Dissertation

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Code Switching in Business Transactions : a case study of Linguistic Repertoire in Maasai Market in Nairobi, Kenya

OCTOBER 2004

CODE SWITCHING IN BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS:

A CASE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE IN

MAASAI MARKET IN NAIROBI KENYA

BY

KANANA FRIDAH ERASTUS
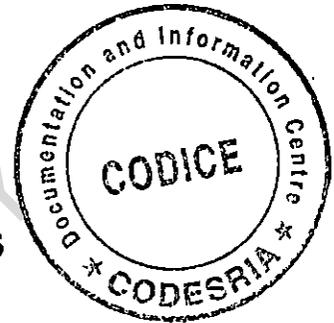
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## OCTOBER 2004

DECLARATIONS

THIS DISSERTATION IS MY ORIGINAL WORK AND HAS NOT BEEN
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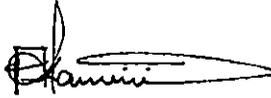
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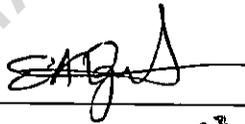
DR. E.A. OGUTU

DATE 15/11/2004

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DATE 15|11|2004

DEDICATION

To my late grandparents, the late Mary Eliud and the late Bernard M'Ibuuri. To Mary, thank you for seeing a scholar in me. I will realize your dreams. *Ibwega mono juuju, tukonana kwa murungu.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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My greatest debt of gratitude is to my family. My beloved parents Erastus Mugambi and Mrs Monicah Mugambi who sponsored my education. I am grateful for your financial assistance. To my siblings, Mercy, Peter and Jotham, thanks for your moral support and encouragement. *Murungu abutharime bwinthe niumtu bwa wendo bwenu*

Most sincerely, I acknowledge CODESRIA for giving me a research grant that enabled me to carry out this research without any financial strain.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

These are the definitions of the following terms as used in this study.

Sheng

Sheng is used to refer to a linguistic variety made up of a mixture of English, Kiswahili and Local Languages.

Local Languages

Any of the indigenous languages used in Kenya such as Kikuyu, Kikamba, Luhya and Dholuo

Code Switching

Code switching refers to the alternate use of two or more languages in the same conversation.

Code

A neutral label that refers to language systems.

Social Networks

An individual may be linked to others in different role relationships such as business partners, friends and classmates. Therefore, in this study social network

is used to refer to the type of variation in inter personal relationships either as friends or business partners in the market.

Rights and Obligations

The social advantages a member claims in certain groups and the conditions that influence or make it necessary for individuals to code switch.

Speech Community

Any regionally or socially definable human group identified by shared linguistic system.

Normative Factors

These are situational norms of Code Switching according to topic of conversation, social setting in which it occurs, the purpose of communication and the characteristics of the interlocutors.

Motivational Factors

These are factors that account for code switching in terms of interlocutors' motives, attitudes, perceptions and group loyalties.

Ethnic Background

Refers to that cultural grouping which is associated with a sense of linguistic distinctiveness, region of origin, food and folkrole but not so much in terms of occupational or religious values.

Race

Any of the several large subdivisions of mankind sharing physical characteristics such as colour of the skin, colour and type of hair.

Working-class

Refers to the people who hold professional jobs otherwise called the white-collar jobs. However, the researcher is aware of the sociological definition of working class as those who are in menial jobs or the blue-collar jobs.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY

SAT	-	Speech Accommodation Theory
MM	-	Markedness Model
CS	-	Code Switching
FCs	-	French Canadians
ECs	-	English Canadians
RO	-	Rights and Obligation Sets
A	-	Agent
B	-	Buyer
B2	-	Second buyer
S	-	Seller
S2	-	Second Seller (Business Partners)
L1	-	Local Languages/First Language

ABSTRACT

The study investigates language use in a multilingual urban setting in Maasai Market in Nairobi Kenya. It outlines the codes used in the market; the advantages of using different codes in such a setting and the factors that influence the choice of these codes. In addition, the study examines the influence of variables of sex, age and race in code selection. All this is unraveled through an analysis of spontaneous speech tape-recorded from the buyers and sellers.

The researcher tape-recorded spontaneous speech from the respondents. The tape-recorded data was transcribed on paper and the extracts from the transcribed text were analysed based on the tenets of Speech Accommodation Theory and the Markedness Model.

In the analysis of the factors that influence Code Switching, the two models above were used. The theories explain the communicative intent on the part of the speaker. The Speech Accommodation Theory explains the motivational factors for Code Switching while Markedness Model accounts for the normative factors that influence switching between languages. It was observed that speakers switch codes in an attempt to converge or diverge from their interlocutors. Speakers converged when they desired to communicate effectively; when they desired social integration and approval from their interlocutors and when they aimed at

maximizing profit. On the other hand, divergence was employed when the vendors wished to retain all their clients and also maximize profit. The rapid back and forth switches were prompted by the unmarked, marked or the exploratory choices. However, each of the codes has specific functions and social symbolism. There were advantages of using one code over the other; code selection was aimed at maximizing profit.

The analysis of the data revealed that in Maasai Market, Kiswahili is used to connote brotherhood and neutrality among the Africans; English is the language of the elite and the working class and thus associated with the affluent people, in monetary terms; Sheng is used to assert social identity and for mutual exclusiveness among the teenagers. The Local Languages connote ethnicity and solidarity.

Three variables were studied which included: race, sex and age of the respondents. These variables were seen to influence code choices differently. Race was significant when giving prices among Africans, Europeans and others. The Europeans and others were given higher prices than the Africans. Sex and age were important variables among the Africans. Women and those aged between 21-40 were addressed in English or through Code Switching since they were considered status conscious and the working class respectively. These variables

strongly influenced the way interlocutors chose linguistic items in a particular transaction.

CHAPTER ONE

1.O INTRODUCTION

1.1   BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In many parts of the world the ability to speak more than one language is an accepted norm. This ability creates a multilingual situation where individuals often speak different languages. Multilingualism, therefore, may be considered a psychological state of the individual who has access to two or more linguistic codes as a means of communication (Hammers & Blanc, 1982). Multilingual communication where two or more languages are used generally involves members of different ethno-linguistic groups. This communication gives rise to a phenomenon known as Code Switching, henceforth CS. Different scholars have proposed a variety of terms to describe CS, for example, situational and metaphorical switching, code mixing and style shifting. However, these definitions have generated considerable debate about the appropriateness of the terms (Brietborde, 1983; Gal, 1983; Saville-Troike, 1982; Scotton, 1983a). Grosjean (1992) defines CS as the alternate use of two or more languages in the same conversation. This definition is adopted in this study because it encompasses the other alternations. CS does not usually indicate lack of competence on the part of the speaker in any of the languages concerned, but results from complex bilingual skills (Milroy & Muysken, 1995).

