rank Speakers. There is also the question of age, in that the High Rank are also the Senior Age group and by using the Formal Code more means that they are creating a boundary in the conversation, not just as regards Rank or position but also Seniority in age and experience.

The question of Age apart from Rank is probably another reason as to why the Speakers of Low Rank have more Sheng as compared to the Speakers of High Rank. As far as Sheng is concerned it had been already established by Echesa (1990) that it is a language system that has evolved in cosmopolitan areas like Nairobi, especially among the youths. She also emphasizes that Sheng is a necessity for youths and is also a form of social identity. The current results therefore seem to conform to Echesa’s view with regard to age. On the other hand the Speakers of High Rank who also are of senior Age group, have more of Mother Tongue as compared to the Speakers of Low Rank. Age is therefore an important determinant for CS among speakers just as Rank is. Characteristics of a person apart from the Setting, Purpose of communication and Topic of conversation forms what Bourhis, (1979, 1985) refers to as ‘Normative Factors’ which affects the way a person uses language, and in this case, Age and Rank are the characteristics that affect how a person Code switches.

It is therefore possible to deduce that Age is one of the factors that makes the High Rank (senior age group) Speakers to have more Mother Tongue than Low Rank (junior age group) Speakers, i.e. those who are older in age always prefer to use Mother tongue more than those who are younger in age, while those who are younger like the Low Rank Speakers may prefer the ‘Sheng’ instead of Mother tongue. This view is supported by the fact that those
who are of Low Rank are all below 30s or in their 20s, while those of High Rank are above 30s and some are even in Mid 30s or late 30s.

Kanana (2003) also states that, Sheng is the language preferred by teenagers and youths in Nairobi and the Low Rank speakers who are not yet 30 years can be said to be just above teenage. They will therefore use a language variety that unifies them or emphasizes solidarity. On the other hand it is deductable that use of Mother tongue signifies seniority in age, because it is the older speakers who always prefer Mother tongue (Kanana 2003). Use of Mother tongue in a group discussion, especially where there are people of different ethnic backgrounds requires high level of confidence by the speakers because it results into exclusion of those speakers who do not understand the language.

This CS behaviour (Switching from a common code to unknown code like Mother tongue) is what Giles (Giles & St Clair, 1979) refers to as Speech Divergence as a part of Speech Accommodation Theory. It is divergence because the speaker has chosen a Code that is not understood by some participants. Confidence in this case seems to come from seniority in terms of Age and High Rank. For Example in c3 (Female Speakers of Different Ranks), Arango uses Dholuo Code which some participants who are not Dholuo speakers do not understand; in c3, Arango who is a High Rank and also Senior of Age exhibits the CS from Kiswahili to Mother tongue (Dholuo) at no. 110. In c1, Rony who is also of High Rank Code Switches to Mother tongue at no. 39.

This therefore means that Gender and Age are major variables in language use and consequently CS. Rank is one of the Variables examined, together with Sex and Age. From this, it can be concluded that the High Rank/Senior Age prefer Formal CS and Formal Codes as a way of indicating their high status solidarity. Their preference of Mother tongue to Sheng also shows that the speakers (High Rank/Senior Age) are conservative and proud of
their Mother tongue and are not embarrassed to use it in public even if some listeners do not understand. This behaviour is also attributed to people who are of Senior Age and Rank. The Lower Ranks/Junior age on the other hand, have less Formal Codes and Formal CS but have more Sheng than Mother tongue. This shows that while the High Rank Speakers/Senior Age are more Formal and Standard, the Low Rank Speakers/Junior age are less Formal and non Standard. Female Speakers also have more of Formal Codes/Formal CS than Male Speakers; therefore Female Speakers are more Formal and standard than Male Speakers and High Rank/Senior Age are also more Formal and standard than the Low Rank/Junior Age. Therefore it appears that indeed Gender and Rank are major determining factors in regard to Formal and Informal CS.

The results also reflect the Markedness Model (Scotton 1993), which identifies Socio-psychological motivations of language use whereby speakers' feelings and perception of intergroup relations. Male speakers seem to be more aware of themselves when they are mixed with Female speakers; that is why they demonstrate their confidence by being relaxed and hence more use of CS. On the other hand, Female speakers use Unswitched Code more than Male speakers whenever they are mixed, to show their opposition to the 'Male domination.' With regard to Formal and Informal CS, the Female Speakers tend to have more Formal and Informal CS as compared to Male Speakers. Specifically, Female speakers of high ranks and Low ranks have more English than their Male counterparts of the same ranks. The Female speakers of High rank also have more Kiswahili than Male Speakers of the same rank. However, Male Speakers of Low ranks have more Kiswahili than their Female counterparts of the same Rank/Age group.
4.5 EFFECT OF ‘OUTSIDERS’ DURING CONVERSATION.

4.5.1 INTRODUCTION

During each conversation, there was no other person in the Staffroom except the Speakers. This was done to ensure that the participants speak as freely and as confidently as possible. The Study therefore aimed to examine how the participants reacted to the entry by other people who were not part of the conversation. In this instance, the study wanted to find out if CS was one of the reactions to the entry by ‘outsiders’ and also probably how it manifested among various speakers. During each conversation, there was an entry into the Staffroom by people who were not part of the conversation group, as shown in the data samples below:

116. RONY: Hata sio lazima tukutane na wazazi as if hii Ni high school, inafia tu sheria ziwekwe tu kama sheria zingine na zifuatiliwe, wale hawatafuata, waadhibiwe,

(At this point a student enters the staffroom, looks around.)

after all this is a learning institution, we are the ones to control and guide these students, not the other way round. (Infact its not a must that we must meet with the parents as if it's a High school, Rules should be put in place and enforced, those who will not comply can be punished, after all this is a learning institution, we are the ones to control and guide these students, not the other way round.)

117. JOSH: Me I believe in looking at the person beneath, not the outer person, so things like dressing is upon the student achukue ama akatae.

(The student (male) whispers to Mr. Chome then leaves the room)

127. HALLA: It’s obvious that big men fear big women.

128. JOHN/ELVIS/RYONY: That’s a lie!

(The Deputy Principal enters the staffroom, waves at the groups, they wave back, he sits down near the staffroom phone and dials a number.)

129. HALLA: Hao ndiyo wengi wao wako single, kwa sababu wanaogopwa. (Most of them are single, because they are feared)
130. ELVIS: Nobody fears them, ona Wambui ni mkubwa na ameolewa na mtu mdogo kama Mbugua.  
Mwanamke haogopwi! *(Nobody fears them, look at Wambui who is older but is married to a younger man like Mbugua. Women are not feared.)*

(The Senior Management Staff leaves the room.)

c3

135. ARANGO: Thanks.  
(silence as a male lecturer (Mr. Andrew enters the room. he stays for one minute then leaves the room.)

136. ROSA: There is another lecturer here, anabore sana. There is another lecturer here, he bores me so much)

c4

136. FRED: *Manze, hiyo mtapewa kichapo! mtanyoroshwa! (My friend you will be given a thorough beating! Yu will be beaten!)*

(There is silence as a female student enters the room. she checks around then leaves the room.)

137. HALLA: Ubava wa wanaume wanapenda hall hata kushinda mabibi zao! *(This is the problem with men, they love football even more than their wives!)*

c5

7. JAMES: Was it a drama or what?

27. HILDA: Naweza kukucorrect kidogo! *(I can correct you!)*

(Silence as The Senior Management Staff enters the room, Mr. Victor signals him to come and join but he declines. smiles and points at his watch. He calls Victor and they talk in low tones.)*

31. HILDA: Let me talk about salvation, na wale watu wameokoka; the devil takes advantage of those people who are saved because those are the people who are against him, so he tries to corrupt their minds, kuwataoa kwa uwepo wa mungu, lakimi wale wa kidunia ni watu wake. *(Let me talk about salvation and those who are saved; the devil takes advantage of those people who are saved because those are the people who are against him, so he tries to corrupt their minds.)*

32. JAMES: This guy maybe there was something even if he was a Christian. there are somethings he had not cleaned. the Bible says clearly, if your finger disturbs you, cut it. Even if the person dies directly he will go to heaven directly.
In c1, there was an entry by a student and it led to an immediate Code Switching by Rony who was using Kiswahili/English CS when the student entered the room shifted immediately to English only, which is more formal than the CS of Kiswahili/English. Most likely he did that because they were discussing students' morality. By switching to English and continuing on the same Topic using the more Formal Variety was a way of making the conversation seem like an Official interaction instead of Informal and more of gossip. Rony, as a High Rank Lecturer and also senior age (Senior Lecturer and Early 30s respectively) made this move as a way of protecting their image and dignity as lecturers and staff. He understood that it would dent their reputation if a student hears them discussing students in CS variety, which was akin to “lecturers gossiping about Students.”

Most students normally interact with their teachers and Lecturers on Official or in Standard Codes, as a sign of respect and distance. That is what Rony Probably wanted to maintain: the distance and respect between him and the lecturers. Therefore, the Code Switching occurred after Rony had assessed the benefits of doing so i.e. preserving his dignity and maintaining distance between him as a Lecturer from the student.

In c2, there was an entry by a Senior Management Staff of the college. During the Senior Management Staff’s presence, Halla at no. 129 had CS (Kiswahili/English), yet before the ‘outsider’s entry in 127, she had used the Unswitched English Code. On the other hand, Elvis, John and Rony had used an English Code at 128 before the entry by the ‘outsider.’ Halla and Elvis both used CS (Kiswahili/English) when the ‘outsider’ was in the room. Whereas the ‘outsider’ was a Senior Management Staff and most likely of higher Rank than all the speakers, the speakers were of high Rank and therefore the distance in Rank between the ‘outsider’ and the speakers is small. Unlike the low rank speakers, the high rank speakers
therefore do not feel much intimidated by him. The use of CS clearly shows solidarity and lack of intimidation or tension by the presence of the Management staff to the Speakers. The Topic they were discussing (equality in men and women) was also not controversial in any way to make them tense or afraid.

Infact it was a topic that they could have probably allowed the ‘outsider’ to also participate in. The use of CS indicated that they were not only afraid or intimidated by his presence, but were showing solidarity with him as a fellow senior member of staff; this conforms to Scotton (1983b) theory, which states that language switches are not always determined by norms but that language switches take place within a normative framework but that norms determine the relative Markedness of the linguistic Codes. She adds that the interlocutors are free to assert their motivations, as all Code choices are open to them. In this case, the motivation for CS is most likely to be ‘in solidarity’ with the Senior Management Staff. In this instance, Unmarked Code could therefore be the one being used by the speakers frequently (even before the entry of the ‘outsider) while the Marked Code could be a different Code, which was not being used frequently by the speakers but is adopted upon the entry of the senior management staff.

In c3 and c4, the entry by ‘outsiders’ resulted to silence by the speakers. In c3, there was an entry by a Male lecturer in the Staffroom at a time when only Female participants of different Ranks were conversing and in c4, there was an entry by a Female Student when a group comprising of Male and Female Speakers of Low ranks were Conversing. In both instances there was no CS upon the entry of the ‘outsider. In c3 the female speakers were much more relaxed and comfortable because they were alone and this fact could be seen from the fact that they had more CS levels than when they were mixed with male speakers. Therefore the sudden entry of a male lecturer (Andrew) creates tension, which was exhibited by silence among speakers. In c4, the speakers were using CS of Sheng/Kiswahili.
CS is a non-Standard Code and the use of Sheng is also non-standard or Informal. The Speakers in c3 were therefore Informal and non-standard and infact the topic they were discussing was football. The fact that they became silent during the presence of the student shows that the entry of the student made the speakers to become conscious of their position and because they did not want the student to hear them discussing such an informal topic. Silence was therefore a weapon to protect their image and it also helped to reinforce the distance between them (staff) and the student.

However in c5 whereby Male and Female speakers of High Ranks were conversing, a Senior Management Staff entered the room. Hilda, one of the participants in the conversation uses CS (English/Kiswahili) during the presence of the ‘outsider.’ James uses an Unswitched English code during the presence of the ‘outsider.’ Infact one of the participants beckons the ‘outsider’ to join them. The language behaviour of both Hilda and James show maintenance of the status quo by language use for both Male and Female Speakers. Before the entry of the ‘outsider,’ Hilda was using CS of English/Kiswahili and James was using English code. i.e.

7. JAMES: Was it a drama or what?
27. HILDA: Naweza kukucorrect kidogo! (I can correct you!)

In 27 above, before the ‘outsider’ entered, Hilda had spoken in a CS variety of English/Kiswahili and James in no. 7 had also spoken in English. By maintaining the same pattern shows that both speakers who were of high ranks and senior age, were neither intimidated nor perturbed by the presence of the Senior Management Staff. The composure of the group is also symbolized by the fact that one of the speakers (Victor) had signaled the ‘outsider’ to join them.
The language behaviour of this group can therefore be likened to Tajfel and Turner's (1977) phenomena of language Maintenance that according to Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & St Clair, 1979) reflects the motivations to maintain or assert positive ethno linguistic identities. The speakers here are asserting their solidarity with the outsider by both maintaining their CS and language pattern and it is also reinforced when one of them signals him to join them. This attitude can also be explained by the fact that the group comprises of only High Rank Speakers/Senior age and it is probable that although the 'outsider' was Management Staff, there was no major disparity in Rank and even the Age between him and the speakers. Therefore Rank is a factor which determines the effect of 'outsider' on the CS behaviour of the given speakers and that is most likely the reason why CS patterns speakers in c5 who are of High Rank were not affected by the 'outsider's' entry.
CHAPTER 5

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.1.1 SUMMARY.

The Male speakers generally have more CS than Female Speakers whenever the two Genders are present in the same conversation. This could be seen from the fact that in two out of three mixed Conversation groups; the Male Speakers have more CS than their Female counterparts. On the other hand whenever the Male and Female Speakers are not mixed, the Female Speakers exhibit more CS levels in comparison to their Male counterparts. Therefore female speakers use more formal and standard language while in the presence of male speakers inorder to exhibit independence.

The results of the Unswitched Code are the exact opposite of the case in Code Switching; whereas the Male Speakers use more CS than Female Speakers whenever the two are mixed, the Female Speakers on the other hand use more of the Unswitched Code whenever they are mixed with Male Speakers. However, Female Speakers who are on their own have more CS than Male Speakers who are on their own. On the other hand, Female Speakers who are on their own have more Unswitched Code than Male Speakers who are also on their own, which indicates that female speakers are much formal and standardized even when alone as compared to male speakers who are alone.

According to Ranks, the Female Low Rank speakers have more CS and Unswitched Code than the Male Speakers. Among the High Rank speakers; the Male Speakers have more CS and Unswitched Code than the Female Speakers. The Female Speakers of Low
Ranks have more CS levels than those of High Ranks, while the reverse is the case for Male Speakers; where the High Rank Speakers have more CS than the Low Rank speakers, this is most likely due to the fact that while the Female speakers of High ranks are more conscious of their rank and therefore limit their use of the non standard code (CS) as compared to their low rank counterparts. The Male speakers of High rank aren’t as conscious of their rank and therefore they don’t mind using the non standard code (CS), as compared to their low rank counterparts.

As regards Formal and Informal CS, female Speakers of both high and low ranks use more English than the male speakers. Female speakers of high ranks have more English than their male counterparts of the same rank while also the female speakers of low ranks/junior age have more English as compared to their male counterparts of the same Rank/Age. The Female Speakers of High Ranks/Senior Age also have more Kiswahili than their Male counterparts of High Rank/Senior Age but the Male speakers of Low Rank/Junior Age have more Kiswahili than the Female counterparts of Low Ranks, which most likely indicates that the two genders perceive Kiswahili differently. Female speakers perceive it as a language, which is to be used for official purposes, and therefore a symbol of high status and this is why Female speakers of High ranks have more of it than their Low rank counterparts. The Male speakers on the other hand perceive Kiswahili probably as a language for solidarity, relaxation and socialization and to them it is not as Formal as it is to the female speakers and this is probably why among the male speakers it is the Low rank speakers who have more of it than the High rank speakers.
This also means that the Female Speakers have more Formal Codes in CS than the Male speakers, consequently the Female Speakers have more Formal CS than the Male Speakers. Female Speakers of High Ranks and Senior Age have the highest levels of Formal CS. As regards Ranks, the High Rank Speakers Male and Female, have more English than their Low Rank counterparts. The High Rank Speakers, Male and Female also have more Kiswahili than their Low Rank counterparts. Therefore the High Rank Speakers have more Formal CS as compared to Low Rank Speakers. On Informal Codes, the Low rank Speakers have more Sheng’ than High Rank Speakers but on Mother Tongue, the High Rank Speakers/Senior Age have more instances than Low Rank/Junior Age Speakers.