Code Switching has been studied from different perspectives: for instance, Psychological point of view (Steinberg, D.D. 1982; Michael, G. 1990), sociolinguistic approach (Giles et al., 1979; Scotton, 1983, 1993) and linguistic perspective (Trudgill, P. 1986). This study takes a sociolinguistic approach. It looks at CS in a market situation in Kenya. There are over forty indigenous languages in Kenya, which include Kikuyu, Dholuo, Kikamba, Luhya among others. The languages are classified into three linguistic family groups: the Bantu, Nilotes, and Cushites (Abdulaziz, 1982; Mbaabu, 1996). In addition to these, there is the official language English and a lingua franca, Kiswahili (i.e. a language used by speakers of different languages, as a common language) (Scotton, 1993). A language system has also evolved in Kenya, which is a mixture of English, Kiswahili and Local Languages. This language is called "Sheng" (Abdulaziz, 1982; Echessa, 1990). In most cases, speakers can use one Local Language in addition to Kiswahili and English. Thus, many speakers can be termed multilingual. As a result of this multilingual situation, CS has become a common phenomenon especially in urban centers like Nairobi (Scotton, 1993).

Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya and as such is a large business center with many industries and markets. It harbors people from different ethnic backgrounds and races: Europeans, Asians and Africans among others (Whiteley, 1974). Many people in Nairobi are multilingual and employ the habit of CS in their day-to-day interactions. Due to the complexity of language situation, we cannot pinpoint a

system that is used by everybody, yet it has been observed that people need to communicate as efficiently as possible even where there is no common language (Angogo, 1990:13). One pertinent area where such communication should be effective is in business where one needs to buy something and to get the best out of the bargain. The people involved need to use language very productively. This study, therefore, sought to find out how language is effectively and efficiently used in business transactions in a selected market: the Maasai Market in Nairobi, Kenya. This is a market that mostly sells traditional artifacts and African attires and as such, it attracts all kinds of people. The sellers in this market are mostly Africans while the buyers include Africans, Europeans, Indians and others.

1.2   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study investigated CS in a market setting in Nairobi. A market situation is a fertile ground for language use during transactions because one needs to use it very productively to make the best out of the bargain. The study sought to identify the codes used; investigate the factors, both normative and motivational, that influence the choice of these codes; describe the influence of specific variables in code selection and, finally, find out the social functions of CS in such a setting. This study investigated these issues based on the tenets of Speech Accommodation Theory and the maxims of the Markedness Model.

1.3   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Questions that guided the research were:

1.   What are the different codes used in business transactions in Maasai Market?

2.   What factors govern the choice of a particular code in business transactions?

3.   What are the advantages of using one code as opposed to another in business transactions?

4.   Do variables such as sex, age and race affect trade in Maasai Market in any way?

5.   Does Code Switching promote or hinder trade?

1.4   OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The objectives of the study were:

1.   To identify the different codes used in business transactions in Maasai Market.

2.   To describe the factors both normative and motivational that influences the choice of codes in business transactions in Maasai Market.

3.   To find out the advantages of using different codes in business transactions in Maasai Market.

4.   To describe the influence of different variables in code selection.

5.   To find out whether Code Switching promotes or hinders trade.

1.5 RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS

The assumptions of the study were:

1. There are different codes used in business transactions in Maasai Market.

2. There are specific factors that influence the choice of different codes in Maasai Market.

3. Different codes perform different functions in business transactions in a market setting.

4. Different variables influence the choice of codes differently.

5. Code Switching promotes trade.

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

CS has been studied in considerable detail from about 1970, from different points of view (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Studies have shown that CS does not occur as a result of poor background of language, but a creative aspect of language use. CS communicates speaker's intentions and is purposeful. People have good reasons for CS and this phenomenon is not accidental and deserves more respect than contempt (see Trudgill, 1974; Muthwii, 1986; Wangia, 1991). For instance, Scotton (1993) argues that utterances containing CS show the same "discourse unity" as utterances in one linguistic variety. She further says that in urban Africa (Nairobi included) knowing and using every day more than one language is

normal. It was therefore, important to study CS to find out why people employ this strategy in a market setting.

There have been theoretical attempts to integrate the influence of normative and motivational factors in CS (e.g. Bourhis, 1979, 1985; Giles et al., 1987a; Giles & Hewstone, 1982; Scotton, 1983b). However, empirical work has generally focused on the importance of a single factor or a limited set of factors operating at any one time. Traditional sociolinguists emphasized the importance of social norms and rules and neglected the influence of the socio psychological factors in communication. Recent approaches classified as "interactional sociolinguists", emphasized the negotiated aspects of CS between people from different linguistic backgrounds. They also face the same criticism as the Traditional Sociolinguists in that they focus on a single factor as the motivation for CS. In the social psychology of language the focus of a majority of studies in Speech Accommodation framework has been on communication situations where normative influences were ambiguous or nonexistent (Bourhis et. al., 1990:300). It has been pointed out that systematic empirical elaboration of the interactive influence of normative and motivational factors in multilingual CS is still in its infancy (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1990:300). This study used social theories (Markedness Model and Speech Accommodation Theory) to study the factors (normative and motivational) that influence the choice of codes in a market setting. The study integrated the motivational and normative factors to fill the

existing lacuna. It contributes to the phenomena of CS by integrating the normative and motivational factors for CS since a single set of factors is not sufficient to explain the motivations for CS.

Several people have studied language in non-formal situations in Kenya. For instance, Kebeya (1997), Parkin (1974), Muthwii (1986), Gachinu (1996). None of these has investigated code choice in a market setting. It has been noted that people need to communicate as efficiently as possible even where there is no common language (Angogo, 1990:13). A market place is one place where communication needs to be efficient for any form of transactions to take place. This study contributes to the phenomenon of CS by providing new data on CS in a market setting.

A number of studies on CS have used SAT and the Markedness Model, and the findings have shown some similarities and differences. For instance, the findings of the studies conducted in Montreal and Quebec City of Francophone and Anglophone speakers. These studies revealed that speakers converged to their listeners speech to reduce the dissimilarities among them; thus resulting in greater mutual liking among them; which subsequently led to social integration and approval for the interlocutors. However, in the Quebec study, when the Francophone speakers used French to address the Anglophone listeners the latter diverged and maintained English to show disapproval of the French speaker and

at the same time asserting their identity as speakers of English and not French.
Thus, this study provided a good testing ground for the claims and validity of
Giles' (Giles & St Clair, 1979) Speech Accommodation theory and Scotton's
Markedness Model (Scotton, 1993). For as Romaine (1982:4) suggests,

*" A viable social theory of language must present a coherent account of how
particular uses, functions and kinds of language develops within particular
speech communities. This will require the testing of methodology on new and
different data"*

Romaine's argument is supported by Whiteley (1974) and Giles (1977) who posit
that numerous combinations of CS strategies remain to be documented in both
intragroup and intergroup encounters across different cultural settings. The
sample choice, therefore, provided an ideal ground for testing the theories.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

This study falls under the field of Sociolinguistics and focuses on language use in
a multilingual urban setting. The central concern of the study was to identify the
codes used and the functions of these codes in business transactions. The study
hoped to explain why and for what purpose people code switch or, in other words,
what are the motivations behind the choice of one code over the other and the
function each code serves in business transactions. It also aimed at discussing the
influence of certain variables in code selection.

The study concentrated on a single market because of its uniqueness in terms of what it sells and the kind of clients it draws. The market is the only one of its kind in that it sells only artifacts and African attires within the town center. These artifacts and attires draw many foreigners as well as Africans who purchase them for varied reasons including their aesthetic value. Since it is located in the city center it is accessible to many clients.

Many sociolinguistic studies have concentrated on the patterns that emerge during CS, for instance, where switching occurs, either intra or inter sentential, and have neglected the social functions of CS. This study therefore, paid more attention to the social functions and the motivations for CS in a market.

1.8   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two models guided the study, viz: Speech Accommodation Theory and Markedness Model. 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 socio-psychologists as well as linguists in studying language behavior during contact between speakers from different linguistic groups (Trudgill, 1986; Russell, 1982; Giles & St Clair, 1979; Giles et. al., 1980). SAT was developed to account for the ways in which interlocutors modified their language during interactions. The theory explains the dynamics of speech adjustments in the process of interaction. Central to this theory is the claim

that during social interactions, participants are motivated to adjust their speech styles as a means of gaining or not gaining social approval, attaining communication efficiency between interactants and maintaining speakers' positive social identities (Giles et. al., 1982).

The process of adjustment is called accommodation. Accommodation may work in two opposite ways. The first way is convergence: the speaker uses the language that the hearer knows or likes best. Speakers will therefore, converge when they desire social integration and approval. 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 create distance between himself and the hearer by maximizing differences in language use. Speakers will therefore, diverge when they wish to differentiate from each other socially.

This study adopted three social psychological theories of SAT: Similarity-attraction, Social Exchange and Social Identity theories. These theories help to account for speech convergence and divergence in interpersonal encounters. Similarity-attraction and Social Exchange theories explain speech convergence and Social Identity theory accounts for divergence.

The Similarity-attraction theory claims that an individual can induce another to evaluate her or him more favorably by reducing dissimilarities between her/him and the other person. That is, the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to certain others, the more likely we will be attracted to them. Speakers will automatically adjust themselves to each other, both in gesture and often positioning of the body and in the type of speech. Therefore, when interlocutors become more similar in the codes they use there is likely to be a greater liking between them than if they become more dissimilar. This theory helped us in interpreting the choice of a particular language in terms of the other speaker's language and identity.

The Social Exchange theory states that before one engages in an action he/she weighs up its potential rewards and costs. This suggests that people have a tendency to engage in behaviors which reap rewards and avoid behaviors that result in negative or unpleasant outcomes. From this perspective one would expect speech convergence to occur only when it entails more potential rewards than costs. In ethnic interaction rewards for converging to the out-group language could include either being better perceived or accepted by the out-group interlocutors, while potential costs may include linguistic effort. The theory was used to investigate the motivations for convergence and it also helped to find out whether convergence results in any rewards.

The theory of Social Identity analyses divergence: speakers modify their speech away from their 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 out-group members or to show disapproval of them.

This study used the above three theories of SAT to explain the motivational factors that influence the choice of codes by speakers during interactions with interlocutors from a different linguistic background. The theory attempted to explain why speakers converge to or diverge from their listeners' language.

From the above outline of speech divergence and convergence, it is apparent that not all speech strategies can be explained in terms of psychological motivations. There are other motivations for CS such as the normative factors which are not accounted for by SAT hence the rationale for using another theory, the Markedness Model. Speakers' motives, perceptions, and attitudes may be as important in determining speech behavior as the social norms dictating appropriate language behavior in ethnic encounter. While the SAT explains the psychological motivations for CS, the Markedness Model was also used to explain the social motivations for CS based on the norms of the society and the social function of different codes. It accounted for the speakers' socio-

psychological motivation when they engage in CS. This model consists of a set of general maxims that apply to any code choice.

The theory behind the Markedness Model proposes that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction but choose their codes based on the persona and/or 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 can ultimately be explained in terms of speakers' motivations. It allows for code choice as long as meanings are constrained by reference to common interpretative components shared by all members of a speech community.

The Negotiation Principle was modeled after Grice's "co-operative principle"(Grice, 1975). A *"negotiation principle"* is seen as underlying all code choices. The principle says: *"Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange"* (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 choice maxim".

The 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 do not 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/accommodate the participation of all speakers present"* (Scotton, 1993:148). 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 do not always do so. They assess the potential cost and rewards of all alternative choices, and make their decisions typically unconsciously. They thus resort to marked (unexpected) choices. In making a marked choice, the speaker is saying in effect, *"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 may employ CS when they themselves are not sure of the expected or optimal communicative intent, or at least not sure which one will help achieve their social goals. In these cases speakers follow an exploratory choice maxim: *"when an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates for an RO set which you favour"* (Scotton, 1993:142). Exploratory choice may be found when it is not clear which norms apply in a particular interaction, for instance, when little is 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 set 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 negotiate social identities.

The importance of these maxims as Scotton points out is that, central to any form of conversation is 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 serve in a market setting. The theory has a normative basis in that it looks at the normative factors that

influence CS. Scotton (1993) observes that choice of one code, rather than another, will be seen as identity of negotiation by participants in a conversation.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 METHODOLOGY

2.1 AREA OF STUDY AND STUDY POPULATION

The study was carried out at Maasai Market in Nairobi. The market was considered ideal because people from different races and linguistic backgrounds visit it. The choice of the market was based on the theory of domains proposed by Fishman (1965). A domain is an empirically determined cluster consisting of a location, a set of role relations, and a set of topics. In this study, the location is the market, role relationship is between the buyer and the seller, and topics are the negotiations in business transactions. The individuals in question come from ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds and interact with others from different backgrounds to meet their needs and this sets an ideal context for CS. Secondly, the market was considered ideal because it is in the town center where all languages in question are used. Although the sample was drawn from Nairobi, it is representative of other metropolitan areas in Kenya. The languages spoken in other towns in Kenya are similar to those in Nairobi, they include English, Kiswahili, and Local Languages.

In Maasai Market two groups of sellers were identified: these are the main sellers and the agents. The main sellers are those who own the goods in the market and the agents are those who do not own goods but use language skills to convince a

buyer (mostly foreigners) to give a higher price for the goods and the extra money

paid for the item was their profit after giving the main seller their dues.

2.2   SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Two sampling techniques were used in the study. These were: the judgement

sampling method and social network approach. The researcher used judgement-

sampling method to choose the market. The underlying principle of this method

involves identifying in advance the "type" of speakers to be studied (Milroy,

1987:26). This sampling technique is considered appropriate because the

researcher identifies in advance a market that will give him/her representative

data upon which generalizations are made.

Milroy (1987:28) points out that the objectives of a piece of research to a large

extent dictate methods of speaker selection, that is, there is a relationship between

goal and method. The objectives of this study were to find out the motivations for

CS as well as the functions of different codes in a market setting. The informants

therefore, were selected through judgment sampling via the social networks they

build, that is, a "friend of" or a "friend to a friend" where a person known to the

researcher introduced him/her to others of his/her social network.