This difference could be attributed to the fact that the speakers of High Rank (senior aged) use the Informal Codes differently from the way their Low ranked (junior aged) colleagues perceive themselves. The Low rank/Junior aged speakers probably perceive themselves as nationalistic and that is the reason for preferring Sheng’ unlike the Senior aged/High rank who probably perceive themselves more as proud members of their ethnic groups rather than nationalistic and thus their preference for Mother-tongue instead of Sheng’. The Low rank/junior age perceive themselves also as members of a social network at the staffroom and they view their staffroom interaction as to be the same as any other conversation elsewhere like in the streets, bars etc. Due to this they prefer Sheng’ or Kiswahili which have been recognized as languages of socialization and brotherhood (Kanana 2003).
The High rank/Senior aged on the other hand also probably perceive themselves not just as members of a social network, but 'senior members of that network,' they also do not view staffroom conversation to be just like others but a completely unique one with its set of norms. It is such differences in-group perceptions that also lead to a difference in the CS behaviour of the two groups (Low rank, Junior age group and High rank, Senior age group). How group members perceive themselves in comparison to other groups affects the thought system and therefore speech behaviour of the members. Scotton (1993) explained this behaviour by noting that Socio-structural features (such as age, rank and gender) of speakers play important role in CS.

On the Entry of Outsiders, in c1, where Male Speakers were Speaking alone, the speaker who was using CS, turned to a Formal and Unswitched Code after the entry of a student and in c2, the Speakers (Male and Female) who were using an Unswitched Code, turned to CS after the entry of an outsider (Senior Management Staff.) In c3, the entry by 'outsiders' was followed by silence. In c3, there was an entry by a Male lecturer in the Staffroom at a time when Female participants of different Ranks were conversing and in c4, there was an entry by a Female Student when a group comprising of Male and Female Speakers of Low ranks were Conversing and in c5 (High Ranks) the Speakers maintain their language behaviour even after the entrance of the Outsider (Senior Management Staff).

Therefore topic of conversation affects how the speakers code switch or react whenever 'outsiders' enter the room. This could be noticed from c1, where the topic being discussed
involved students and therefore an entry by a student made the speakers to switch from CS to Unswitched form while silence was a reaction at the entry of a Male staff in c3 when Female speakers were discussing subjects that they probably couldn’t discuss comfortably with a Male colleague present. Speakers in c4 maintained their CS behaviour even when a student entered because they were comfortable to discuss the topic even with the student present. In c5 Rank of the speakers could be seen to be a reason for maintaining their CS behaviour even after the entry of the ‘outsider.’ The high rank speakers in c5 and the ‘outsider’ were almost of same rank and therefore ‘outsider’s presence did not intimidate the speakers to necessitate a change in CS behaviour.

5.1.2 CONCLUSIONS
The conclusions given are in accordance with the Research Theories, which were used, and also the Research Objectives. The research was aimed at establishing CS patterns existing amongst male and female speakers, the existence and manifestation of Formal and informal CS, whether ‘outsiders’ in the room could affect the CS patterns and the manifestation of CS amongst speakers of different ranks.

There is a distinctive CS pattern between the two Genders; this could be seen from the fact that Male Speakers tended to be more Informal (more CS) than Female Speakers when they were mixed, while when they are mixed, the Female Speakers tended to be more Formal (more Unswitched Code) than the Male Speakers. While whenever they were alone, Female speakers tended to be more Informal (more CS) than Male speakers who are alone. The Male speakers who are alone tend to be more formal (less CS and
more Unswitched Code). This therefore means that Gender of speakers is an important motivating factor to the CS pattern used. While the Male Speakers seem more relaxed when mixed with Female Speakers, they are less so when they are alone and the Female Speakers seem less relaxed when they are with Male Speakers but more relaxed when alone. This clearly indicates that the Socio-Psychological differences between Male and Females account for how they view themselves when they are alone and when they are with members of the opposite sex, this therefore leads to differences in how they use language when alone and when they are mixed.

A clear overall pattern can be observed; Male Speakers are generally Informal/non standard while Female Speakers are generally Formal/standard. This can be explained by the fact that there is a constant power struggle in the society between different groups. The two Gender (Male and Female) are examples of two groups with distinctive Socio-structural vitalities (Scotton 1993). Kenya being a male-dominated society in terms of power, puts the Female group in a position where they have to demonstrate their independence, aggressiveness and dissatisfaction with the power equation; which they do by resorting to Formal codes when speaking while male speakers prefer using Informal codes as a way of showing their satisfaction and confidence with the power situation in the society. The factors of Confidence and lack of Pressure come into focus when Male and Female Speakers were examined according to their Ranks/Age Groups.

Generally, the atmosphere during the conversation among the High Rank/Senior Age group appears to be more formal because there is more Unswitched Code than CS as
compared to Low Rank/Lower Age group. Both Male and Female Speakers Code Switch less in Higher Rank as compared to lower Rank where they Code Switch more. This shows that generally the Rank is a major factor that determines CS pattern, regardless of whether they are Male or Female Speakers. The same could also be observed in the case of Formal and Informal CS whereby; the High Rank/Senior Age groups tend to have more Formal CS than the Low Rank/Junior Age Groups. The Low Rank having more Sheng than the High Rank and the High Rank having more Mother tongue than the Low Rank could be explained to be as a result of mostly the Rank and even their Age Group. According to Kanana (2003) Sheng is an informal language, which is a mixture of Kiswahili and local languages and is spoken mostly in cosmopolitan areas by the youths. She also noted in his research that mature adults preferred Mother tongue. Age is another determining factor in CS, which the study has identified. The Low Rank speakers who are also the junior age group (below 30 years), which means that they fall within the youths, bracket; it is therefore not surprising that they are using Sheng. The High Rank speakers are also senior-aged (above 30s) and therefore the seniority in age is most likely to be the reason for their using more Mother tongue than Sheng.

The entry of outsiders and the CS reaction of the speakers were determined by the Topic being discussed and the Rank of the Speakers. When the speakers were discussing a Topic about Students, the entry by a student led to an instant Switch from an Informal CS code to a Formal Unswitched Code. This could be an effect by the student’s entry and the resultant change was the reaction. The same could be said about the silence which
resulted from the entry by a Male lecturer during a conversation by Female Speakers. In this case Language change and Silence performed the same role. In all those cases, by changing the language behaviour, the speakers had assessed the potential costs and rewards before making the change and in all the 3 cases the speakers do not want the ‘outsider’ to hear and be part of the conversation. For instance in the first case where Rony switched to English, he didn’t want to be portrayed as a gossiper (a lecturer discussing students using Informal Codes).

Therefore the entry of the student reminded him of his status as a lecturer and he consequently switched fast to English to protect his image as a lecturer. Silence was also used by the Female Speakers as a weapon to protect their dignity from the Male lecturer and also because they were discussing Men. Therefore in all the cases the Speakers had assessed the costs, which could have been a loss of respect by being referred to as gossippers, and also the rewards; protecting their image and dignity. This study therefore would like to conclude that silence is also a Marked Choice in this context because it performed the same role as the Code Choice of English by Rony (c1). The entry of a Senior Management staff led to a change in language behaviour from a Formal to Informal in c2; speakers who were using Unswitched Code turned to CS while in c5 there was no effect at all in the language behaviour. From this it is possible to deduct that the entry of the Senior Management Staff occurred when the speakers were discussing Topics which could not create conflict or embarrassment and by either turning to Informal language behaviour or maintaining their behaviour, the speakers were actually
indicating that the ‘outsider’ was welcome to take part and also the speakers are not intimidated by his presence.

However the c5 group who maintained their pattern showed that they were the least intimidated by his presence, in fact from their speech it was not possible to tell whether there was someone in the room. This is probably due to the fact that conversation (c5) consisted of only High Rank/Senior Aged speakers therefore they are more familiar with the Senior Management Staff. The c2 conversation group consisted of both the Low and High Rank Speakers (Male and Female). Halla and Elvis who were both Low Rank Speakers had to show their colleagues that although they were of Low Rank they were not intimidated or affected in any way by the entrance of the Senior Management Staff, this they did by changing from Formal Unswitched Code to CS. These contrasts with the High Rank Speakers in conversation (c5) who didn’t have to show that they were not intimidated, they simply maintained their pattern.

This therefore signifies a difference in level of confidence between the Low Rank/Junior Age group and the High Rank/Senior Age Group with the result showing that the High Rank/Senior Age group has more Confidence than the Low Rank/Junior age group. High Rank Speakers/Senior Age and Low Rank speakers/Junior Age are both aware of their different Statuses, and this makes them to react differently in their Speech to indicate their level of confidence during the entry of the Senior Management Staff in their respective conversations. In both cases, they were both (Low Rank and High Rank)
trying to show their confidence but they do so in different ways depending on their
Status.

5.1.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.

This study makes several Recommendations; the first one is on the Variable of Age and
Rank. It is first of all important to note that at the beginning, this study had hoped to
examine Age Group as an independent Variable but upon collection of the Data, it was
realized that the Age groups of the speakers were synonymous with the Ranks in that the
High Rank Speakers were at the same time the Senior Age group; this was probably due
to the fact that staff at the Nairobi Aviation College are Promoted to High Ranking
positions due to their age and experience. Due to this fact, the study would consequently
like to recommend another research to be carried out with a focus on Age as a separate
entity from Rank. This may most likely uncover different results, which would be very
important to the understanding of this work and for the benefit of the Field of Code
Switching as a whole.

The study would also like to recommend further research in the area of Formality and
Informality as a feature that has an effect on either the language behaviour or CS pattern
of the Speakers. This would also help to uncover other potential variables, which
determine language behaviour of individuals of different characteristics. The same could
be done to many other groups apart from College staff. It is also a recommendation of
this study that the area of Code Switching be studied more extensively. This may unravel
more information concerning Socio-Psychological perceptions and behaviour of
mankind. In this regard this study recommends a future study of Code Switching among other groups like Politicians in Parliament, Hawkers, Family members, scientists, Businessmen and any other group of people working or living together. Eventually such data of different people may be very useful to not only Linguistics but even to Psychiatry in understanding the cognitive features of different people.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

THE DATA TRANSCRIPTION

The data received came from the staff of Nairobi Aviation College. The data was collected at times when the different speakers met at the Staffroom; mostly during breaks such as Lunch break at 12 PM – 2PM and tea break at 4 PM. The data was collected in the following categories:

1. Male speakers of different ranks. (Conversation 1/C1)
2. Mixture of male and female speakers; different ranks. (C2)
3. Female speakers of different ranks. (C3)
4. Mixture of male and female speakers; low ranks. (C4)
5. Mixture of male and female speakers; high ranks. (C5)

LANGUAGES USED:

1. English is the Official language in Kenya.
2. Kiswahili is the National language in Kenya.
3. Sheng’ is an informal language used in Cosmopolitan areas and is used in more informal communication contexts than either English or Kiswahili.
4. Mother tongues; these are the native languages of the various ethnic communities.

English; is upright.
Kiswahili; is upright.
Mother tongue/Sheng’; is Italicised.
Mother tongue, Sheng’ and Kiswahili to English translation; (Italicised and bracketed), it is also the Transcription mode of all non-English speech.
All the non-English words have been translated.

1. MALE SPEAKERS OF DIFFERENT RANKS (C1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>AGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chume Alexander</td>
<td>a head of Department</td>
<td>(Mid 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rony Wasike</td>
<td>a Senior lecturer</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Andrew</td>
<td>a Junior lecturer</td>
<td>(Mid 20s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josh Mageno</td>
<td>a Head of Department</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvis Githunguri</td>
<td>a Librarian</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NB: The names are not real names.

1. CHUME: Sasa waalimu wenzangu, sisi wote ni wanaume. Mimi nimekuja hapa kama miezi mbili sasa, na vile nimeona hawa wanafunzi wanadress, si jui kama Colle ina sheria ama? Pengine mnielezee kwa sababu wanadress vibaya sana mpaka wanawashamili wenzao. Ukiingia class na ulikuwa umepeanga kufunza, hata utashindwa kufunza. Kama ilikuwa hesabu ilikuwa one plus one utasema ni eleven. (My fellow
teachers all of us are men, I've been here for two months now, but the way students dress, I wonder if the College has rules or what? Maybe you can tell me because they dress very badly that they affect their colleagues. When you enter a class ready to teach, you will not be able to teach. If it was Mathematics, instead of one plus one being two, you'll forget and say eleven)

2. RONY: Sasa wewe utaona umepata kwa sababu one plus one utaona ni eleven because the ones are next to each other, but to say the truth even me am a newcomer here but you wonder the way ladies dress, someone wasas a very short dress or a tight one, when she walks and her body collapses it cannot be picked, what can we do? when you are teaching your eyes are misdirected that you even forget what you were teaching)

3. CHUME: Hebu Joash tuelezee, nafikiri kati yetu sisi sote, wewe ndio umekaa muda mrefu katika College hii. (Joash tell us, I think among all of us here, you have been here the longest time in this College.)

4. JOSH: Most of the students kwa hii college wamekuwa models, in the modeling world in order for them to do it, lazima a start from this area, so vile anadress, anataka kugather that confidence ndio imasaidie in future. (Most of the students in this College are models, in the modeling world for them to do it, one must start from this area, so how they dress they want to gather that confidence which will help her in future)

5. RONY: Lakini kila kitu inawakati wake, kama ni masomo ni masomo inawakati wake, hapa hatufunzi modeling. (But everything has its own time, if its learning it is learning, here we don't teach modeling)

6. JOSH: One thing remains, when you are a model, you have to behave like a model full time.

7. CHUME: Wewe Bwana Joash, inaonekana hawa watu unawatetea sana? You Mr. Josh, it seems like you are defending them so much?)

8. ANDREW: Wacheni niwaambie, huyu Josh anajua mbona anawatetea; Josh unakumbuka ile siku nilikutana nawewe kwa class na yule msichana? (Let me tell you, Josh here knows why he is defending them; Josh do you remember the day I caught in class with that girl?)

9. JOSH: Hiyo ni uwongo, it's a lie! (That is a lie, it's a lie!)

10. CHUME: Mimi naona kuna vile waalimu pia wanachangia. Msichana akivaa vibaya, wewe hata kama haumkatazi, it will determine whether she will continue dressing like that or not! As lecturers, hata kama some students ni age mates wetu, lakini we have to behave like parents; tusijuweke katika ile nafasi yao kwa hivyo tukianza kuwaunga mkono jinsi wanavaa itakuwa mbaya zaidi. (For me I think some teachers contribute. If a girl dresses badly you if you don't even warn her it will determine whether she will continue dressing like that or not! As lecturers eve if some students are our agemates, but we have to behave like parents; lets not put ourselves in their positions so if we start defending them the way they dress it will be very bad.)
11. RONY: Tusiangalie wanafunzi wasichana pekee, pia wanafunzi waume na waalimu waume kama sisi pia. (Let's not focus on female students alone, even male students and male teachers like us.)

12. CHUME: Ndio kwa sababu nauliza; College iko na sheria? (That's why I am asking; does the college have rules?)

13. JOSH: There is one thing you are not understanding; tell me, what if one of these ladies comes to you ten years from now, akuambie; 'were it not for you, I would be a model now.'

14. ANDREW: Hiyo ni mbaya, aibu! (That's bad, shameful!)

15. JOSH: Lakini najua sifundishi modeling but you see this person interest yake ni modeling. (But I know I don't teach modeling but you see this person's interest is in modeling)

16. RONY: Let me tell you, there are some institutions, kuna those courses zenye wanafundisha modeling, si aende huko. (Let me tell you, there are some institutions that they teach modeling, she should go there.)

17. JOSH: You see this person ako na different interests, ako na interests za urembo, hotel management na pia modeling. (You see this person has different interests; she has interest in beauty, hotel management and even modeling.)