Three variables were considered: sex, age and the race of the informants. The

objectives of the study being to find out the advantages of using different codes

and to describe the motivational and normative factors that influence the choice of codes in business transactions, it was necessary to observe the influence of these variables in code choices and then find out whether CS promotes or hinders trade.

Since the researcher was a stranger in the market, she did a pilot study where she visited the market severally as a customer hence creating a link with some traders. The researcher then revealed the purpose of the research to the initial "link" contacts that were now friends. The initial link contacts (sellers) were asked to introduce the researcher to their friends in the market. The sellers referred to as X members introduced the researcher to others in the network as a friend to X. Through the social networks the researcher was introduced to 10 traders in total. The knowledge of X'S name by the traders acted as a guarantee of good faith. Milroy (1980:52), points out that if a stranger is identified as a friend of a friend, he may easily be drawn into the network's mesh of exchange and obligation relationships. This increases his chances of observing and participating in prolonged interaction. The informants were sampled in the sellers' networks because the sellers are always in the market unlike the buyers who come and go. It was difficult to establish the networks of the buyers since each market day mostly has different buyers.

2.3   SAMPLE SIZE

According to Milroy (1987: 21), socially sensitive studies of language variation depend on good data, which entails the provision of sufficient types and quantities of language. She further observes that large samples tend not to be as necessary for linguistic surveys as for other surveys because they tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. The sample consisted of 80 informants selected through the social network groups of the 10 sellers earlier identified. It has been observed that it is no longer necessary to work with very large samples. Small samples appear to be 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. Large samples tend to increase data handling problems without a significant gain in analytic insights (see Milroy, 1987; Trudgill, 1974; Mesthrie, 2000).

2.4   DATA ELICITATION

Given the objectives of the study it was necessary to collect spontaneous speech so as to find out why and when switching of codes occurs. Therefore, three methods of data collection were used in this study viz: tape-recording, observation and open/unstructured interview. To ensure that the data obtained through tape recording and observation was not biased, the researcher employed the social network approach so as to create confidence between the informants and the

researcher. The informants were approached in the capacity of "a friend of a friend". This minimized the "observers" paradox because it ensured that the researcher built trust with the respondents. It also increases the chances of observing and participating in a prolonged informal interaction without suspicion (Milroy, 1987:35).

The observation method included both participant observation and non-participant observation. In participant observation the researcher becomes a part of, or a participant in the situation. This helps to build confidence between the researcher and his informants because they no longer view him/her as an outsider (Milroy, 1987:60). In non-participant observation the researcher is an outsider in language use and passively observes and makes notes on language use.

Recording was done after relatively close relationship had evolved between the researcher and the informants in their network groups, for example, as friends, "ethnic brethren" and business partners. This ensured that the conversations collected were as natural as possible and carried out in a relaxed atmosphere. The informants sampled were studied one at a time. The conversations recorded were about 30 minutes long. The respondents were made aware that their speech was being recorded but the researcher chose when to begin recording. It has been observed that people do not remain self-conscious for long even when they are aware that their speech is being recorded (Muthwii, 1994).

Lastly, the researcher used unstructured interview to find out why and when the informants code switch and why they do not use a single code in business transactions. Interviewing the respondents, therefore, verified whether the claims made by the theories adopted in this study hold in a market setting or not.

2.5   DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

The quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis were used in this study. The first step in this type of data analysis is to describe or summarize the data using descriptive statistics (Mugenda et al., 1999:117). Therefore, the tape-recorded conversations were transcribed on paper. The extracts from the transcribed text were studied to identify the codes used in business transactions and the instances of CS in the informants' conversations were analysed. The researcher also surveyed observation notes to gather any useful information on CS in Maasai Market.

The effects of the three variables, sex, age and race on code choices between the sellers and buyers were studied. Data on these three variables was analysed to determine how each of the variables affects code choices in a market situation. This was achieved through gathering information by open/unstructured interview.

A detailed theoretical discussion was done to analyze the factors that influence the choice of codes and the social functions of CS in Maasai Market. All the data

collected was analysed on the basis of the three tenets of SAT and the Markedness Model maxims. Generalizations and conclusions were made based on the findings of the study.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0   LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In this section, literature review is done in three main stages. Firstly, is a review of literature on the theoretical framework involving both the empirical studies and issues raised on the theories. Secondly, an account of the general studies on CS will be provided. Lastly, studies on CS done in Kenya that were relevant to this study will be presented.

3.2   STUDIES ON THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Giles et al. (1979) offers a social psychological approach to language study. He develops the Speech Accommodation Theory that has drawn on the four Social Psychological theories to focus on the interactive aspects of interpersonal communication. He argues that social psychological factors help to explain why individual speakers use the speech strategies they do in terms other than just social norms and rules. These factors may consist of speaker's moods, motives, feelings, beliefs, loyalties in ethnic interaction, as well as their perception of the inter-group relation situation and their awareness of the existing social norms. Giles et al. (1979:117) calls these strategies speech convergence and divergence. His argument here is that a speaker's behavior is never completely determined by social norms and rules within a situation, nor by the effects of socio-cultural

factors in society but on each instance, individuals' needs, motives, perceptions, and attributions must play some part in determining the speech strategy finally encoded or decoded in ethnic interaction.

Speech convergence and divergence have been demonstrated empirically by linguistic indicators such as language (Giles & St Clair, 1979), pronunciation (Giles, 1973b), dialect (Russell, 1982; Trudgill, 1986; Giles & Robinson, 1990:298), speech rates, (Webb, 1970), pause and utterance length (Giles & St Clair, 1979:48), vocal intensities (Natale, 1975). All these studies have analysed their data on the basis of the tenets of SAT.

One tenet of SAT is the Similarity-attraction theory which proposes that the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to certain others, the more likely it is we will be attracted to them. This involves reduction of linguistic dissimilarities between two people in terms of their languages, dialect and paralinguistic features. Since increasing similarity between people along such an important dimension as communication is likely to increase attraction, speakers who desire their listeners' social approval will often converge to the latter's speech. Therefore, speech convergence may be an efficient strategy for facilitating inter-ethnic encounters where linguistic dissimilarities may have been a stumbling block for effective cross-cultural communication and ethnic harmony (Giles & St Clair, 1979:125)

A study conducted in Quebec, (in Giles & Robinson, 1990:297) focused on French and English speakers. It showed that Anglophone Quebecers perceived Francophone Quebecers more favourably when the latter converged to English than when they maintained French. When speakers converged to their listeners' speech, the dissimilarities between them were reduced and this increased their mutual liking and led to integration and approval of the speaker. The Similarity-attraction model tends to emphasize only the rewards attending a convergent act, that is, an increase in attraction and approval. However, it is likely that certain costs would be involved too, such as the increased effort made, a loss of a perceived integrity and personal identity.