18. RONY: Lakini hatuongei kuhusu modeling, tunaongea kuhusu mavazi! (But we are not talking about modeling, we are talking about dressing)

19. CHUME: Basi inaonekana mimi ndio niko mahali pabaya, I was employed here kufunza Masscommunication, we Joash you were employed here to teach Engineering, not modeling. (Then its seems like I am the one who is in the wrong place, I was employed here to teach Masscommunication, You Joash you were employed here to teach Engineering, not modeling)

20. RONY: Kwanza Engineering ndio ngumu zaidi Bwana Joash, hesabu kitambo mwanafunzu ashike ikiwa amevaa vile; skirt imembana... (Infact Engineering is much difficult Mr Joash, a student understanding Mathematics while dressed like that; a tight skirt...)

21. ANDREW: Wacha hata hiyo Bwana Ronald, nikuulize Bwana Joash, msichana amekaa hapa na mwingine upande mwingine na mvulana amekaa katikati na msichana mmoja amevaa mini skirt kisha ameweka mguu juu, sasa pale unafikiri huyu mvulana ataelewa hizo hesabu zako? (Leave alone even that Mr. Ronald, can I ask you Mr Joash, a girl sitting here and another one the other side and a boy in the middle and one girl is wearing a Mini skirt with one leg on top of the other, now there do you think the boy will understand you Mathematics?)

22. RONY: Imagine hiyo Joash! (Imagine that Mr. Joash!)

23. ANDREW: Hata wewe ukiacha kufunza halafu uangalie pale, si utaandika kwa ubao vitu haufai kuandika? (Even you if you stop teaching and look in that direction wouldn't you write what you are not supposed to write on the board?)

24. JOSH: Hata waalimu pia inafaa tuwaangalie, unapata waalimu wakike, paja nzima iko nje na sisi ni waalimu, wanatuharibia image yetu. (We should look at even teachers, you find a female lecturer with all her thighs exposed yet we are teachers, they are destroying our image.)

25. CHUME: Kwa kusema ukweli kuna waalimu hawavai vizuri. (To say the truth, there are some teachers who don't dress well)
26. ANDREW: Nilikuwa nakunywa chai nikazubaa na madam kwa staffroom mpaka chai
ikanimmwagikia (laughter). (I was drinking tea and I was gazing at a madam in the
staffroom until tea poured on me)
27. JOSH: Nakuambia hiyo ingekuwa ni moto ingekuchoma sana. (I tell you if that was
hot you would have been seriously burnt.)
28. CHUME: Nafikiri mambo ya waalimu tuache kwa sababu huyu Ronald ako karibu
sana na yule Madam Jacinta…..(laughter). (I think we should stop discussing the issue
of teachers because this Ronald is very close to that madam Jacinta)
29. JOSH: Unaona hata haongei sasa. (You see he cant even talk now)
30. CHUME: Sisi ni wanaume Bwana, mtu akipeleka hii mambo tunajadiliana kwa
mamadam, tutadeal(madams we will deal) naye. (We are men and if anyone reveals what
we are discussing here to the madams, we shall deal with him)
31. ANDREW: Lakini niwaulize, ni wanafunzi wanawake pekee ama pia wanaume
wanavaa hivi? Nafikiri hata wao kuna vile wanavaa, mpaka walimu wakike wanasikia
vibaya. (But can I ask you, it’s the female students only or even the male one do this? I
think even them they dress so badly that it makes the female lecturers feel bad.)
32. CHUME: Sasa hi shida inwaffect (it affects) sana wasichana kuliko wavulana. (Now
this problem affects mostly girls more than boys)
33. ANDREW: Wanaume wakishavaa to malongi wanakuwa sawa. Nakumbuka
nilimwona msichana mmoja kata kuinama kuokota kalamu ilimshinda! (Men after putting
on trousers it is OK. I remember I saw one girl who couldn’t even bend to pick a pen.)
34. RONY: Lakini hawa wasichana wako college, unapata kunawale wamekuja kutafuta
mabwana tu, na kuna yule amekuja kutafuli mabwana tu, na kuna yule amekuja apte makartasi yake apte kazi, at least.
35. ANDREW: Hiyo ni sawa. (But these girls in College, you find there are those who
have come to look for husbands only and there is one who has come to get her papers so
that she can get a job.)
36. JOSH: Lakini kufuata kanuni za shule, kweli haifai wanafunzi wanakike wavae hivyo
mahali kuna wanafunzi wanaume, itasaidia kuzuia rapists. (But according to the College
Rules, honestly female students should not dress like that where there are male students,
it will help to discourage rapists)
37. ANDREW: Mimi nilikuwa nasahihisha makaratasi ofisini mwangu, akaingia
msichana wa Masscommunication Department akauliza, “mwalimu nikupe mali?”
mdomo wangu ulitetemeka sana, nikashindwa hata kuongea. Aliona haya akatoka nje. (I
was marking some papers in my office when one lady from Masscommunication
Department entered and asked, “teacher can I give you something?” my mouth shook, I
was tongue-tied. She got embarrassed and went out.)
38. CHUME: Sema ukweli! (laughter) (Say the truth)
39. RONY: Wachawacha adiera Ainea, niluongebang’ e (just say the truth Ainea, you
called her later) (Just sayu the truth Ainea, you called her later)
40. JOSH: Nyinyi mbona mnatunyima hiyo siri yenu? Kwanini kijaluo sasa? (You guys
why are you denying us that secret? Why Dholuo now?)
41. ANDREW: Unajua kuna vitu huwezi sema kwa lugha kama Kiswahili. (You know
there are some things you cannot say in Kiswahili language)
42. RONY: Unaona Bwana Joash, weve ni HOD, na mwanafunzi anamfuata mwalimu
mpaka kwa ofisi yake na bado unawatetea. (You see Mr. Joash, you are a HOD; a
student is following a lecturer in the office yet you are still defending them.)
43. ANDREW: Mtu kama mimi nilitoka Campus juzi, natafuta bibi..... *(Someone like me I came from recently, I am searching for a wife...)*

44. RONY: Kulingana na vile unasema, waachwe wavae vile wanataka. *(From what you are saying, they should be left alone to dress as they like?)*

45. ANDREW: Ndiyo, wavae vile wanataka. *(Yes, let them dress the way they like)*

46. RONY: Na waalimu walio na mabibi na watoto kama sisi tutakosewa heshima! *(And teachers who have wives and children like us will be disrespected!)*

47. CHUME: Sasa itabidi utafute wa pili Bwana. *(laughter) (Now it will force you to look for another one)*

48. JOSH: Ukienda class, even if someone is dressed in a bad way, wewe endelea tu kufundisha. *(If you go to class and someone is dressed badly you just go on teaching.)*

49. CHUME: Bwana Joash, macho hayana pazia, utafunza kweli? *(Mr Joash, eyes don’t have curtains, will you really teach?)*

50. RONY: Utafikiri unafunza halafu ushtukie yu macho yako pale! *(You will think that you are teaching then suddenly you find your eyes staring in that direction.)*

51. CRUME: Ama Joash una kasoro Fulani. Hata kama uko saved lazima utakuwa affected. *(Or Joash you have a problem. Even if you are saved you have to be affected.)*

52. JOSH: Ukiangalia magazine, utaona tu mapaja, kifua, kwa hivyo hii ni mambo inakubaliwa ulimwenguni kote. *(If you look at any magazine, you will see thighs, chest, so these things are nowadays normal and acceptable worldwide.)*

53. CHUME: Nafikiri hii sio mbaya kwa Joash, kwa vile pia yeye mwanaume na ni Bachelor nafikiri. *(I think this is not bad for Joash, because he is also a man and a bachelor I think.)*

54. ANDREW: Na Joash hebu tuambie, ile kesi yako iliendaa? Nasikia ulipelekwa mbele kwa Principal kwa sababu ya wasichana wawili walikuwa wanakupigania? *(And Joash please tell us, how did your case go? I hear you were taken to the Principal because of two ladies who were fighting for you?)*

55. RONY: Tusitoke nje ya mjadala Ainea, unajua sisi waalimu ndio inafaa tuwaonyeshe wanafunzi njia. Madams vile wana dress, (they dress) unapata wanavaa miniskirt, na wakati wa chai unapata kwamba unachanganyikiwa, kwa hivyo inafaa tujikague kama waalimu kabla kuangalia ya wanafunzi. *(Let’s not get out of the topic of discussion Ainea, you know we as teachers we are the ones supposed to show students the way. How madams dress! You find that they dress in miniskirt and they also seem to be confused, so we are supposed to examine ourselves as teachers before looking at students.)*

56. ANDREW: Ndiyo, tuangalie waalimu kwanza. Tupatie mfano kutoka kwa waalimu. *(Yes! Let’s look at teachers first. Give us an example from teachers.)*

57. CHUME: Lazima tudeal *(we deal)* nao kwanza, kwasababu hata waswahili husema kikulacho kinguoni mwako, angalia kile kiko karibu na wewe kwanza. *(We must deal with them first because even the wise men say that what bites you is what lies right on your clothes, look at that which is near you first.)*

58. RONY: Angalia kama huyu Jacinta, yeke huvaa nguo zimembana mpaka nikimuona sijiskii vizuri, hata saa ya chai kwa staffroom siko comfortable. *(Now look at Madam Jacinta, she puts on very tight dresses that when I look at her I don’t feel comfortable.)*

59. JOSH: Msisahau kitu moja; huyu Jacinta alikuwa model! *(Don’t forget one thing; Jacinta used to be a model)*

65
60. RONY: Haki wewe na models! (My God, you and models!)
61. ANDREW: Kwani kila mtu ni model? (So everybody is a model?)
62. JOSH: Mimi hufanya modeling (laughter), sasa kwa mfano mtu wa kucheza Rugby huvaa aje? (Me I normally do modeling, now for example those who play rugby, how do they dress?)
63. CHUME: Kirugby! (in a rugby manner)
64. JOSH: Na watu wagani huwatch hiyo game? Si wasichana sana kuliko wavulana? (And which specific people normally watch that game? Isn’t it more ladies than men?)
65. CHUME/RONY/ANDREW: Ndio! (Yes)
66. JOSH: Kwa hivyo hata wasichana wakawacheza kajivaa kimodel, (like model) tuwapatia chance, wafanye modeling. (Therefore even in class if girls want to dress as models we should give them the chance, so that they can do modeling)
67. CHUME: Nielewe, hata kama wewe ni model kuna mahali utaenda kwa sababu ya hiyo shughuli. But dont expect model aende kwa ofisi ya minister akiwa amevaa kama model – atafukuzwa! (But even if you are model you will go to the place where you can do that activity. But don’t expect a model to ge to the office of a minister while dressed like a model –she will be chased away.)
68. JOSH: Wewe umesema vizuri sana, mwanaume na mwanamke akienda kwa ofisi, who gets the opportunity to work in that office? (You have said it well, if a man and a woman go to the office, who gets the opportunity to work in that office?)
69. CHUME: It depends Bwana Joash, kumbuka nikija hapa nilifanyiwa interview, tulikuwa pia na mamanzi, (ladies) lakini la memezi (ladies) walina wakafanya. (Remember Mr. Joash I came here, did an interview together with some ladies but the ladies didn’t succeed.)
70. RONY: Naona mnatoka nje ya mjadala, Bwana Chome alikuwa na swala nyeti; kuna sheria ambazo zinapaswa kufuatiliwa. (I can see you are getting out of the topic of discussion. Mr. Chome had an important theme; there are Rules that are to be followed.)
71. ANDREW: Lakini kumbuka hizi sheria pia zinaweza kufukuza watu ambao wanajitokana kwa hivi (join) hii shule, kwa mfano mchana ambao ya uniform, mtapata ni wanafunzi kumi tu ndio wamebaki. (But remember this rules can discourage those who may be interested in joining this College, for example if you introduce uniform, you will find only ten students remaining.)
72. JOASH: Sheria mzuri ni mtu ajivae vile anataka, mtu akipenda kuvaa long’i ama sidiria pekee yake ni shida yake (laughter). (A good rule is the one that allows people to dress as they like, if someone prefers trousers or Brassiere only that is his own problem.)
73. RONY: Haja gani wakuje wengi halafu waangwe mtihani, hata kama wako watano pekee ni sawa to bora wafulu na shule iwe na sifa. (What’s the benefit of having many of them then they fail in exams, even if they are five only its OK as long as the College becomes popular.)
74. JOSH: Despite talking of the rule and regulations, the owner of this college alianzisha with an aim of making a profit, hakuna mtu anaweza kuinvest (to invest) bila aim ya kumake(to make) profit. Hii ni investment. (Despite talking of the rule and regulations, the owner of this college started it with an aim of making profit, nobody can invest without the aim of making profit in mind. This is an investment.)
75. RONY: Ati unasema nini? Ati hii college ni biashara tu? (What are you saying? This college is only profit oriented?)
66
76. CHUME: Wewe unafikiri ni nini? (What do you think?)

77. JOSH: Hii ni biashara na ina wenyewe! (This is a business and it has its owner.)

78. RONY: Juzi nimeenda Administration, mwanafunzi ameadmitiwa hii colle na hata Result Slip ya high school hana. Lakini tuwache mambo haya mengine, sisi kama wanaume hatuwezi kuweka switch kwa miili yetu na kuswitch off mabo Fulani, that is impossible. (The other day I went to the Administration, a student had ben admitted to this College yet even the result slip of high school he didn't have. But lets leave such issues, we as men we cant just put a switch on our bodies and then switch off some things.)

79. JOSH: Kuna msemo husema; beauty in a woman’s body belongs to admiration like a ring. (There is a saying that says; beauty in a woman’s body belongs to admiration like a ring)

80. CHUME: Sasa wewe unasema nini? (Now what are you saying?)

81. RONY: Wewe Joash unakaa unapenda wanawake sana! (Mr. Joash it seems that you like women so much)

82. JOSH: Na maanisha kitu kizuri; to you have to admire it. If someone is beautiful, you have to appreciate the person and give the person the motivation. (I mean that something good you have to admire it. If someone is beautiful you have to appreciate the person and give the person the motivation.)

83. RONY: Unajua, sasa hiyo kuadmire inaleta mambo mengine; ukiwaadmire (if you admire them) hata wao watakuadmire na uta jionea. (You know to admire will lead to other things; if you admire them, they will also admire you and you will regret.)

84. ANDREW: Unajua wao wamepoa tu, hawajachokozwa. (You know for them they are peaceful only if they are not provoked.)

85. RONY: Joash anatuchanganyisha, mara na sasa anasema ni bora! (Joash you are confusing us, at one time you are saying that you are married, again I hear you have a girlfriend then now you are saying its OK to admire/)  

86. CHUME: Unajua kuwa na girlfriend haimaanishi ni bibi yako! (You know having a girlfriend doesn’t mean that she is your wife)

87. ANDREW: Unajua hata hi; kujivaa inadepend mtu ametoka wapi, mnajua watu wa uShagoo wanawanda kuvaa marinda marefu, lakini hawa wa Nairobi ndio wana vaa long’i imewabana na hipster. Siku hizi kuna mpaka sijui hugger. (You know even dressing depends where someone comes from, some people come from the countryside and they like long dresses, but those from Nairobi are the ones who wera trousers and hipsters, nowadays there is even Hugger.)

88. RONY: Hiyo hugger inamaanisha nini? (This Hugger means what?)

89. ANDREW: Inamaanisha kwamba imebana sana hasa kwa nyuma. (It means that it is tight especially at the back.)

90. CHUME: Kwa mmbo ya wasichana inaonekana hata wengine wetu wana maMbo yao (laughter) wengine ni washirika, wana shares huko (laughter) (On issues of ladies it seem even some people have interest, some even have shares there.)

91. RONY: No wonder kuna waalimu waapea wasichana marks mingi kushinda wavulana; ni kwa sababu ya hugger! (laughter) (No wonder some teachers award female students higher marks than male students; its all because of the Hugger.)
92. JOSH: I'm not understanding, you are saying that those from ushagoo (countryside) ndiyo wanavaa vibaya kwai influenced, kwani nani huwainfluence? (I'm not understanding, you are saying that those from the countryside are the ones dressing badly after being influenced, who influences them?)

93. RONY: Si ni hawa wa Nairobi. (Those from Nairobi)

94. CHUME: Pia waalimu (laughter) (And even teachers)

95. JOSH: Kwa hivyo rnnasema hawa wasichana wakutoka upcountry wakija Nairobi halafu waone wengine wamevaa hivyo hata wao wataanza kujivaa hiyo? (So you are saying that when those ladies from upcountry come to Nairobi dressed like that they will also do the same?)

96. ANDREW: Si ndiyo. (Yes)

97. ELVIS: Ni waalimu (laughter) (And even teachers)

98. ANDREW: Kwa hivyo rnnasema hawa wasichana wakutoka upcountry wakija Nairobi halafu waone wengine wamevaa hivyo hata wao wataanza kujivaa hiyo? (So you are saying that when those ladies from upcountry come to Nairobi dressed like that they will also do the same?)

99. RONY: Si ndiyo. (Yes)

100. ANDREW: Kama sehemu gani? Tuambie! (Like which parts? Tell us!)

101. CRUME: Unajua lazima tujue sisi ni waafrika na lazima wetu, kwa mwili hazifgai kubakia nje. (You know we must realize that we are Africans and we must be conscious of our Africanness, for example some body parts should never be exposed outside.)

102. ANDREW: Kama sehemu gani? Tuambie! (Like which parts? Tell us!)

103. CHUME: Kwa mwanamke miguu yote mpaka chini haifai kuonekana hata kidogo. (For a woman the legs up to the toes must not be exposed at all)

104. ANDREW: Hii ni uwongo kwa sababu hawo watu wa kitambo ndio kwanza walikuwa wanatembaa uchi na chupi pekee yake. (That is a lie because those people of the past were the ones who used to walk naked in the first place with only an innerwear.)

105. CHUME: Hiyo sikatai, Ainea, hiyo ilikuwa baada ya Africans kukuwa civilized. (I don't deny that Ainea, that was after Africans were civilized.)

106. ANDREW: Na pia ujue bado civilization inaenda ikibadilika, watu sasa wanakubaliwa kuvaa nguo zimewabana. (Also you should know that civilization keeps on changing, people are nowadays allowed to wear tight clothes.)

107. RONY: Ukiangalia our female colleagues wengi wao wameolewa lakini bado wanajivaa vibaya tu kama wanafunzi. (If you look at our female colleagues most of them are married yet they still dress inappropriately.)

108. CHUME: Infact mimi naona hata badala ya kujisumbua kuvaa nguo imekushika sana ni afadhali tu utembea uchini. (Infact me I think that instead of bothering yourself wearing a very tight dress, you'd better just walk stark naked.)

109. RONY: Ainea, hata kama haujaoa msichana akikutembelea na amejivaa vibaya hata mzazi wako hatampenda. (Ainea even if you are not married, if a lady visits you and she is poorly dressed even your parents will not like it.)

110. JOSH: Tuongee about hapa college (colle), mwache kuenda kule town na kwa nyumba, kwani wewe Ronald bado unakaa na wazazi? (laughter) (Let's talk about the college context, don't go to the town or at the house, Ronald do you still live with your parents?)
RONY: Mimi naona ni muhimu sisi kama waalirnu tuwaambie wanafunzi jinsi ya kuvaa vizuri, ingawa pia wazazi wao inafaa wawaambie pia! (Me I think its important that we as lecturers tell the students how to dress properly, even though their parents need to be told also.)

ANDREW: Lakini shida ni kwamba wanafunzi wengi sana hawaishi na wazazi wao, wanaishi kwa Hostels na wengine ata wanakaa na boyfriends! (But the problem is that many students don't stay with their parents, they stay in hostels and some stay with their boyfriends!).

JOSH: I still insist, there is still no need to bother, just let them dress as they want.

ELVIS: Na huyu HOD naye akoaje, Joash unatuishtua sana! Mimi naonelea wazazi waitwe. (This HOD is really suprising, Joash you are really scaring us! For me I feel that the parents should be called.)

CHUME: Lakini kusema ukweli mnaweza shangaa; wazazi wanaweza itwa halafu tupate pengine hao ndio wamevaa vibaya zaidi kushinda wanafunzi (laughter), tutafanyaje sasa? There is no way utaweza kumalizimisha mwanaafunzi achathe if the parents wanafanya kinyume. (But to be honest you can be surprised; parents are called then you find even some of them are the ones wearing worse clothes than even the students, what will you do? There is no way you can force students to change if the parents are doing the opposite.)

RONY: Hata sio lazima tukutane na wazazi as if hii ni High School, inafaa tu sheriachangeif the parents are doing the opposite.

JOSH: Me I believe in looking at the person beneath, not the outer person, so things like dressing is upon the student achukue ama akatae. (Me I believe in looking at the person beneath, not the outer person, so things like dressing is upon the student to accept or reject.)

(The student (male) whispers to Mr. Chume then leaves the room)

2. MIXTURE OF MALE AND FEMALE SPEAKERS OF DIFFERENT RANKS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>AGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emily Arango</td>
<td>Head of Department.</td>
<td>(Mid 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvis Githunguri</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Karuki</td>
<td>Head of Department.</td>
<td>(Mid 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladys Sayapa</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halla Aoko</td>
<td>Junior Lecturer</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rony Wasike</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NB: The names are not the real names of the speakers.

C2

1. ARANGO: Any man who goes and buys a body for one hundred shillings is worth the same themselves.
2. ELVIS: Nakama nimlewa sijijui? (And if I am drunk and I don’t know myself)
3. JOHN: Hata huyo mwanamke anajiuza. (Even that woman is selling herself)
4. SAYAPA: Pia wewe! (Even you!)
5. ARANGO: If you are ninety thousand worth then you will go for that and if you are one shilling then you will go for one shilling.
6. SAYAPA: Exactly.
7. JOHN: Sasa nikipata msichana ako willing na fifty bob nitafanyaje? (Now if I get a lady who is willing for fifty Shillings, what will I do?)
8. SAYAPA: So you are worth that?
9. ARANGO: Any man who has a wife and keeps that woman at home is worth that woman at hoe but any man who thinks they are not worth keeping a woman at home and buys another for one hundred shillings, who cares; they are worth those themselves.
10. JOHN: Nawezakwa nina wife lakini hatusikizani vizuri, so itabidi nitafute comfort elsewhere. (I could be having a wife but we don’t understand one another, so I’ll have to look for comfort elsewhere.)
11. ELVIS: Infact, naweza kuwa na wife lakini sisi wote tunatoka nje, natoka pia yeye anatoka, anaenda hivi pia mimi naenda hivi! (Infact I may have a wife but each of us is going outside, I go out, she also goes out, she goes this way, I go that way!)
12. SAYAPA: Kama wewe ni wa kutoka toka pia utapata wa kutokatoka. (If you are one of those who go out then you will get a wife who also goes out)
13. JOHN: Infact, at times kama nimetoka job wife hatahanikaribishi vizuri, amewekelea tu miguu kwa viti anatoa ukali na moods. (Infact at times when I come from job, wife doesn’t welcome me we, she puts her feet on the seat and she is too bitter and full of moods.)
14. SAYAPA: Why cant you even sit down and ask her why she is like that, may be you didn’t even leave her any money for food!
15. ELVIS: Badala hata aniwekee maji ya kuoga nifurahi? (instead of even heating up bath water so that I become happy.)
16. ARANGO: Hakuna mahali imeandikwa ati ukiowa bibi ni punda! (There is no place where it is written that when you marry a wife she becomes a donkey.)
17. JOHN: Anafaa kuwe concerned about her husband. (She should be concerned about her husband)
18. ARANGO: if at all you think that you will come home and put your feet on the stoll, ask for the remote and keep switching channels, that alright. Do it daily its OK, I can also do the same.
19. JOHN: Inafaa unichemshie maji ya kuoga anipigie nguo ya kesho pasi. (She should heat for me bath water then she irons for me my clothes for tomorrow.)
20. RONY: Tuseme wewe ni bibi yangu, nimetoka job nimechoka na uko home, nimepata umeekelea miguu kwa kiti, hakuna haja hata nikuambie chakula iko wapi, wewe kama bibi yangu inafaa tu uelewe na ukimbia jikoni mara moja. (Lets say you are
my wife, I am back from work/job tired and you are at home, I find you with your feet on top of the chair, I don’t even have to ask you about food. You as my wife are supposed to just understand and rush to the kitchen very quickly.)

21. ARANGO: One thing remains for sure, you guys are withdrawing your minds backwards like our parents and great grandparents did. Right now if you want a wife you cant find just a house wife but a professional career woman. You leave in the morning, she also leaves.

22. SAYAPA: In this era that we are in, you cant easily find a housewife.

23. JOHN: Hata kama ni working class na amelipwa poa kunishinda, mimi ndio bwana. (Even if she is a working class and being paid better than me, I am still the husband.)

24. SAYAPA: If you want a housewife, then go for those class six drop outs but not us.

25. JOHN: Sio nyinyi ……nyinyi mko extreme! (Not you…you are extreme!)

26. RONY: Hata kama anapata six figure salary na mimi nika na five figure salary, Im still the man of the house. (Even if she gets a six figure salary and I get five figure salary, Im still the man of the house.)

27. ARANGO: There is one thing, we didn’t go to school for nothing, we went to school to know that we are something and apparently to change those beliefs and backwardness you guys seem to have.

28. JOHN: Hii sio backwardness. (This is not backwardness.)

29. SAYAPA: It is, it is!

30. ARANGO: Unapotaka kuoa bibi, you only marry someone who you know is an equal to me, is a companion to me…. (If you want to get a wife, you only marry someone who you know is your equal to me, a companion to me…)

31. ELVIS: Kama uko pregnant ndio sasa nitakusaidia, lakini nikiwaidia kama uko sawa tu, utaanza kutangazia wanawake wengine atiumenikalia sana kama chapatti. (Only if you are pregnant is when I will help you but if I help you when you are OK, you will start announcing to your friends that you are manipulating me.)

32. ARANGO: What do you want to make of us believe on a normal day? Im married, I go to work like you, I come back in the evening with you, infact maybe Im driving, then in the house you say that ‘sweetie Im hungry, I need supper!’

33. JOHN: Sifai hata kukuambia, inafaa ujue tu na ukimbie jikoni haraka. (I don’t even have to tell you, you should just know and rush to the kitchen.)

34. ARANGO: Either tusaidiane ama tulale njaa. (Either we help each other or we sleep hungry)

35. SAYAPA: While Im cooking ugali you are preparing stew.

36. RONY: Pengine Valentine’s Day naweza jitoleahivyo, but a whole day mimi nifanye hivyo daily? Unaota! (Maybe Valentine’s Day I may volunteer like that, but a whole day I do those chores daily? You are dreaming!)

37. ARANGO: Unaona, women do all the work then the man in their life anajitolea tu occasionally. We are equal, my friends. (You see, women do all the work then the man in her life volunteers only occasionally. We are equal my friends.)

38. SAYAPA: You are saying occasionally? Hata hiyo occasionally itakuwa ni milele. You are saying occasionally? Even that occasionally will be forever.)

39. RONY: Pengine hiyo occasionally itakuwa kama uko pregnant. (Maybe that occasionally will be when you are pregnant)
40. SAYAPA: Kama ni pregnancy, hiyo pregnancy ni yetu sote, tuli contribute fifty fifty. (I it is pregnancy, that pregnancy is for both of us, we contributed fifty fifty)

41. JOHN: Sio fifty fifty, pengine baba ya huyo mtoto ni boss wako, sio mimi, wewe tu ndio unajua baba ya mtoto. (Not fifty fifty, maybe the father of that baby is your boss, not me, its only you who knows the father of the baby.)

42. SAYAPA: Unaenda job eight, pia mimi naenda eight, unarudi eight, pia mimi narudi eight kama umechoka hata mimi nimechoka, kwa nini mimi ndiyo niingie jikoni? na unakaa ukiona TV? (You go to work/job at eight, I also go at eight, you come back at eight when you are tired even me Im tired, so why should I be the one who goes to the kitchen? While you sit and watch TV?)

43. ARANGO: If you are a real man who does everything to their woman and does it perfectly, you will both be happy, the woman is yours, there will be respect, whatever child she will carry will also be yours definitely.

44. JOHN: But still eventually wewe ndio utajua mtoto ni wa nani? Whether tuko happy or not? Whether we are happy or not!)

45. SAYAPA: Sikatai, (I don’t refuse) that’s true. If you are doubting the wife nowadays there is DNA.

46. ARANGO: A woman will trust that man who trusts them, a woman will always like that man who likes them, most of the time men are the ones who start cheating, then they become wild cats.

47. JOHN: Kwa hivyo mwanamke huwa hadanganyi? (So you ladies never lie?)

48. ARANGO: Most of the time it’s the men, women mostly are satisfied with the man they choose, for example I was reading an article titled “the short man syndrome,” a woman who is going out with a shorter man, every time they meet a taaler man and he greets her, then the short boyfriend gets insecure. Yet when I chose the short man it is because I loved his personality, there is nothing like height.

49. SAYAPA: By the way also, a good woman is like gold

50. RONY: Kuna mwanamke liniambia ati ninety percent ya wanawake...(There is a lady who once told me that ninety percent of women...)

51. SAYAPA: Kwake, usigeneralize! (From her point of view, don’t generalize!)

52. RONY: Alisema ninety percent ya wanawake huwa na approximately machali watano; wa kwanza ni wa kusambaza, wa pili wa kumcomfort wa tatu ni wa kumtolea stress, wa nne ni wa kuja meza. Sasa mimi nilikuwa nashangaa mimi ni wa kufanya nini? (laughter) (She said ninety percent of women have approximately five guys; the first one buys her Phone Credit, the second one comforts her, the third alleviates stress, the fourth buys her drinks. So I was wondering, what is my role?)

53. ELVIS: Wewe unakaa ni wakuongea na kumtolea stress tu na kumwandikia poems. (laughter) (It seems your role is just to talk and alleviate her stress by writing her poems)

54. ARANGO: There is a fact that you have to understand, a man is still a man. A good man is the one that can provide all those you mentioned plus much more, if you can provide your woman with all that and make her happy, there will be no other man in her life; who is this foolish woman to walk out looking for another man when she has such a man at home?

55. JOHN: Akitaka nimpe kila kila kitu pia yeeye infaa awe na courtesy, nikiingia kwa nyumba aniulize, “ulishinda aje sweetie?” achukue briefcase yangu halafu anichemshie

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maji moto ya kuoga! (If she wants me to give her everything then she should also have some courtesy, when I enter the house she should ask, “how was your day sweetie?” she then takes the briefcase then heats for me bathing water!)

56. HALLA: Hata wewe inafaa umuulize bibi yako ameshinda aje? (Even you you should your wife how did she spend her day?)

57. JOHN: Sasa nikitoka job jioni nimechoka, napata amenuna, halafu ananiuliza, “umetoka wapi saa hizi?” (Now if I come back from work/job tired, I find her in moody, then she asks me, “where are you coming from at this time?”)

58. SAYAPA: Nitakuuliza hivyo kama wehe huwa haunitreat poa, but kama unaprovide everything, you make me happy na pia uko faithful, mimi nitakuheshimu na nitakuwa na courtesy. (I will ask you like that if you don’t treat me well but if you provide everything, you make me happy and you are also faithful, I will also respect you and teat you with courtesy.)

59. ARANGO: There is one thing Mr. John, when you are my husband and you are coming home late, Michael Joseph wasn’t a fool when he introduced mobile phones in Kenya.

60. JOHN: Na kama sina simu mbona hauwezi kunitrust? (And if I don’t have a phone, why cant you just trust me?)

61. ARANGO: Just like you would like to know where I am if you cared, I’d also like to know where you are and what you are doing.

62. RONY: Lakini wewe si nilikuacha kwa nyumba. Sasa mbona nipate umefura kwa nyumba halafu unaniuliza, “umechelewa wapi?” (But I left you in the house. Now why should I find you angry at home then you ask me, “why are you late?”)

63. ARANGO: If you come in and say ‘hi’ even me II say ‘hi’ but what do men do? Anytime you ask them where they were, they become arrogant.

64. SAYAPA: Infact, inafaa ukichelewa, you are supposed to apologize hata kama haujaulizwa, hiyo ni courtesy. (Infact when you come late you are supposed to apologize even before being asked, that is courtesy)

65. ELVIS: Kwani wewe ni polisi? (laughter) Ati mama Wanja kazi ilikuwa mingi, tafadhali nisamehe sitachelewa tena! (laughter) (Are you the police? How can I say, “mama Wanja work there was too much work, please forgive me I will be late again!”)

66. ARANGO: If you are a loving man, you will enter and you will also want to know how your beloved woman spent her day first, then you will also say how you spent yours.

67. RONY: Hiyo ni ngumu! (That is difficult!)

68. ARANGO: Kama jana kulikuwa na traffic jam na mvua, most people got home late. Maybe your woman got home as early as midday, ...(Like yesterday there was a traffic jam and rainfall, so most people reached their homes late. Maybe your woman got home as early as midday, ...)