Speech Accommodation Theory also views convergence by interlocutors as a Social Exchange. This tenet states that prior to acting, we attempt to access the rewards and the costs of alternate courses of action (Homans, 1961). Thus if we have the choice of doing (or saying) A or B, we tend to choose the alternative which maximizes the chances of positive outcome, and minimizes the chances of an unpleasant one. Engaging in convergent speech acts should incur more potential rewards for the speaker than costs (Giles, 1979:48).

For instance, in Montreal, a study was designed to explore language-switching strategies, French Canadians (FCs) and English Canadians (ECs) most commonly used in various types of cross-cultural encounters. In the study FCs, ECs and EC

French immersion students gave their reactions to a simulated dialogue between a French speaking salesman and an English-speaking customer. The language used by each speaker (French or English) was varied in different experimental conditions. The results indicated that use of English by the salesman and the customer was accepted and perceived favourably by both the Anglophone and Francophone listeners. Thus the listeners mainly in terms of situational norms evaluated the language usage patterns in this setting favouring the use of English despite emerging social-cultural norms, which favor French language in Quebec. In other words, the salesman converged to the customers' language in business transactions to maximize monetary gains from the sales. This study relates to our study in the sense that it was based on business transaction, which was the focus of our study. However, the Quebec study differs from the current one in terms of the sample area. This study drew its sample from an African setting and the codes involved in CS also differ from those in the Quebec study.

The Social Identity tenet of SAT accounts for speech divergence (Giles & St Clair, 1979; Russells, 1982; Giles & Robinson, 1990). A speaker may choose to dissociate himself from his interlocutor by using a speech style that differs from that of his interlocutor. Speakers may use this speech strategy because they personally dislike their interlocutors or because they wish to assert their group identity (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). Studies in Belgium and Wales have shown cases of divergence. In Wales, a study in a language laboratory setting showed that

Welsh subjects who valued their national language and group membership highly diverged linguistically by accentuating their Welsh accent in their English when responding to a threatening English out-group interlocutor (Bourhis & Giles, 1974). A similar study conducted in Belgium by Giles et al. (1979) has shown that language divergence can be used to assert group identity in threatening encounters with out-group interlocutors. In this study trilingual Flemish students in response to the perception of ethnic threat from an out-group French speaking Bruxellois, diverged by switching from English, a previously agreed upon neutral language, to their native language Flemish.

Speech divergence as explained by the Social Identity theory in the two studies is seen as a strategy employed to make the ethnically threatened in-group by an out group speaker psycho-linguistically distinct (Giles & St Clair, 1979:160). These two studies are relevant to this study in that they attempt to explain speech divergence by using the Social Identity theory of SAT, which was also used in our study. The two studies also deal with different codes from what the current study is focusing on; these studies are conducted in a laboratory setting whereas the current one is sociolinguistic.

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 reconcile the Speech Accommodation Model in that it takes cognizance of personal motivational factors, such as those which figure in Giles' Accommodation Theory (Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973; Giles & Powesland, 1975). 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 negotiations 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 meaning.

The argument posed by Scotton (1993:151) is that all speakers have a "markedness" metric, an innate, internalized model which enables them to recognize that all code choices are more or less "unmarked" or "marked". That is, the mode distinguishes linguistic choices as either marked or unmarked in terms of the expectations of specific role relationship. There is also exploratory choice, which is very unlikely or very rarely made. Exploratory choice may be found when it is not clear which norms apply in a particular interaction.

The unmarked choice can be identified empirically; it is the most expected because it is the choice most often made and is viewed as a "safer" choice. Even though the unmarked choice is well recognized, speakers do make marked choices

in many well-defined role relationships. Marked choices are the linguistic choices that are not usual and in some sense they are disqualifications with what is expected. Speakers assess the potential rewards and cost of all alternative choices, and make their decisions typically unconsciously. When the speakers decide the rewards are great enough than the cost, they make the marked choice. This idea is based on the premise that speakers and addressees know as part of their communicative competence, that choice of one linguistic variety rather than another express social import. The Negotiation Principle embodies this premise and sees code choices as identity negotiations. "Identity" is used in a very general sense; it does not imply that code choices can fashion new persons out of speakers but what they can do is negotiate a particular identity for the speaker in relation to other participants in the exchange. That is, code choices can be seen as bids to alter the rights-and-obligation sets, which hold between participants (Scotton, 1993:151).

The theory of code choice represented by Scotton is therefore, more speaker-oriented than audience-oriented, in contrast with the Speech Accommodation Theory (e.g. Giles et al. 1987) which is more audience oriented. Although the theory of code choices is speaker oriented, the speaker cannot completely ignore addressees in making choices, but CS better represents the imprint, which the speakers wish to make for themselves on a conversational exchange. The speakers are thinking of their own position in right–and-obligation set being negotiated,

that is, the speaker orientation is most extreme in making marked choices. The speaker seeks more benefit in a conversational exchange.

The Markedness Model sees the speakers as making choices, not because norms direct them to do so, but rather because they consider the consequences (Scotton, 1993:153). That is, linguistic choices are based on readings of consequences. The speakers weigh the costs and rewards of alternative choices; variation results because different speakers weigh the costs and rewards differently hence CS is always a reminder to the addressee, that the speaker has multiple identities associated with each of the linguistic varieties involved. The model is also based on crucial claims regarding communicative intentions that speakers "know" and also operate on the premise that the addressees "know" relative reading of markedness for a given interaction type in their community; while choices are determined, the interpretation is socially constrained. This study investigated the motivations for the choice of different codes in a market as a phenomenon within the Markedness Model. Scotton (1993) therefore, has a theoretical value in this study.

3.3   GENERAL STUDIES ON 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) studies Conversational Code Switching. He defines Conversational CS as the juxta-position within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. In Conversational CS speakers communicate fluently without hesitation or pauses to mark the shift in codes. There is nothing in the exchange as a whole to indicate that the speakers do not understand each other.

In this form of CS the code alternation is highly salient; participants immersed in the interaction itself are often quite unaware which code is being used at any one time. Their main concern is with the communicative effects of what they are saying. Selection among linguistic alternants is automatic, not readily subject to conscious recall. Gumperz points out that the bilingual exchanges studied show that CS does not necessarily indicate imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question. Only in relatively few passages is code alternation motivated by speakers' inability to find words to express what they want to say in one or the other code. The study gives insights on CS and reiterates CS as functional and not imperfect knowledge of the grammatical systems in question.

Romaine (1994) examines CS and the role it plays in bilingual communicative competence. The study is based on researches done among a Panjabi speaking community in Britain and bilingual children in Papua New Guinea. Two codes are distinguished: the "we" code and "they" code. The "we" code typically signifies

in-group, informal, personalized activities. The "they" variety marks out-group more formal relations. Further, she distinguishes between metaphoric and transaction switching. Transactional switching is switching controlled by components of the speech event like topic and participants. On the other hand metaphorical CS concerns the various communicative effects the speaker intends to convey.