69. JOHN: Ama hata hana kazi (laughter) (Or she doesn’t even have a job)

70. ARANGO: Wewe unatoka town five jioni, but due to jam, unafika kwa nyumba saa nne, then she asks you but you arrogantly tell her, “you should know.”(You leave town at five in the evening but due to jam you arrive home at ten, then she asks you but you arrogantly tell her, “you should know.”)

71. SAYAPA: From Monday to Friday, you come home late at ten and you don’t want to be asked. If I ask you where you were, inafaa kwanza uwe happy coz Iam concerned, I care and maybe ulikuwa mugged. (From Monday to Friday you come home ;ate at ten
and you don’t want to be asked. If I ask you where you were, you are supposed to be happy in the first place because I am concerned, I care and maybe you were mugged.

72. ARANGO: A man who is sincere, if you asked them something like ‘how did you spend your day’ they will honestly give an account, but a man who is lying to you will not. Do you know that women offload their hearts through talking?

73. RONY: What are you implying?

74. ARANGO: I’m implying that I am not a cockroach on the wall, or in the cupboard who will just cook and not talk.

75. RONY: Even you, you should account for what you did the whole day at home, mlienda kwa mmama wa saloon mkagossip the whole day! (Even you, you should account for what you did the whole day at home, you went to the saloon woman and gossiped the whole day!)

76. ARANGO: I can account but you never bother to ask. You are marrying a woman who doesn’t go to work, shame on you! (laughter)

77. RONY: Shame on me aje? Naweza kupenda hata mwanamke crippled. (what do you mean shame on me? I can love eve a crippled woman.)

78. ARANGO: A Luo man will go and marry a woman from the village, nilikutana na mwanaume mjaluo, amesoma ana degree zake mpaka Phd, halafu anaoa mwanamke hajafika hata darasa la nne. (A Luo man will go and marry a woman from the village, I met a Luo man, he is educated with degrees even PHD, then he marries a woman who has not even reached standard four.)

79. JOHN: Ni mapenzi! (It is love)

80. ARANGO: I asked myself, what is wrong with him? Alimarry the lady ndiyo amcontrol na pia amdanganye coz huyo msichana hawezi hata kutumia simu! (I ask myself, what is wrong with him? He married the lady inorder to control her and also cheat on her because the lady cannot even use a mobile phone.)

81. RONY: Kama nampenda nitamfundisha kutumia simu, siku hizi tuko kwa digital world. (If I love her then I will teach her how to use the phone, nowadays we are in the digital world.)

82. SAYAPA: Kabla aelewe hiyo sirnu, utakuwa urnemdanganya ya kutosha! (Before she understands how to use that phone, you would have already cheated on her enough times)

83. RONY: Kwanza haumwonyeshi kupiga, unamwonyesha kureceive. (At first you don’t have to show her how to make a call, show her how to receive.)

84. SAYAPA: That is surely not fair.

85. ELVIS: Mtoto pia kama ndio anatoa meno, hapewi githeri aanze nayo, anaanza na pengine mkate au viazi –everything must go in stages. (laughter). (Even when a baby starts teething, it is not given Githeri to eat, but it is given bread or potatoes – everything must go in stages.)

86. ARANGO: Gikuyus, pia wakitaka kuoa hauoa msichana wa village? (Do Gikuyus also look for ladies to marry in the village?)

87. JOHN: Hapana, hata kama ni Dot.Com ni sawa tu. (No, even modern ladies are OK)

88. ARANGO: But this is a problem among Luos, ka idwaro dhako to idhi e dala, yawa! (But this is a problem among Luos, if you want a woman then you go to the country side, my God!)

89. SAYAPA: Yawa! (my God!)

90. JOHN: We Aringo, una employ mboch? (You Aringo, have you employed a maid?)
91. ARANGO: Ndiyo. (Yes)
92. JOHN: Je, unakaa naye aje? ana miaka ngapi? (How do you live with her? How old is she?)
93. ARANGO: About twenty to twenty five years.
94. JOHN: My God! Anafanya kazi gani? (My God! What does she do?)
95. SAYAPA: Kuangalia watoto, nyumba, she will not cook for my husband nor wash his clothes. (Looking after the children, house. She will not cook for my husband nor wash his clothes.)
96. RONY: Kwa nini? (Why?)
97. SAYAPA: Kwa sababu mimi ndiyo najiamini. Im the best to do the best for my husband. (Because I trust myself. I am the best to do the best for my husband.)
98. RONY: Na sisi mbona tusikuwe strict kwenu? Mko strict sana kwa mamboch, hata sisi tutakuwa strict kwenu (laughter) (Why should we not be strict on you? yet you are very strict on the maids? We will also be strict on you.)
99. SAYAPA: Hiyo sio kuwa strict! (That is not being strict!)
100. JOHN: Vile nilikuwa nikisema, wewe kuja tu nyumbani saa tano, na kuna mboch ananipikia chakula tamu! (laughter) (As I was saying, you just come home at elevn and the maid is there cooking for me delicious food.)
101. ARANGO: Unataka nikuwe strict vipi? And how strict do you want to be? (How strict do you want me to be? And how strict do want to be?)
102. RONY: Sio ati nikuje nyumbani eight o'clock napata uko na watchman ati anakunywa chai, ati mnadiscuss security affairs! (I don't want to come home at eight oclock to find you drinking tea with the watchman, claiming that you are discussing security affairs.)
103. RONY: Let me tell you, the servant will be considered when the husband is not a real man!
104. ELVIS: You shouldn't give advice to other ladies; you might misadvise them (laughter)
105. ARANGO: Professional women are feared by men like you; that I know.
106. ELVIS: Hakuna mwanamke naogopa mimi! (There is no woman that I fear!)
107. RONY: Aringo, can you explain your point please?
108. ARANGO: Wanaueme wajaluo nawajua, coz lam a Luo pure, you John you will tell me about Gikuyuus, a Luo man cannot marry a learned woman, they are afraid you will tell them, “stand up! I want you to clean that carpet!” (laughter) (I know Luo men because lam a pure Luo, John you can tell me about Gikuyuus, a Luo man cannot marry a learned woman, they are afraid you will tell them, “stand up! I want you to clean that carpet!”)
109. JOHN: But hiyo carpet mimi ndiyo nimeinunua. (But I am the one who bought that carpet)
110. ARANGO: But even me lam working! I may have bought it. They are used to women who end month, wanawaomba pesa. (But even me Iam working! I may have bought it. They are used to women who at the end of the month will ask them for money.)
111. RONY: Ni kama tu yule student mjaluo (a Luo) anaitwa Onyango, ako hivyo vile unesema, hapendi wasichana wamesoma. (Its like that Luo student called Onyango, he is like that, he says he doesn’t like educated women.)
112. ARANGO: If I am a successful person, I pay my own rent, drive my own car, none of the men will approach me. Even now as I am talking, none of the men in this room could approach me, you would all fear me.

113. JOHN: Hakuna! (Never!)

114. ELVIS: Ati mimi nikuogope mimi? Sikuogopi kama hao Luo men, wacha kudream! (How can I fear you? I don’t fear you like those Luo men. Stop dreaming!)

115. ARANGO: Hamkusikia John aliitwa kwa Principal kwa sababu alikuwa anamtaka student wake? (laughter) (Didn’t you hear when John was called to the Principal’s office because he was after his own student?)

116. SAYAPA: Ndiyo, ni ukweli, kwa sababu one day nilimpata Mr. John na Elvis kama wana chekacheka sana na two female students, can you imagine? (laughter) (That’s true, because one day I found Mr. John and Mr. Elvis lalughing continuously with two female students, can you imagine?)

117. JOHN: Wacha uwivu, hiyo ilikuwa ni lunch time and it was just a coincidence that we were in the same restaurant with them, hata nyinyi mkisikia njaa mseme tu, niwanunulia lunch (laughter) (Stop feeling jealous, that was only lunch time and it was just a coincidence that we were in the same restaurant with them, even you if you are hungry I can also buy for you lunch.)

118. ARANGO: Why not get someone of your own level, badala ya students. You want someone you can control. (Why not get someone of your own level, instead of students. You want someone you can control.)

119. JOHN: Wewe unabwana ama boyfriend. (You, you have a husband or a boyfriend)

120. ARANGO: Mimi sina bwana, lam single, you guys don’t want a woman who is your equals. (I don’t have a husband, I am single, you guys don’t want a woman who is your equals.)

121. ELVIS: Wewe hautuelewi. (You, you don’t understand us.)

122. ARANGO: Niwaambie kitu John, huyo mwanamke wa kutawaliwa anenda akiisha, you will soon be faced with only women like me who pay their own rent, drive their own cars and very independent. (Cab I tell you something John, the women who are totally submissive are reducing, you will soon be faced with only women like me who pay their own rent, drive their own cars and are very independent.)

123. JOHN: Mimi nitakuwa na Jeep Hammer na wewe Volkswagen. (laughter). (I will be driving Jeep Hammer while you drive Volkswagen.)

124. ARANGO: Ukiwa na Hammer hata mimi nitakuwa na Hammer. (If you have a Hammer even me I will have a Hammer!)

125. JOHN: Huwezi kunifikia! (You cannot reach my level.)

126. ARANGO: Nyinyi mnaniogopa na pia other educated women. (You guys fear me and even other educated women)

127. HALLA: Its obvious that big men fear big women.

128. JOHN/ELVIS/RONY: That’s a lie!

(A Senior Management Staff enters the staffroom, waves at the groups, they wave back, he sits down near the staffroom phone and dials a number.)

129. HALLA: Hao ndiyo wengi wao wako single, kwa sababu wanaogopwa. (Most of them are single, because they are feared)
130. ELVIS: Nobody fears them, ona Wambui ni mkubwa na ameolewa na mtu mdogo kama Mbugua. Mwanamke haogopwi! (Nobody fears them, look at Wambui who is older but is married to a younger man like Mbugua. Women are not feared.)

(The Senior Management Staff leaves the room.)

131. RONY: Mimi kama mwalimu wa Business, nimefanya calculation na nimepata Big men and Big women hawawezi kupatana, nikama Positive na Negative in Physics. A big man will go for a smaller woman and vise versa. (As a Business Lecturer, I have done calculations and found that Big men and Big women cannot match, its like positive and negative in Physics, a big man will go for a smaller woman and vise versa.)

132. ARANGO: If a woman is old enough and she doesn’t have her own man, Waswahili husema “simba akikosa nyama, hula nyasi,” she will go for the men who are available even if they are younger. (I a woman is old enough and doesn’t have her own man, the Swahili say that; “If a lion doesn’t find meat, it will eat grass,” she will go for the men who are available even if they are younger.)

133. JOHN: Mabwana wako wa kutosha but these women still go for younger guys. (Enough men are available but these women still go for younger men.)

134. SAYAPA: No no no!

135. ARANGO: If you are a nice man, real man and my husband but you are adding weight, I will tell you and even advise you.

135. SAYAPA: Ata kama ni chakula ndiyo inafanya tumbo yako iwe hivyo nitakuambia “enyewe sweetie fanya exercise.”(Even if it si food making your stomach to be like that I will tell you, “Please sweetie do some exercises.”)

137. ELVIS: Hiyo sasa ni madharau! (That is lack of respect.)

138. SAYAPA: I care for you, coz that bad body can give you hypertension, infact by telling you it shows that I love you so much! (I care for you because that bad body can give you hypertension, infact by telling you it shows that I love you so much!)

139. ARANGO: If you call yourself rain, then it will rain, if you think a large stomach is good for you, you keep it!

140. SAYAPA: Kama ni kuenda Gym, tutaenda pamoja. (If it is going to the Gym we shall go together)

141. RONY: Siwezi enda Gym na wewe. (I cannot go to the Gym with you)

142. ARANGO: One of the things that adds weight to a man is the refrigerator, because if the wife has stressed him, he opens the fridge and eats a lot to relieve the stress.

143. JOHN: Hiyo ni uwongo. (That is a lie)

144. ARANGO: If a man values his woman he will not have time for the fridge, he will observe his body and shape.

145. ELVIS: That is my fridge, when lam stressed, Ill remove my Jonnie Walker and start drinking it.

146. ARANGO: No wonder I was wondering where you big stomach is coming from, Elvis! (Laughter)

147. SAYAPA: That stomach is so full of gas. Preserving of good figures is also mentally healthy.
3. FEMALE SPEAKERS OF DIFFERENT RANKS (C3)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
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<tr>
<td>Emily Arango – Head of Department</td>
<td>(Mid 30s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Halla Aoko – Junior lecturer</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christine Adhiambo – Lecturer</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosa Kiliku – Typist</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gladys Sayapa – Lecturer</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
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NB: The names used are not the real names of the speakers.

C 3

1. SAYAPA: Kuna chali (a guy) mmoja nilumuona ground floor, ile gari anadrive? ni poa sana. Ningetamani sana kuongea naye! (There is a guy I saw on ground floor, the car he was driving was so good! I would really wish to talk to hi.)

2. CHRISTINE: Lazima umuambie kama unampenda! (You must tell him if you like him)

3. ARANGO: If you want something, go for it, don't let a good thing go.

4. SAYAPA: Mimi naona hakuna vile naweza mwambia ati "kuna vile nakulike, atafloss, atashow mabeste zake jinsi nilikatia, no, I cant do that. (I think there is no way I can tell that, "I like you," he will show off and tell his friends how I seduced him, no I can't do that.)

5. CHRISTINE: Eeeh! Machali huongea! (Wow! Guys do talk!)

6. ARANGO: Yes, its true, you see a fly-jamaa, then you first have to chicken out, if you go for it, atasema "ni –how? If at all that chick loves me, cant I just drop her and pick another one?" (Yes it's true, you see a handsome guy, then you first have to chicken out, if you go for it, he will say, "imagine! If at all that lady loves me, can't I just drop her and pick another one?")

7. CHRISTINE: Huyo mjamaa anawork? (Does the guy work?)

8. SAYAPA: Sijui. (I don't know)

9. CHRISTINE: Then how do you know kama ako poa? (Then how do you know if he is good?)

10. SAYAPA: Vile alikuwa amecladi tu, trouser, shirt na pia T-shirt alivaa ndani zilikiwa smart na quality. (The way he is dressed, trouser, shirt and even T-shirt he is wearing inside were very smart and of good quality.)

11. HALLA: Ulijuaje kama hizo zilikiwa ni zake? (How did you know whether they were truly his?)

12. SAYAPA: Kila siku mimi humuona, hawezi kuwa anaomba nguo daily. I wish nyinyi mumuone pia. (I always see him daily, it is not possible that he he borrows the clothes daily. I wish you people also see him.)

13. CHRISTINE: Wewe muapproach muambie, "unaona kuna vile nakuadmire, natamani uwe chali wangu....(You approach him and tell him, "you see, I admire you, I would wish you to be my guy....)

14. HALLA: Usumuambie hivyo! (Don't tell him like that!)

15. CHRISTINE: Usipo muambia utaendelea tu kuumaia. (If you don't tell him you will go on hurting)

16. SAYAPA: Lakini one day, naswear, nitampata. (But one day I swear, I will get him)
17. ARANGO: Atakuwa wako? (Will he be yours?)
18. SAYAPA: Atakuwa wangu! (He will be mine!)
19. HALLA: Kama unashindwa saa hii, utampata aje? (If you are unable now, how will you get him?)
20. ARANGO: Chali wa kufuata, wa kustay naye, angalia tumbo! (The guy to look for, to stay with, just consider the stomach!)
21. SAYAPA: Aaaaargh! Hapana! (Ooh No!)
22. ARANGO: By the way, do you know that most of the young, rich guys, who have cars and drive Benzes, are not the best, the older ones are the thing, and they can treat you very well!
23. SAYAPA: By the way it could be true, I know of a young chick who goes out with a kimbuyu! Na huyu dame anapata kilu Mpaka gari ako nayo! (By the way it could be true, I know of a young lady who goes out with an older man! This lady gets whatever she wants, she even has a car!)
24. HALLA: Affair kama hiyo ikae! (That is not a good affair!)
25. ARANGO: Ushawahi kupata madam msupu anatembea na chali mhandi? Utapata dame msupu ana chali ong’ong’o, chali ong’ong’o dame msupu. Reason being, ukiwa dame msupu na uko na chali ong’ong’o, utakawasire hakuna compe. (Have you ever met a beautiful lady walking with a handsome guy? You will find a beautiful lady with an ugly guy, an ugly guy with a beautiful lady. Reason being, if you are a beautiful lady and you have an ugly guy, you will be sure that you will encounter no competition.)
26. SAYAPA: Rata kama sio mhandi, na ako na pesa, I tell you hawezi kuwa wako pia coz bila doo utanisaidiaje? (Even if he is handsome but he has no money, I tell you he will not be yours alone because money is everything, he must have another lady outside!)
27. ARANGO: Siku hizi hata wedding vows zinakuwa remade, hakuna part ya “until death do us part,” imekuwa “until time and cash do us part,” immediately I see the pockets are dry I will be so gone out of that house! (Laughter) (Nowadays even wedding vows are remade, there is no part of, “until death do us part,” it has been changed to, “until time and cash do us part,” immediately I see pockets are dry, I will be so gone out of that house!)
28. SAYAPA: Nitapotea mbio sana coz bila doo utanisaidiaje? (I will get lost very fast because without money how will you help me?)
29. HALLA: But that is not love, if you love someone, even if he is broke, you will stick by him.
30. ARANGO: Love is a lie; so if you will be fooling yourself, if there is no money coz (because) you cant eat love for lunch nor for supper! If you love someone you only love yourself first. The only person I love best is me. If you want to love any other person, then love what they’ve got.
31. SAYAPA: A guy who loads your phone! Na pia unamuumbia akupeleke out! (A guy who loads your phone! You also ask him to take you out!)
32. ARANGO: Whoever does what I want doesn’t have to possess a beautiful face as long as he has a pocket which looks nice.
33. CHRISTINE: But its always said that, “mamanzi ulearn kulove, so unasema wewe unago tu for the money, utashukia with time umeanza kulove huyo jamoa, na utakuwa ukimuona na na wasichana wengine utakuwa jealous. (But it is always said
that, “ladies learn to love,” so you go for the money, then suddenly you discover that you love that guy and if you see him with other ladies you feel jealous.)

34. ARANGO: If you learn to love them, it’s interesting, but first learn to love somebody who can make a difference in your life, somebody who can make you feel like flying in between your cheeks, not everyday you sit and cry all over, you are the one footing all the bills, rent, carrying him in your car.

35. SAYAPA: Unamfanyia kila kitu. (You do everything for him.)

36. ARANGO: Halafu yeye ako na beautiful face, but how can that help me? You can never place that on the table and eat it for supper! (Then he has a beautiful face, but how can that help me? You can never place that on the table and eat it for supper.)

37. CHRISTINE: Also you are an older mama and you go for a younger boy, atakuwa gold-digger kabisa! (Also you are an older woman and you go for a younger boy, he will be a gold-digger!)

38. SAYAPA: God! Wewe unaweza hang -out na chali younger than you? (God! You can hang out with a guy younger than yourself?)

39. CHRISTINE: At some times inawezabidi, umefika hiyo age, na hakuna machali marika zako available. (At times there is no otherwise, you may reach that age and there are men who are your agemates available.)

40. HALLA: Mjameni siwezi kukataa! (My friends I cant refuse)

41. SAYAPA: Hata kama ni mdogo wako? (Even if he is younger than you?)

42. CHRISTINE: Hata kama ni mdogo wangu, coz all your agemates are married, wako na watoto. (Even if he is younger than me, because all your agemates are married, they have children.)

43. SAYAPA: Unless you are very desparate!

44. CHRISTINE: At that state, chali mdogo anakuapproach, utamuacha?unless wewe ni mjinga! (At that state if a younger guy approaches you, will you ignore him? Unless you are stupid!)

45. ARANGO: Its obvious when you reach a particular age, you start getting desperate, thinking of a family, nobody seeing you, your girlfriends call you and they tell you, “you know I got my baby yesterday,” and you ask yourself, “when is my baby coming?” its an cy of desperation, you want to fall for anything and anyone who comes to your face, you find yourself even loving those small babies.

46. ROSA: Hii ndiyo ubaya ya sisi ladies, hatuangalii the inner person, tunakuwa mesmerized na outer things which may never last. (This is the problem with us ladies, we don’t look at the inner person, we are mesmerized by outer things which never last.)

47. CHRISTINE: A lady can even go out with her best friend’s boyfriend.

48. ARANGO: Bora kunadoo. (As long as there is money.)

49. CHRISTINE: Hakuna kitu mbaya kama hiyo, kwani wanaume wamekosa, no wonder machali wanatudharau sana sisi! (That is nothing as bad as that, are men not available, no wonder guys despise us like this!)

50. ARANGO: By the way, Celestine is right, inafaa sisi ladies tugang up tuchape hao machali coz wana tudouble-deal, tusiwaallow. (By the way Celestine is right, we ladies are supposed to unite and deal with these guys because they double-deal us, let us not allow them.)
51. SAYAPA: Lakini kama ako na pesa ya kutumia, akiniita nitakubali nimsaidie kutumia hizo pesa zake! (laughter) *(But is he has money to spend, if he calls me I will accept so that I can help him to use that money!)*

52. ARANGO: Yaani unaweza *kucome* between me and my guy simply because of cash? *(In other words you can come between me and my guy simply because of cash?)*

53. SAYAPA: Of course, as long as he shows that he loves me!

54. ARANGO: That’s the highest level of shame, thats why guys laugh at chicks all the time! *(That’s the highest level of shame, that’s why guys laugh at ladies all the time!)*

55. HALLA: Yaani tukosana na wewe kwasababu ya *chali*? *(In other words I breakup with you because of a guy?)*

56. CHRISTINE: Tumekuwa friends for long halafu tukosane juu ya a man? *(We have been friends for long then we breakup because of a man?)*

57. ARANGO: Aaa! Let the guy be! Siwezi kosana na my friends coz of any man! *(Aaargh! Let the guy be! I can never breakup with my friends because of any man!)*

58. HALLA: Hata kama wewe ni rafiki yangu na unamtamani *chali* yangu, naweza hata kukuua. *(laughter)* *(Even if you are my friend and you want my guy, I can even kill you!)*

59. CHRISTINE: Watu kama hawa Sapayia, haufai hata kuwa introduce kwa *chali* yako ama bwanako. *(People like Sapayia, you shouldn’t introduce them to your guy or husband. Its like yesterday I watched RUBI on NTV doing the same to her best friend.)*

60. ARANGO: Mimi *sikuwatch* TV jana, ilikuwaje? *(Me I didn’t watch TV yesterday, how was it?)*

61. HALLA: Hata mimi *sikuwatch*, si miambie? *(I also never watched it, please tell me?)*

62. CHRISTINE: Rubi alihama na Hector! *(Rubi disappeared with Hector.)*

63. SAYAPA: My God! Na si nilifikiria Hector na Maribel were engaged? *(My God! But I thought Hector and Maribel were engaged?)*

64. CHRISTINE: Huyo Maribel alikuwa mjinga, *alitrust* sana Rubi her friend with her fiancée Hector, what happened. Huyu Rubi hata hampendi Hector, she is just a *kagold-digger*. *(Maribel was stupid, she trusted Rubi so much with her fiancée Hector, what happened. Ruby doesn’t love Hector, she is just a gold-digger.)*

65. ARANGO: My God! Na vile nilikuwa natakana Maribel na Hector waoane! *(My god! And the way I was hoping that Maribel and Hector would marry!)*

66. SAYAPA: Mmmmm, mimi naona ni kama Hector ataend-up na Rubi. *(Mmmm, me I think Hector will end up with Rubi.)*

67. CHRISTINE: No way, Hector asipo end –up na Maribel, he could even die. Maribel ni soul mate wake. *(No way, if Hector doesn’t end up with Maribel, he could even die. Maribel is his soul mate.)*

68. ARANGO: Na si nilifikiria Rubi anampenda Alihandro? *(But I thought that Rubi was in love with Alihandro?)*

69. CHRISTINE: Hapo inakaa kuna confusion! *(I there is confusion there!)*

70. HALLA: That’s why sisi *mamanzi* ni wajinga sana, *machali* wanatuchekelea sana kama watoto. *(That’s why us we ladies are so stupid, guys laugh at us like as if we are little children.)*

71. ARANGO: Maribel ameachwa, ataafute *chali* mwingine. *(Maribel has been left; she should look for another guy.)*
72. CHRISTINE: Aligundua Rubi na Hector wanadate, akazirai.
73. SAYAPA: Mimi naveza kufa. *(When she discovered that Rubi and Hector were dating, she fainted.)*
74. CHRISTINE: And they are friends, they grew up together since childhood.
75. HALLA: My God!
76. CHRISTINE: Infact, mamake Maribel ni rich, yeye ndie alilipia Rubi fees za shule na college. Mtu anajifanya friend yako kumbe... *(Infact Maribel’s mother is rich, she is the one who paid all fees for Rubi. Someone pretends she is a friend then....)*
77. ARANGO: Anakundunga kisu mgongoni! *(She stabs you in the back)*
78. CHRISTINE: Lazima uwe chonjo with your man, don’t even trust your own mother! *(laughter)* *(You must be very careful with you guy, don’t even trust your own mother.)*
79. ARANGO: One of the biggest mistakes you should never do is to clash with your friend over some guy.
80. CHRISTINE: Chali kama anakuplay na bestewako, mwache, machali wako wengi. *(If a guy is double-dealing you and your friend, leave him, there are many guys available.)*
81. HALLA: I cant, if I love someone, I cant let them go!
82. ARANGO: Wako wengi. Enzi wasichana walikuwa wanapigania na kulilia machali iliisha kitambo sana. *(They are many. The days ladies used to fight over guys wee over long ago.)*
83. HALLA: By the way kuna wasichana hapa ni students; hata hawajui kujivaa. ni kama wanatembea naked. *(By the way there are female students here who don’t even know how to dress. Its like they are walking naked.)*
84. SAYAPA: Hiyo ndiyo fashion siku hizi. *(That is fashion nowadays.)*
85. CHRISTINE: Unapata umeingia class, na msichana amevaa nguo mbaya sana, mgongo iko tu nje yote. *(You find you are in class with ladies wearing very bad clothes, the whole back is exposed.)*
86. SAYAPA: Sasa unashangaa, akivaa hivyo akija shule, akienda club atavaa nini? Atakuwa uchi? *(Now you can be surprised, if she can dress like that coming to college, what about when she goes to the club?)*
87. ARANGO: By the way, students ni wafunny *(are funny)* sana, niliingia class juzi kufundisha, nikapata msichana amevaa nguo mbaya sana na fupi mpaka hawezi kukaa comfortably. You look at the guys in the class, pia walikuwa restless. *(By the way students are very funny)*
88. SAYAPA: Oh, my God!
89. ARANGO: Even you as a lecturer, when you stand before them to teach, they analyze how you are dressed.
90. HALLA: If you are uncomfortable with the female students how do you think the male lecturers feel? How do they cope? I wonder.
91. SAYAPA: Hawa students wamarequire discipline! *(These students require discipline.)*
92. ARANGO: Nilimuuliza mbone amevaa hiyvo, akaniambia ati, “if you have a beautiful body why should you hide it, madam?” What can you say? Nilinyamaza tu. *(I asked her why she aws dressed like that, she told me that, “if you have a beautiful body why should you hide it, madam?” what can you say? I just kept quiet.)*
93. HALLA: Yeye anafanya hiyvo kimakusudi, ni kila siku ama ni hiyo siku tu? *(She is doing that intentionally, is it everyday or it was only that day?)*
94. ARANGO: Huyo student amezoea kuvaa hivyo kila siku. If you don’t find her with low cut jeans, then she has a handkerchief of a top and a non-existent skirt. Na parents wake wamejua anasoma (laughs) *(That student is used to dressing that way daily. If you don’t find her with a low cut jeans, then she has a handkerchief of a top and a non existent skirt. And her parents know that she is studying.)*

95. CHRISTINE: Such students hawatokangi home straight, either wanapitia mahali wanachange ama wanakaa na friends who don’t care about their dressing. *(Such students don’t come straight from home, either they pass somewhere and change or they stay with their friends who don’t care about their dressing.)*

96. HALLA: No wonder lecturers wanawakatia female students sana! *(No wonder lecturers are seducing female students so much!)*

97. ARANGO: By the way I think this is just a way to get those male lecturers. Kwa sababu huwezi kuja shule hivyo with the sole aim of learning! *(By the way I think this is just a way to get those male lecturers. Because they cannot come to school like that with the sole aim of learning!)*

98. CHRISTINE: No wonder there is so much immorality in most colleges and even universities nowadays. Wasichana wengi hata kabla wamalize College, already wako na babies, bastards! *(No wonder there is so much immorality in most colleges and even universities nowadays. Many girls even before they complete college, already have babies, bastards!)*

99. SAYAPA: I think the ladies who dress badly are mostly Gikuyus.

100. ROSA: No, no, no; that is an unfair, tribal statement, I wonder what research you have to justify that outrageous remark.

101. ARANGO: lam not surprised, “nyi Okuchegi ema timre kamano...” *(these Gikuyu ladies are the ones who behave like that).*

102. CHRISTINE: Joluowa onge gi tabia no, Okuche gin ga, very promiscuous! *(our fellow Luos do not misbehave like that, these Gikuyus ae normally very promiscuous!)*

103. HALLA: I think this is not a tribal issue, indency and poor dressing by female students cuts across all tribes and ages, infact don’t be surprised if some of our own lecturers are the one who lead in poor dressing.

104. ARANGO: That is very true, I agree wholeheartedly with you. By the way I will die with my tribe, coz *(because)* I also believe that Luo men are the finest.

105. SAYAPA: Ehi! You guys love your tribe so much!

106. CHRISTINE: Luo men are indeed the best, of course they marry a second, third and even fourth wife, but they will always treat you like an angel.

107. ROSA: Hata akimitreat kama god, siwezi allow kuwa married na a polygamous man. *(Even if he treats me like a god, I cannot be married to a polygamous man.)*

108. ARANGO: Infact there is no Luo man who drives a car and has no wife in the house, whatever he tells you, if he marries you then be sure that you will be the second or third wife an a fourth one is coming home.

109. SAYAPA: Kwa nini wanaume hawapendi kuadmit wako married? Or they have a girlfriend? *(Why cant men always admit that they married? Or they have a girlfriend?)*

110. ARANGO: Ukweli ni kwamba; unapotakikana, utaambiwa chochote. Babangu husema, “nyako kapodi idwari, gimoramora itimoni!” *(The truth is that when you are wanted, you will be told anything. My father says, “if a lady is wanted then she is given anything she wants.”)*

83
111. SAYAPA: Sasa hiyo ni kusemaje? *(Now what does that mean?)*

112. ARANGO: Inamaanisha, ukitafutwa, chochote utakacho utakipata, kama wataka kusikia hamna chochote, ati hakuna wife, utaambiwa hivyo hivyo unavyotaka, pete atakitoa mfukoni akingize mfukoni. Siku ile utapelekwa kwao nyumbani... *(It means that, when you are wanted, whatever you want, you will be given, if you want to hear that there is nothing, that there is no wife, you will be told that as you want it, he will remove the ring from his pocket. The day you will be taken to his home...)*

113. SAYAPA: Utakaribishwa kwa mbwembwe! *(You will receive a ceremonious welcome!)*

114. ARANGO: Na pia utapata kuna bibi tayari wa kwanza, na hapo ushajitupa sasa, utafanya nini? *(Also you will find already there is a first wife, then you will realize its too late. What will you do?)*

115. HALLA: Utatoka mbio sana na mtoto wako. *(You will run away fast with your baby.)*

116. ARANGO: Utaishi aje pekee yake na huyo mtoto wako, na akianza kuuliza babake ako wapi? By the way mimi ninedecide kusettle down, Im focusing on a wedding, a white wedding. *(How will you live alone with that baby, and when it starts to ask for it father? By the way I have decuded to settle down, Im focusing on a wedding, a white wedding.)*

117. SAYAPA: When?

118. ARANGO: Soon, I will tell you when the time is right.

119. CHRISTINE: Unawed na nani? *(Who are you wedding?)*

120. ARANGO: That’s the dream guy in the pictures.

121. SAYAPA: Sisi kama your best friends utuintroduce kwake tumjue, ama number yake. *(As best friends, introduce us so that we can know him, or give us his number)*

122. ARANGO: I cannot make such a mistake!

123. CHRISTINE: Don’t do that, I agree with you Aringo, you may regret like Maribel.

124. ARANGO: I know a man is still a man, I don’t want to call him an angel just to coz *(because)* I love him. I want to have a baby in my own home just like I was brought up.