The central concerns in Romaine's study are constrains for code choices. She also recognizes that CS serves some specific functions and behind CS are motivations for doing so. For instance, she recognizes that through the choice of one language over another speakers, display "acts of identity" choosing the groups with whom they want to identify (Romaine, 1994:61). Another observation made is that attitudes of the participants involved in language use may affect switching behavior. For instance, attitudes of the participants concerned with Spanish/English bilingual communities affect their switching behavior; favorable attitudes towards the interlocutor lead to an increase in the use of switching as a marker of ethnic identity. In the Panjabi/English CS, Panjabi serves to mark the in-group of Panjabi/English bilinguals and English the out-group. In this study, CS is seen as serving an expressive function and has meaning.

Constrains for CS are given more emphasis in Romaine's studies. The studies also do not fail to recognize CS as functional. However, her study differs from this study in the choice of the sample and the languages in question. Our sample is drawn from an African setting and the languages in question are English, Kiswahili, Sheng and Local Languages.

3.4 SPECIFIC STUDIES OF CODE SWITCHING IN KENYA

In Kenya, because it is a multilingual society, the use of more than one language is a common phenomenon. Whiteley (1974) notes that an attempt to make any useful comment about the state and/or degree of multilingualism poses a big challenge. This is because one has to specify the unit within which one's remarks about multilingualism are to be held to apply, and to find out the incentives, which, in Kenya today, impel men and women to learn and speak other languages than their first language. For instance, is it acquired in order to be able to deploy it to one's own advantage in the game, that is, every day living? Scotton (1993) supports this argument when she says that researchers have not provided enough evidence from multilingual settings in Africa explaining why people often code switch. CS as a subject therefore, has not been widely studied in the Kenyan context. Some studies, which have been done in Kenya, include Parkin (1974), Muthwii (1986), Muthuri (2000) among others.

Parkin (1974) studies CS in the speech community of Kaloleni in Nairobi. He observes that in this speech community, people switch between English, Kiswahili and mother tongue. In this study, two variables are considered: ethnicity and socio-economic status of the respondents. The socio-economic areas considered are wealth, education and occupation.

An important observation Parkin makes is that when people interact they try to judge consciously what mode of behavior best suits the interaction. For instance, conversations concerning ethnic and status relationships are frequently jocular and accompanied by banter. Though people compete for prestige and status and may express their ethnic stereotypes in conversation and behavior they refrain from doing so in a manner that is visibly hostile using language games. Those who choose English tend to have high status connotation. Kiswahili is used at all status to connote "brotherhood" or neutrality. Kiswahili may be said to bridge both ethnic and status differences: it is a common medium of communication between ethnic groups as well as between men of different socio-economic status. The ethnic languages connote "solidarity". Parkin's study like the present one focuses on CS during social interaction. The two studies attempt to examine and discuss why speakers switch languages in the presence of their listeners in the way they do.

Muthwii (1986) studies language use in pluri-lingual societies and the significance for CS. She points out that most individuals in Kenya use CS as a speech code that is emblematic of community identity. She studies CS among three languages, namely English, Kiswahili, and Kalenjin. The linguistic and social significance for CS is based on natural data from natural conversation involving these three languages.

Using the Functional Framework Theory proposed by Gumperz (1982), Muthwii identifies the stylistic functions of CS. They include: mimicry and quotations, interjections, reiteration, personalization and objectivization, and addressee specification. In this study, she argues that it is not always absolutely possible to predict the situations in which English or Kiswahili may be used apart from very formal situations because there are considerable overlaps. Mother tongue is considered very important to individuals and communities at the interpersonal and interactional levels of communication and as a marker of particular ethnic identity.

Muthwii observes that language alternation by speakers is either intended to have some communicative intent or not. This study is useful to the current one as it discussed communicative intent on the part of the speaker, which our study explores in detail, but in our case the sample is drawn from an urban market setting whereas Muthwii's sample is drawn from a rural setting. The theoretical

approaches that Muthwii uses (Functional Framework Theory) to analyze her data are also different from our study that incorporates two theories, SAT and Markedness Model.

Muthuri (2000) examines the functions of CS among the multilingual students at Kenyatta University. Her study is related to Muthwii's study in terms of the stylistic functions of CS identified though the samples are drawn from different settings. The study describes 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 are investigated. The strategies the speakers adopt in meeting their goals are also examined. The study looks at the functions of CS based on three theoretical approaches: Giles Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), Scotton's Negotiation Principle Maxims and Gumperz Conversational Functions Model.

This study is similar to the current one in that it partly uses SAT. However, our study differs from Muthuri's in that it uses Markedness Model, which is an improvement of Negotiation Principle Maxims. Her study also differs from the current one in the choice of the sample. This study investigates CS in an informal setting (market) whereas her sample is drawn from a formal setting (an institution of learning). However, the study is relevant to the current one in that she focuses

on the motivations for CS and the functions of different codes, which are our areas of interest.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0   DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This section will give a detailed presentation of the motivational and normative factors that influence the choice of one code over the other. The discussion will be based on the tenets of the two theories: the SAT and the Markedness Model. SAT accounts for the ways in which interlocutors modify language during interactions by either increasing similarities or dissimilarities in language use. The Markedness Model accounts for language use based on the norms of the society, which dictate the code to use in a particular interaction.

The data is presented in form of extracts from the tape-recorded spontaneous speeches. These extracts are called transactions because there is a feedback process between the buyers and sellers until a sale is completed (Parkin, 1974:190). The transactions are analysed in form of turns (T), a concept that was introduced by *Ethnomethodologists*, who set out to discover what methods people use to participate in and make sense of an interaction. The Ethnomethodologists concept of turn taking is adopted in this study because it accounts for the exchange of roles between the speakers and listeners in a conversation. In this study, the exchange of turns is between the buyers (B) and the sellers (S) or sometimes agents (A).

4.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING THE CHOICE OF DIFFERENT CODES IN MAASAI MARKET

To describe the factors that influence the choice of different codes in Maasai Market, two theories were used: the Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) proposed by Giles et al. (1979), and the Markedness Model proposed by Scotton (1993). Using the tenets of SAT we will account for the ways in which participants are motivated to adjust their speech styles to be more similar or dissimilar from that of their interlocutors using speech convergence and divergence strategies. The Markedness Model on the other hand will account for the societal norms, which explain the code choices, and the functions different codes serve in different settings. It therefore, has a normative basis: that is, it accounts for the situational norms of CS.

Using SAT the types of accommodation that were observed will be accounted for. Then the listeners' perception of speakers' convergence and divergence in the market will be investigated. The speakers and the listeners in this case are the buyers and sellers. Through the Markedness Model, the maxims that speakers and listeners use to define the rights-and-obligation sets they wish to have in place in a particular interaction, as defined by the societal norms, will be presented. Then the ways the interlocutors employ to define new RO sets will be shown in the data.

The speech strategies of SAT and its tenets/theories will be clarified in the next section, after which the maxims of the Markedness Model will be exemplified.

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4.2.1 Speech Convergence and Divergence

Speech Accommodation Theory by Giles et al. (1979) accounts for the motivations underlying language switching in peoples' speech during an interaction by making their speech styles more or less similar from that of their interlocutors.

Speech convergence is whereby individual speakers use the language that the hearer knows or likes best. Speakers converge when they desire social integration and approval with other people. This may be done consciously or unconsciously (see Giles and St Clair, 1979; Giles et. al., 1982; Russell, 1982; Giles and Robinson, 1990). The assumption for convergence is that it reduces the differences that may exist between the interlocutors and instead, encourage interaction. Reducing such differences may be achieved by switching to the listeners' language, in our case, the buyers' or vice versa. The strategies that individuals employ to reduce the dissimilarities between interlocutors are explained by the Similarity-attraction and the Social Exchange theories of SAT as will be exemplified in the data below. The Similarity-attraction theory proposes that the more similar our attitudes and beliefs are to certain others, the more likely it is we will be attracted to them. The Social Exchange theory on the other hand,

states that prior to acting, people weigh the potential costs and rewards and thus choose the alternative that maximizes the positive outcome. In our data it was observed that there are overlaps where individuals wished to be perceived favorably and at the same time gain in monetary terms (see examples 1 and 2 below) but in other cases the driving force is only to maximize profit or gain in monetary terms as observed in example 4.

Speech divergence is whereby the speaker tries to create distance between himself and the hearer by maximizing differences in language use (Giles and Robinson, 1990). Speakers will therefore, diverge to differentiate themselves from each other socially. Speech divergence is accounted for by Social Identity theory of SAT, which states that linguistic divergence primarily reflects motivations to assert positive ethno-linguistic identities when with out-group members or to show disapproval of them. However, speech divergence in this study was not aimed at showing disapproval but to maximize profit.

The above tenets will be used to analyse data in this study, as in the examples below.

4.2.1.1 Instances of Speech Convergence Observed in the Data

Example 1

The example below involves an interaction between an African lady about 35 years old, buying batiks from a male Kikuyu seller.

T	1	S:	*Mama si ununue hizi?* (Mother why don't you buy these?)
	2	B:	*Nyenderia wega.* (Sell to me fairly) [Overhears S speak Kikuyu]
	3	S:	*Tarora wira ucio wothe riu unjire wega ni atia.* (Look at the labor and tell me what is fair)
	4	B:	Two hundred.
	5	S:	*Hapana lete* two fifty *mwisho.* (No bring two hundred and fifty last price)
	6	B:	*Acha ndina meri.* (No I have two hundred)
	7	S:	*Mama nunua vizuri.* (Mother buy at a fairer price)
	8	B:	*Niukujukia meri.* (Are you taking two hundred)
	9	S:	*Rehe.* (Bring)
	10	B:	[Pays two hundred shillings] *Niurakena?* (Are you happy?)
	11	S:	*Niwega* (Thank you) *asante mama* (Thank you mother)
	12	B:	*Umefurahi.* (You are happy)
	13	S:	*Thie na wega.* (Go well)

In Example 1 above, the seller opens the transaction in Kiswahili. In turn 2, the buyer switches to a Local Language (L1) (Kikuyu) when she overhears the seller

speaking Kikuyu. The seller may be opens the transaction in Kiswahili to connote neutrality. The buyer in T2 probably switched to Kikuyu to connote brotherhood or ethnicity. Here the Similarity-attraction and Social Exchange tenets of SAT are in place. The switching to Kikuyu by the buyer reduces the dissimilarities between them and induces the seller to view her as a "brother" and gives her a fairer price. In T3 the seller switches to Kikuyu.

The seller's convergence to kikuyu in Turn 3, tells the buyer that "I appreciate you" as a brother hence further reduces the differences between the two and the seller asserts his approval of B. This can be explained through the Similarity-attraction theory whereby S and B assert their identity as members of a particular ethnic group, that is, being Kikuyu. In Turn 4, B switches to English when she says "Two hundred". In Turn 5 S switches between Kiṣwahili and English probably to approve of S status, but also noting that he needs to sell and make profit. This can be accounted for by the Social Exchange theory where S views the potential costs and rewards. He therefore, code switches with an effort to make a sale. In Turn 6 B maintains Kikuyu perhaps to be given a more friendly price and convince S to view her more favorably putting aside the status he may have given her and considering that he wants to make profit. S in Turn 7 maintains Kiswahili to convince B to give a better price, in this case Kiswahili indicates that profit motive is stronger than ethnicity, and thus Kiswahili represents the language of trade. B in turn maintains Kikuyu and S converges to

the same in T8, 9,10. In T11, 12 and 13 both S and B use Kikuyu and Kiswahili alternately. This shows that other than maintaining the social identity, S and B have viewed each other favorably and S has made a sale. In the above example the speakers employ the Similarity-attraction and Social Exchange approaches to achieve their intended goals.

Consider also the example below, which involves a European couple buying antiques and a male Maasai seller.

Example 2

T	1	S:	Welcome one welcome all.
	2	B:	How much are you selling these. [Pointing at a mask]
	3	S:	Five hundred each.
	4	B:	*Hapana hapana* (No no) three hundred.
	5	S:	Three hundred *haiwezi.* (Three hundred cannot)
	6	B:	*Hapana yaweza.* (No it can) We want three of them.
	7	S:	Customer just a little. *Ongeza hiyo* (add that) one fifty.
	8	B:	*Hapana* (No) we will buy next time.
	9	S:	*Hapana kwenda* (Do not go) just add a little. [To S2] *Andu acu mareka kwongela iana.* (These people have refused to add one hundred shillings) *Kana manenge na matatu na* fifty? (Or I give them at three hundred and fifty?)
	10	B:	[Begins walking away] Next time.
	11	S:	Come we talk.
	12	B:	*Hapana.* (No)
	13	S:	*Sawa basi lipa.* (Okay then pay) [B pays]

Example 2 above opens in English up to the 3rd turn where the seller gives a price. In the 4th turn the buyer switches to Kiswahili. Probably, the buyer thinks the price is too high when he says "Hapana hapana three hundred" and thus hopes that switching to Kiswahili would make the seller reduce a little.

The buyer switches to Kiswahili because Kiswahili is an African language hence seeks to be more similar to the seller who is African. That is, switching from English to Kiswahili is done with an effort to have African linguistic background and thus get the price reduced. This can be explained by Similarity-attraction theory where the buyer switches to Kiswahili to be perceived more favorably and in turn the price will be reduced. Haggling continues through CS between English and Kiswahili in T5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. The buyer in all these instances tries to code switch with the hope that interjecting the few Kiswahili words he knows, will enhance their relationship not as foreigners but as "brothers". When the buyer threatens to go in T8, the seller utters this, "Hapana kwenda just add a little" in T9 through CS, to convince him but when nothing much happens he (seller) switches to Kikamba to seek advice from his fellow seller. The switching to Kikamba can be accounted for by the Social Exchange theory whereby he needs to make profit and, therefore, seeks to know whether it is worth the amount the buyer wants to spend. In T12, the buyer is so firm on what he wants to spend and the seller gives in, in T13 when he says "Sawa basi lipa".

The European couple switches to the few Kiswahili words they know so that they can be viewed more favorably, get meshed in the interaction and, in turn get a fair price. The seller in turn realizes his clients' efforts and switches to Kiswahili to show the buyers that he views them favorably. In this example, the Similarity-attraction and Social Identity tenets are in place where the European seeks to be perceived favorably and the seller seeks advice in Kikamba to ensure he does not make a loss respectively.