125. SAYAPA: Remember that was then, the world has now days changed a lot.

126. ARANGO: We can still be the elements of change in our generation....

127. HALLA: Anafanyajob gani? *(What job does he do?)*

128. ARANGO: He is a pilot.

129. SAYAPA: Oh Jesus Christ! Huyo si anatravel sana, unafikiri ameona wasichana wangapi abroad? *(laughs) Oh Jesus Christ! Doesn’t he travel a lot? How many girls do you think he has seen abroad?)*

130. ARANGO: Hiyo sikatai, but the truth is; mimi ndiyo tunasettle down naye. *(I don’t deny that. Bu the ruth is; lam the onehe will settle down with.)*

131. SAYAPA: Usijidanganye, chunga usikuwe hurt! *(Don cheat yourself, be careful you don’t get hurt.)*

132. ARANGO: Thanks for your advice, but girls by next year June mimi nitakuwa married and you will come to witness the wedding. *(Thanks for your advise, but girls by next year June I would be married and you will come to witness the wedding.)*

133. SAYAPA: But I hope we will not also witness the divorce and tears.
134. HALLA: We fully support you but we also advise you to also look at his background first.
135. ARANGO: Thanks.

(Silence as a male lecturer (Mr Paul Andrew) enters the room. He stays for one minute then leaves the room.)

136. ROSA: There is another lecturer here, anabore sana. There is another lecturer here, he bores me so much.
137. CHRISTINE: Mgani huyo Rose? (Which one Rose?)
138. ROSA: Si ni huyu Mr. Ainea. Nashuku ni gay! (It is this Mr. Ainea, I suspect he is gay!)
139. ARANGO: Yes that may be true, anapenda sana kukaa mahali ladies wako. (Yes that may be true, he like sitting where ladies are.)
140. SAYAPA: By the way why doesn’t he hang around his male colleagues, I always wonder.
141. CHRISTINE: Na pia sijawahi kumwona close na msichana yeyote, lakini anapenda kuwa kwa company ya ladies, how ironical! (Also I have never seen him close to any particular lady, but he likes being in the company of ladies, how ironical!)
142. SAYAPA: Hata mnaona alikuwa hapa, ametoka najua atarudi tena yet other male lecturers wako mbali sana. Pia yeye hucheka sana kama msichana. (You can even see that he was here, he has gone but I know he will return again yet other male lecturers are very far away.)
143. CHRISTINE: Yes I also think he is gay.

4. MIXTURE OF MALE AND FEMALE SPEAKERS: LOW RANKS (C4)

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<td>Mr. Fred Wekesa – Junior Lecturer</td>
<td>(Late 20s)</td>
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<td>Mr. Erick Muriuki – Accounts clerk</td>
<td>(Mid 20s)</td>
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<td>Mr. Desmond Owiti – Security</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
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<td>Ms. Christine Adhiambo – Lecturer</td>
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<td>Ms. Anna Wambui – Junior Lecturer</td>
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C 4

1. CHRISTINE: Huyu Kubaki, hii strategy yake ya kupata kura! Najua nyinyi wakikuyu mtamtetea, lakini the fact remains, Kubaki hapati kura tena! (This Kibaki, this is his strategy for getting votes! I know you Gikuyus you will defend him, but the fact remains, Kibaki will not get votes again!)
2. ERICK: Na siku ile alitoa ile Raila alitoa ile.... (But that day he removed that Raila produced...)
3. CHRISTINE: Story sio Raila, ni Kibaki! (Story is not Raila, its Kibaki!)
4. FRED: Nyinyi mnakasoro moja, mnaongea kuhusu to wajaka, na wakikuyu.
5. ERICK: Sio Wajaka na Wakikuyu tu! (You, you have one problem, you talk only about Luos anf Gikuyus.)

6. FRED: Mimi navauliza hivi; hiyo prediction wakikuyu watasema pekee yao. (Me lam asking you this; that prediction will be supported by Gikuyus alone.)

7. CHRISTINE: Free education, anasema ndiyo apatiwe kura, kwa hivyo the Kikuyus watampatia kura zao zote, hawataangalia if that promise can be fulfilled, secu gani hiyo watu wanaweza kusoma bure? (Free education he is saying so that he can get votes, so the Gikuyus will give him all of their votes, they will not even bother to check if that promise will be fulfilled, which secondary education can people learn for free?)

8. ERICK: Hakusema ni bure yote, nyinyi ni watu hamuonangi news. (He never said it was all free, you people do not watch news)

9. ANNA: Eeeh! Boarding fee mnajipilia, tuition ndiyo free pekee yake. (Boarding fee you will payfor yourself, tuition fee alone will be free.)

10. FRED: Wewe unaonanga news gani? Unaonanga news gani? (You, which news do you normally watch, which news do you normally watch?)

11. CHRISTINE: Hiyo ndiyo another thing ya kutafuta kura, hakuna kitu ingine, mimi nawaambia huyu mtu anaisita Kibaki hakuna kura naweza mpatai kwa sababu anataka tu adanganywe watu after apromise, ngoja mtaona, akisha win atawaambia, “that thing is not possible.” (This is another thing for campaigns, nothing else, me lam telling you these man called Kibaki I can never give him my vote because he only wants to give a false prome, just wait after elections you will see he will say, “that thing is not possible.”)

12. ERICK: Kama ni promise, Kibaki angekuja nayo a year before the end of reign yake, sasa bado three months anatuambia kuna free education, Raila hawezi.....(If it’s a mere promise, Kibaki could have come with it a year before the end of his reign, now remainig only three months he tells us there is free education, Raila cannot...)

13. HALLA: Raila is not the President here, muache kumlaumu kwa kila kitu. (Raila is not the president here, stop blaming him on everything.)

14. FRED: Ngoja, ngoja muache niwaambie, kila mtu anatactic yake ya kuwin elections. (Wait, wait ttell you, everyone has his own tactic for winning elections.)

15. DESMOND: Mimi najua education free hata kama ni bure tumkatwawa kwa area zingine kama sugar badala ya forty, itakuwa fifty bob. (For me I know that for free education, we will still be deducted in other areas like sugar instead of being fourty shillings, it will be fifty shillings.)

16. ERICK: Sugar before ilikuwa expensive, hauwezi kuniambie ati akipitisha hiyo free education itapanda zaidi, hawezi kupandisha zaidi! (Sugar before was expensive, yu cannot tell me that if the free ducation is passed price of sugar will rise!)

17. CHRISTINE: Itapanda! (It will rise!)

18. ERICK: Itapanda juu ya nini? (Why would it rise?)

19. FRED: Wewe kumbuka siku walianza free primary education, sugar ilikuwa pesa ngapf? (You remember those days of free primary education, how much was sugar?)

20. DESMOND: Kila kitu ilirise, wanatuenjoy hii side, hii ingine wanakublind. (Price of everything rose, they are joking with us this side, the other side they blind us.)

21. FRED: Eeeh! Hata wakitoa tuition fee, activity fee itaweza kupandishwa. (Eeeh! Even if they remove tuition fee, activity fee may be raised.)

22. ERICK: Wacha niwaulize swali: saa hii free primary education si imesaidia?
23. FRED: Imesaidia nani? (Let me ask you a question: now hasn’t free primary education helped?)
24. CHRISTINE: Watu wanakaa chini kwa floor na hawasomi! (People are sitting on the floor and cannot study!)
25. FRED: klasi yenye ilikuwa inachuluwa forty two, sasa inachukuwa one hundred and two! (A class which used to hold forty two, now holds one hundred and two!)
26. ANNA: Si mbaya, afadhali wamepata chance. (It is not bad, it is better that they are getting a chance.)
27. CHRISTINE: Mtoi hapati immediate attention, kama alikuwa mtu wa kushika vitu polepole... (A child doesn’t get immediate attention, if someone is a slow learner.....)
28. FRED: Public school, juu zimejaa sana, hazi perform sana kama private. (Public schools because they are crowded, does not perform well as the private ones.)
29. ERICK: Mimi naona Raila ame.... (For me I see Raila has.)
30. HALLA: Wacha mambo ya Raila! (Stop talking about Raila!) 
31. CHRISTINE: Raila, Raila saa zote! (Raila Raila all the time!)
32. DESMOND: Solution ni hivi, Kibaki atafute Raila, waunde game plan poa. (This is the solution, Kibaki should look for Raila so that they can make a perfect game plan.)
33. CHRISTINE: Eeeeh! Game plan ya nguvu! (Eeeeh! A strong game plane!)
34. ERICK: Hauwezi deal na Raila, juu huwezi kumwamini! (You cannot deal with Raila, because you cannot trust him!)
35. HALLA: Kwa nini? (Why?)
36. ERICK: Raila amekuwa party mingi sana. (Raila has been in so many parties.)
37. CHRISTINE: Kwani Kibaki amekuwa party ngapi? Si alikuwa na Moi na pia DP na Rainbow! (So Kibaki has been in how many parties? Wasn’t he with Moi, also DP and Rainbow!)
38. FRED: Sikizeni niwaambie vile Raila alisema: ati South Korea tulikuwa the same time fulani, after kupata independence, na vile alikuwa gava, kwa nini hakumaliza poverty? Anaenda Kibera kil a siku na watu wanakaa njaa, yeye naye ankula nyama kila siku, mdomo tu ndiyo ako nayo! (Let me tell you what Raila said: that South Korea and Kenya were on the same leve after we attained independence, and when he was in government, why didn’t he end poverty? He goes to Kibera daily yet people are hungry and he eats meat daily, he only talks a lot.)
39. CHRISTINE: Hiyo sio part ya Raila pekee yake kuplay, poverty ni all the nation together. (That is not Raila’s role to play alone, poverty in the whole nation together.)
40. HALLA: Not only politicians can solve the entire problem.
41. FRED: Imagine kuna watu karibu two million wako in poverty, na anunua gari ya forty two million, kwa nini usiwapee millioni moja moja? (Imagine there are almost two million people in poverty, yet you are buying a car of forty two million shillings, why not give them one million each.)
42. DESMOND: Hiyo gari alipewa na mabeste! (He was given that vehicle by friends!)
43. CHRISTINE: Wewe mnaonea Raila sana. (You, you hate Raila so much!)
44. ANNA: Hata nyinyi mnaonea Kibaki sana. (Even you, you hate Kibaki so much!)
45. FRED: Juzi Amelia corruption, corruption! Yeye mwenyewe ni corrupt vinoma! (The other day he was crying, “corruption, corruption! Himself he is so corrupt.)
46. DESMOND: Corrupt aje na hako kwa gava? (Why is he corrupt yet he is not in the government?)
47. ERICK: Raila afanye hivi; anyamazenge, hasiongee, kama Kibaki. (Raila should do this; he should be keeping quiet, like Kibaki.)

48. CHRISTINE: Lazima aongee! (He should talk)

49. ERICK: Aongee kitu ya maana. (He should talk sensible things.)

50. HALLA: Yeye husema vitu za maana saa zote! (He says sensible things all the time!)

51. CHRISTINE: Kwanza yeye anaongea vitu za maana kushinda hata Kibaki. (Infact he talks more sensible things more than Kibaki.)

52. DESMOND: Ukiangalia maturity ya brain, nani inaona yake iko low sana? (If you look at brain maturity, who do you think has a low level?)

53. ANNA: Ni Raila! (It Railal)

54. HALLA: Hapana! Ni Kibaki, yake iko low kupita kiasi. (No it Kibaki, his is extremely low!)

55. ERICK: Raila ndiyo yake iko down. (Raila's is low)

56. DESMOND: Kwa nini? (Why?)

57. ERICK: Raila amesoma economics? Alikuwa mtu wa kwanza kupasa na sana high school? .... (Has Raila studied economics? Was he the first on to pass high school exams?)

58. CHRISTINE: Nani ndiye rnzee? Kibaki ndiye rnzee, hauexpect wakuwe wameenda shule pamoja! Kibaki was an economist, but Raila was born in politics, right from the father, he knows the politics, so wachana na Raila! (Who is older? Kibaki is older, you don't expect them to have gone to the same school! Kibaki was an economist, but Raila was born in politics, right from the father, he knows the politics, so leave Raila alone!)

59. FRED: Nakuliza, wewe na babako, nani mwerevu? (Can I ask you, you and your father, who is more intelligent?)

60. CHRISTINE: Obviously babangu. Kuna uwerevu ya knowledge na ya wisdom. (Obviously my father. There is intelligence of wisdom and intelligence of knowledge)

61. FRED: Kwa hii ya wisdom, nani mwerevu kati ya wewe na babako? (On wisdom, who is more intelligent between you and your father?)

62. CHRISTINE: Obviously ni babangu! (Obviously its my father!)

63. FRED: Sasa mbona Kibaki askwirwe mwerevu kushinda Raila? (So then why cant Kibaki be more intelligent than Raila?)

64. CHRISTINE: Kuna hiyo upumbavu yege husema, yege ndiyo mpumbavu. (He likes saying the word "stupidity," he is the one who is stupidity.)

65. ERICK: Kitu Raila anajua ni kuvuruga watu! (What Raila knows is to confuse people!)

66. HALLA: Support point yako! (Support your point!)

67. ERICK: Mnaweza kuwa naye kwa hii chama, huku nyuma anaunda party yake ingine. (You can be with him in this party, but behind the scenes he builds another party for himself.)

68. HALLA: That's why he is intelligent.

69. ERICK: Hapana, hiyo ni kuspoil, kubomoa na kelele mingi! You must watch your back when with him! (No, that is spoiling, destroying everything with too much noise! You must watch your back when you are with him!)

70. CHRISTINE: Hakuna kitu kama kuwatch your back, people should just be honest. (There is nothing like watching your back, people should just be honest.)
71. ERICK: Vile anatucheza akili ni sisi ndiyo tunasuffer. The way he plays with our minds, we are the ones who end up suffering.)
72. HALLA: Si mfikirie kabla mchezewe akili. (Why can't you think before someone plays with your mind?)
73. FRED: Ndiyo amefikiria, hatawapea kura, atapatia Kibaki. (That's why he has thought and decided that he wont give you his vote, he will instead give Kibaki.)
74. HALLA: Aaaargh! Na sasa kwa nini mnataka kumpatia Kibaki kura zenu? (Noo! Now why do you want to give Kibaki your votes?)
75. FRED: Sisi tuko sure Kibaki ndiyo mpoa. (We are sure kibaki is better.)
76. CHRISTINE: Huyu mtu anatupumbaza. (That person is playing with our minds.)
77. HALLA: Raila sio coward! (Raila is no coward!)
78. CHRISTINE: He speaks like a man openly na hajali, that's Raila! (He speaks like a man openly, he doesn't care, that's Raila!)
79. DESMOND: Kibaki amekaliwa na wife kwa kichwa. (Kibaki is being manipulated by his wife.)
80. ANNA: Hakuna kukaliwa na wife! (He is not being manipulated by his wife!)
81. CHRISTINE: Kalonzo; a coward! Balala; a coward! Raila is the thing!
82. ERICK: Nyamaza! Sikiza, vile naona, hii ODM itabreak, nawapromise! Itaanza na Raila! (Keep quiet! Listen! I think this ODM will break up, I promise you! It will start with Raila!)
83. HALLA: Politics zimenichosha! Nyinyi mnaongea politics, na mimi nina shida na rafiki wangu; bwanake amemkazia, mtoto wao wa kwanza anataka aende akapimwe. Mnaju hu hu mtoto alimapata nje ya marriage! Haki mnisaidie! (Im tired of politics! You guys are talking politics yet I have a problem with my friend; her husband is insisting that their first child be taken for paternity test. You know she got that child out of marriage! Please help me!)
84. CHRISTINE: Uuuuwi! (Wow!)
85. ANNA: Kwa hivyo unajua huyo mtoto sio wa bwanake? (So you know that the child is not her husbands?)
86. CHRISTINE: mtoto ni wa nani? (Whose child is it?)
87. DESMOND: Mtoto ni sura gani? Unaona anaweza kuwa ni wa nani? (how does the child look like? Who do you think could be the father?)
88. HALLA: Mtoto huyo hafanani na bwanake! (That child doesn't look like her husband!)
89. DESMOND: Ni muindi, mjaluo ama....? Na huyo mtu amejuwaje sio wake? (Is it and Indian, a Luo or what....? And how does the husband know it is not his child?)
90. HALLA: Mtoto ana tabia tofauti, sio kama za bwanake! (The child behaves differently, not like her husband.)
91. FRED: Huyu fadh e amefikiria sana, madame sikuhizi wanatucheza akli, wewe unalisha mtoto wa mtu mpaka seventeen years, halafu anakwambia huyo mtoi sio wako, kama ile ya Bishop Margaret. (The father has thought wisely, ladies nowadays play with our minds, you raise someone else's child until he reaches eighteen years, then she tells you the child is not yours.)
92. DESMOND: Sindiyo! (Yes!)
93. CHRISTINE: Shida sio tu kwa madame, hata nyinyi machali. (The problem is not only on ladies but also with men.)
94. ANNA: Eeeeeh! Nyinyi mko na wangapi nje? (Yes! You men how many of your kids are outside?)
95. FRED: Unapata wewe umeenda job, kumbe wife ameleta jamaa, mimi naona watoto wapimwe wote! (You find that you have gone to work yet your wife has brought a guy home, for me I think the children should all be tested!)
96. CHRISTINE: Watu wapimwe lakini pia nyinyi wanaume ni worse, wanaume wanadrop seeds zao kila mahali, unapata una watoto wengi kila mahali, kama Wamalwa, unapata akisha dedi ndiyo mnapata kuna laini ndefu sijui mpaka wapi? Wote wanataka inheritance! (People should be tested but even you men are worse, men drop their seeds everywhere, such that kids are so many everywhere like Wamalwa, such that when he dies is when there is a long queue, all of them want a piece of the inheritance.)
97. FRED: Women are the same, ni wajunga, ni wapumbavu akili. (Women are the same, they are stupid, they are foolish mentally.)
98. HALIA: Men are the ones who are stupid.
99. FRED: Kama hutaki mtoto fanya abortion! (If you don’t want a kid, then go for abortion!)
100. ANNA: Abortionyanini? (Abortion for what?)
101. FRED: It was unplanned pregnancy! Infact hata sijui tunaongea nini. Mimi ningekuwa bwanake, angeenda nyumbani! (It was unplanned pregnancy! Infact I don’t even know what we are talking about. If I was her husband, she wuld have gone back to her parents’ home.)
102. HALLA: Haiyaya!(Oh my God!)
103. FRED: Tunasumbuana nini? (Why are bothering ourselves?)
104. DESMOND: Ushago straight! (Countryside straight!)
105. FRED: Huyo bwanake anampenda hapendi mtoto! The husband loves her, not the child)
106. HARRIET: Lakini kama bwana anafaa apende watoto wa bibi yake! (But the husband is supposed to love all the children together with his wife!)
107. FRED: Sasa mtoto sio wake! Atalishaje mtoto si wake? Kwani yeye ni NGO? (But the child is not his! Why should he feed the child? Is he an NGO?)
108. ANNA: Nyinyi wanaume ni wajinga sana, saa zingine wife wako anahanya nje, mpaka anakuzalia watoto na sio wako, na wewe unafikiri ni wako tu! (You men are very stupid, sometimes your wife is promiscuous and delivers to you kids who are not yours, yet you think they are yours!)
109. DESMOND: Mimi sio mjinga, nyinyi ndio wajinga na immoral! (I am not stupid, you are the ones who are stupid and immoral!)
110. CHRISTINE: Nyinyi ndio wajinga kwa sababu mnafooliwa. Imagine unafanya job halafu unalisha watoto wa watu wengine, majirani wanakucheka tu! (You are the ones who are stupid because you are always fooled. Imagine you are working hard only to feed other people’s children, neighbours laughing at you!)
111. ANNA: By the way, about yesterday’s football, what happened?
112. FRED: Tulikuwa Anfield, they never walk alone, halafu another thing, tulidefend vismart and again penalties usiwna sema tumeshindwa; penalty ni bahati! (We were at Anfield, they never walk alone, then another thing, we defended smartly and also with penalties you cannot say that we have been defeated; penalties are just luck.)
113. CHRISTINE: If mlishindwa kudedefeat Liverpool, mlishindwa, what else do you do? (If you couldn’t defeat Liverpool, you were defeated, what else do you do?)

114. HALLA: Unajua hawa watu wa Chelsea hujidai sana, nini leo? (You know these Chelsea guys like showing off so much!)

115. ERICK: Nyinji ni watu wa Man U? (What about you Manchester United people?)

116. HALIA: Hapana! (No!)

117. DESMOND: Arsenali!(Arsenal)

118. ERICK: Wacha leo mlale! (Now to day you will be beaten!)

119. CHRISTINE: Sasa Chelsea na Man U mlikuwa hizo maquarter finals, lakini sasa hamtoboi! (Now Chelsea and Manchester United you were in Quarter Finals, but this time round you will not succeed!)

120. FRED: Ligi inaanza, season ingine inaanza, tunaanza na zero points sisi wote, lakini wengine wanabakingi nyuma sujui wanafanya nini? (When the league starts, a new season begins, we all start with zero points but others always remain behind doing what?)

121. CHRISTINE: The thing is, Arsenal ikifikanga semi ama quarters, lazima wafike mpaka finals. (The thing is, whenever Arsenal reaches Semi finals or Quarter finals, they always reach the finals.)

122. FRED: Sasa hivyo inaitwanga Champions League, sio Premier league, sio ya ammarteurs. (Now that one is called Champions League, not Premier league, it is not for ammarteurs.)

123. CHRISTINE: Arsenal siyo ammarteurs, ona kama Chelsea, hao hufanya tu kununua the best players badala ya kumould players hapo kwenu; hata hawana Academy. (Arsenal are not ammarteurs, look at Chelsea, they prefer buying only the best players instead of moulding players; they don’t even have an Academy.)

124. FRED: Tuna Academy! (We have an Academy!)

125. CHRISTINE: Imetoo hakina nani? (It has produced which people?)

126. FRED: John Terry na Obi Mikel wametoka Academy! (John Terry and Obi Mikel came from Academy!)

127. DESMOND: Uwongo! (Lies!)

128. CHRISTINE: Arsenal is great! Hata Man U wanavaa jersey imeandikwa AIG; ‘Arsenal Is Great.’ (Arsenal is Great! Even Manchester United wears a jersey written AIG; ‘Arsenal Is Great’) 

129. HARRIET: Arsenal inabore!(Arsenal is boring)

130. DESMOND: Arsenal is very Great; AIG!

131. HALLA: Na mnapigwa na Bolton! (Yet you are being beaten by Bolton!)

132. ERICK: Kuna game ya Chelsea na Arsenal Sato! (There is a game between Chelsea and Arsenalc on Saturday!)

133. FRED: Ngoja sasa! (Now wait!)

134. CHRISTINE: Tutawachapa! (We will beat you!)

135. DESMOND: Tutawafuniga tu mabao saba! (We will beat you by seven goals!)

136. FRED: Manze, hiyo mtapewa kichapo! mtanyoroshwa! (My friend you will be given a thorough beating! You will be beaten!)

(There is silence as a female student enters the room, she checks around then leaves the room.)
137. HALLA: Ubaya wa wanaume wanapenda ball hata kushinda mabibi zao! *(This is the problem with men, they love football even more than their wives!)*

138. FRED: Haja gani upate stress kwa nyumba, wife amenuna ni kama amekula ndimu, afadhali nione ball nichangamke nirudi nilale! *(Why should I encounter stress at home, the wife is so bitter like someone who has eaten lemons, Id better watch football, I get entertained then I can go home to sleep!)*

139. CHRISTINE: Kwanza hiyo ball ni ya kuwaste doo kwa sababu unaiona kwa bar, ukikunywa na wengine. *(First of all that football is a waste of money because you will watch it in a bar while drinking with others.)*

140. FRED: Hiyo ni shares, nunua shares kwa club; nikilipa twenty bob kuona ball nimenunua shares; wakishinda ligi nafurahi, shares zangu zimezaa matunda! *(Those are shares, buy shares in clu; if a pay twenty shillings to watch a football match I have bought shares; when they win the league I will be happy, my shares have bore dividends!)*

141. DESMOND: Dividends!

142. ANNA: Na watoto wanaka njaa! *(And the children stay hungry!)*

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5. MALE AND FEMALE SPEAKERS OF HIGH RANKS. *(C5)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>AGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Kalilu</td>
<td>A Head of Department</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dornan Murungi</td>
<td>A Head of Department</td>
<td>(Early 40s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Odhiambo</td>
<td>A Course Coordinator</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilda Mwandware</td>
<td>A Course Coordinator</td>
<td>(Mid 30s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Patricia Mwaniki</td>
<td>Exam Coordinator</td>
<td>(Late 30s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yvonne Miti</td>
<td>A Senior Lecturer.</td>
<td>(Early 30s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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C 5

1. JAMES: Yesterday I was amazed, watching news and I see a guy, grown up guy, chopping off his maleness!
2. VICTOR: Private parts?
3. JAMES: Yes!
4. VICTOR: You mean it is true?
5. JAMES: I was amazed, then knife he used was blood all over.
6. PATRICIA: Ya kuleta Sukuma! *(For cutting Kales)*
7. JAMES: Was it a drama or what?
8. PATRICIA: No, no, no! it was a real story, I was also saw it.
9. VICTOR: But you know, such things happen coz *(because)* just a few days ago, I read in the newspaper that there is an Englishman who did the same because of frustration, so it was not new to me.
10. DOMAN: What kind of frustrations anyway?
11. JAMES: By the way!
12. VICTOR: He was saying that when he goes home, the wife doesn’t give him what he deserves, so it was like a form of punishment to the wife. The wife doesn’t recognize him as a complete man.
13. YVONNE: Are you sure that’s the reason?
14. HILDA: I’m sure that was not the reason.
15. YVONNE: The man from Kakamega saw that they have too many kids.
16. VICTOR: That guy is a cobbler by the, before it was televised, it was in the print media yesterday, he was saying that he had no money to buy the stuff he could use in his business so he went to the wife and the wife refused to give him the money; so when the wife was doing some garden work, is when he came to the house, rushed to the kitchen, picked that mboga (Kales) knife and did it.
17. YVONNE: So it was because he did not get the money?
18. VICTOR: I think this whole incident is not just about the money, it can be traced back to when that guy had married the lady. Maybe they had been quarrelling each other, it’s not normal for someone to just decide one day and....
19. PATRICIA: Something funny, they say this person is a real Christian, God fearing and doesn’t drink.
20. VICTOR: I doubt that!
21. PATRICIA: They say he doesn’t smoke; he has never done anything bad.
22. VICTOR: Do you know, people who have much evil are those people who go to church.
23. YVONNE: In your opinion!
24. VICTOR: Coz (because) today I just read that there is a pastor who has done something that is very abnormal!
25. PATRICIA: With who?
26. YVONNE: Where?
27. HILDA: Naweza kukucorrect kidogo! (I can correct you!)
28. YVONNE: How?
29. VICTOR: He is a serious catechist.
30. JAMES: Victor, I can support you.

](Silence as a Senior Management Staff enters the room, Mr. Victor signals him to come and join but he declines, smiles and points at his watch. He calls Victor and they talk in low tones.)

31. HILDA: Let me talk about salvation, na wale watu wameokoka; the devil takes advantage of those people who are saved because those are the people who are against him, so he tries to corrupt their minds, kwatoa kwa uwepo wa mungu, lakini wale wa kidunia ni watu wake. (Let me talk about salvation and those who are saved; the devil takes advantage of those people who are saved because those are the people who are against him, so he tries to corrupt their minds.)
32. JAMES: This guy maybe there was something even if he was a Christian; there are somethings he had not cleaned, the Bible says clearly, if your finger disturbs you, cut it. Even if the person dies directly he will go to heaven directly.

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(The Senior Management Staff leaves the room and Victor comes back to the group.)

33. PATRICIA: I don’t think so!
34. VICTOR: God is going to judge him, why did he chop off his thing? “I gave it to you for the right purpose.
35. PATRICIA: According to the Bible, you don’t have to do what is written there literally, kwa sababu hata wewe, tangu uzaliwe, najua umeiba, mbona hukukata mkono? (According to the bible, you don't have to do what is written there literally, because ever since you were born I know you have stolen once, why haven't you cut your hand?)
36. VICTOR: Bible is like any other literature book.
37. HILDA: No the guy aliinterpret hiyo parable vibaya ndiyo maana akajikata hivyo (No, the guy interpreted that parable wrongly and that's why he cut himself like that.)
38. JAMES: So the bible is contradicting?
39. VICTOR: For my sake, I think it would be better if you gave me the chapter of the bible you are talking about; because even most of us don’t go to church!
40. JAMES: The last time I attended the church I heard about such a thing. So I cannot know the chapter.
41. VICTOR: Which church was that? Or is it “Jesus is Alive?”
42. JAMES: The one my wife goes to.
43. PATRICIA: In this case, huyu mtu alijikata, hawakusema alikuwa anatenda dhambi na hiyo sehemu alikata. (In this case, this man who cut himself; they never said whether he had committed a particular sin with that organ he had cut.)
44. JAMES: Maybe he did not want to disclose the information, so it was disturbing him emotionally and he didn’t want to share it with the public.
45. VICTOR: The problem of we Christians is only one when such things happen, we must know that hurdles are there and we must jump over them. There is only one way of jumping, just kneel down and pray to your God.
46. HILDA: Pia kuna difference between Pentecostal churches and Religious churches. Pentecostal churches are the guys who are really saved but the Religious churches hazina hiyo, sasa huyu mtu alijikata huenda alikuwa ni wa Religious Churches. (There is also a difference between Pentecostal churches and Religious Churches. Pentecostal churches are the guys who are really saved but Pentecostal churches don't have that, so this guy who cut himself was from Religious churches.)
47. VICTOR: I think you are trying to betray my theological knowledge.
48. PATRICA: All are Christians don’t discriminate!
49. VICTOR: What you guys must know is that we are heading towards the end of times and such like things are to be expected.
50. YVONNE: Which will not happen anytime soon!
51. VICTOR: It will take some years but we are seeing the signs, even now because I was told in Sabbath School in the book of First Timothy that when the world is coming to an end there will be earthquakes, wars, people will be lovers of money, themselves!
52. PATRICIA: This guy whu cut off his organ, hakuwa amesaidiwa in any way Kwa sababu ameteswa wife, watoto wake wamepata aibu, hata wakienda shule watakuwa wakichekelewa. (This guy who cut off his organ, he was not assisted in any way because
way because he has traumatized his wife, his children have been embarrassed, even if they go to school they would be laughed at.)

53. DOMAN: Wife anateseka psuchologically and physically. *(The wife is suffering psychologically and physically.)*

54. PATRICIA: Infact the wife will start looking for satisfaction outside, ataanza kuhanya huko nje. *(Infact the wife will start looking for satisfaction outside, she will become promiscuous outside marriage.)*

55. VICTOR: You don’t realize what you have unti you loose it!

56. HILDA: Kama ninyi mngemsaidia aje? *(How can you help him?)*

57. JAMES: Hakuna msaada hapo. *(There is no assistance there.)*

58. DOMAN: Pengine apewe tu moral support. *(Maybe he can be given only moral support)*

59. VICTOR: Aambiwe pole! (Laughter) *(He can be consoled)*

60. JAMES: Even if he had financial problem with his wife, why did he interfere with his body?

61. VICTOR: Now, you James you are contradicting yourself, you are now wondering why he cut himself, yet earlier you said that someone should cut any part that is giving him problems!

62. JAMES: You have to look at both sides of the argument.

63. DOMAN: Infact the guy is not a man from the word go! Removing that manhood just seals everything.

64. PATRICIA: Nowadays some people want to be famous, you do something unique so that you can be on news.

65. VICTOR: Infact he is now a celebrity!

66. YVONNE: Especially in the village, everyone is talking about him!

67. DOMAN: No, a celebrity must have something noble.

68. JAMES: Yes, but these ladies are very funny people, pengine wife alikuwa anamfungia Kwa nyumba hataki atoke nje! *(Yes, but these ladies are very funny people, maybe the wife used to lock him in the house because she didn’t want him to get out)*

VICTOR: It’s a big shame.
APPENDIX 2
QUESTIONNAIRE (Personal Data)

NAME ____________________________

GENDER ____________________________

OCCUPATION ____________________________

RANK ____________________________

AGE ____________________________

TRIBE ____________________________

How long have you worked at the Institution?

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