In the study it was observed that sometimes the interlocutors used CS to be attracted to each other especially where the buyers gave a reasonable price and therefore, no much haggling was involved. This was observed especially when the buyers were Europeans. CS was a way of accommodating the other person. This kind of an interaction could be accounted for by the Similarity-attraction theory as in the example 3 below.

Example 3

This transaction involves a teenage European girl buying batiks and a male Kikuyu seller.

T	1	S:	Welcome madam. How are you?
	2	B:	Fine thank you sir. I want some batiks drawn animals.
	3	S:	[Helping her choose] You like the giraffe, cheetah, elephant….
	4	B:	All of them. *Twiga* (Giraffe) looks beautiful.

5	S:	you've loved the *twiga* (Giraffe).
6	B:	Yes.
7	S:	What about *chui*? (Cheetah)
8	B:	[Laughter] *Chu......*
9	S:	*Chui*. (Cheetah)
10	B:	*Chui* (Cheetah) what is that?
11	S:	The cheetah.
12	B:	Waoh I know Swahili.
13	S:	How much do you want to pay for each?
14	B:	Two hundred for each.
15	S:	Add me fifty for each.
16	B:	No that's all *mama* (Mother) has given me.
17	S:	*Mama* (Mother) cannot add?
18	B:	No, *mama* (Mother) has no money
19	S:	Okay [B pays]

In T1-3 the transaction is conducted in English. In T4, B code switches between English and Kiswahili. The seller in T5 code switches to repeat the Kiswahili word "Twiga" the girl has used in T4 may be to acknowledge her efforts. The seller continues to code switch in T7 when he asks "What about Chui" perhaps to encourages B to use Kiswahili. B tries to repeat the word but fails in T8 and S comes to her aid in T9, B repeats the same word correctly in T10. B is excited by the fact that she can utter a few Kiswahili words as reflected in her statement "Waoh I know Swahili" in T12. In T11-15 the transaction is carried out in English, T16-18 through CS and in T19 the transaction closes in English.

The use of Kiswahili in this transaction by the buyer could be to induce the seller to perceive her more favorably since she is in a foreign country. For instance, the price she gives in T14 is high enough and S does not waste time haggling so much. He continues interjecting the Kiswahili word "Mama" in T17, which the buyer uses in T16 and 18. This is all done with an effort to create a friendly atmosphere between B and S since the price paid for favors the two interlocutors. The code switches in the transaction can wholly be accounted for by the Similarity-attraction theory since it can be observed that the switches are used to create a friendly atmosphere during the transaction.

Sometimes the interlocutors may weigh the potential costs and rewards of converging and if the rewards outweigh the costs they tend to converge. In this case the rewards are more emphasized and the interlocutors do not care so much about being perceived favorably or getting approval. CS here is more driven by the profit motive as will be exemplified below.

Example 4

The following transaction involves a European woman aged about 50 years, an agent and a Kamba batik seller. The agent is out to convince the buyer to give a high value for the goods, so that he can make some profit.

T   1   A: Hi madam. Am talking to you [Pointing at her] [Laughter] you know what am giving you is good.

      2   B: Okay let's see

3	A:	You see the size, you see the size?
4	B:	I see the size no problem but how much?
5	A:	Yes you see they are big.
6	B:	[Bs child] Mum I love them they are beautiful. [Laughter] [B kneels and continues to select the batiks]
7	A:	[Kneels and assists B to select]
8	B:	You don't have to kneel, you are not used, I can kneel for so long. [Laughter]
9	A:	They are called batiks. This is very rare.
10	B:	Ho I need these five [Pointing at the five she has selected]
11	A:	Am going to give you each for two thousand.
12	B:	No no am going to leave them. Okay am going to give you two hundred shillings for each.
13	A:	I want to give you each now for fifteen hundred I give a discount.
14	B:	We must go now.
15	S:	*Kamaragura atia*? (How much are they buying) *Usiwafanye waende ikiwa hutauza vizuri reke ndimenderie nihi.* (Do not let them go, if you can not sell to them well let me do it)
16	B:	That's unfair. Why speak Swahili?
17	S:	You understand Swahili we talk Swahili?
18	B:	*Kidogo* [Laughter]
19	A:	This is "Manyatta" (Maasai homestead) [Pointing at one batik]
20	B:	Tell me whether you will take two hundred for each.
21	A:	Add me a little.
22	B:	okay two fifty each.
23	A:	That is low still.

24	B:	Okay I leave
25	S:	*Niki we warega kumenderia niki*? (What is wrong with you why have you refused to sell to them?)
26	A:	*Riu ndarega kana moiga magana meri makithii.* (Have I refused or they have proposed two hundred and then left)
27	S:	Madam come back [Beckoning her]
28	B:	For two fifty each?
29	S:	yes.
30	B:	[Pays for the five batiks]

In example 4 above, English is used as the main language from T1-14. The buyer and the agent disagree on the price and the buyer threatens to go in T14. In T 15, the seller addresses the agent through CS between Kikuyu and Kiswahili when he says, "Kamaragura atia? Usiwafanye waende ikiwa hutauza vizuri reke ndimenderie nihi" to disapprove the agent's action. The buyer gets offended by their switching to Kiswahili but says that she knows a little Swahili as shown in T16 and 18. This is not done with an effort to be perceived favorably but instead she teases them by the use of the Kiswahili word "Kidogo". In the same way, the seller in T15 and 25 does not use CS and Kikuyu respectively to be perceived favorably by the agent, but instead he is offended by his actions and threatens to give the buyer the items at the price she has offered. The seller addresses the agent in a language that the buyer cannot understand perhaps so that the seller may not know that there is a disagreement between them. This is accounted for by the Social Exchange theory which claims that before one engages in an action one

weighs up its potential cost and rewards. In this case the seller cannot afford to lose a sale and prefers to switch to Kiswahili and Kikuyu to dismiss the agent. Code Switching in this case makes S maximize profit.

This example can wholly be accounted for by the Social Exchange theory. It shows clearly that the profit motive is so strong that one need not bend to speech accommodation to strike a deal. The seller does not converge to Kikuyu to be perceived favorably but the profit motives overrule speech accommodation theory where interlocutors code switch to be perceived favorably.

Apart from what is claimed by SAT, that interlocutors converge to show social integration/approval and maximize profit, it was observed that interlocutors also converged to break cultural barriers that may exist between two dialects.

4.2.1.2 Dialect and Social Exchange Theory

Other than interpreting CS in terms of speakers' rewards and costs that interlocutors intend to achieve, Giles et al. in SAT also posits that individual language behavior can be explained in terms of the speaker's moods, motives, intentions, feelings and beliefs. Speakers may converge as a desire to break cultural barriers that may exist between their dialects or languages. Convergence can also be as a result of external pressure in the situation in which interlocutors

may find themselves. These reasons for convergence will be illustrated in the examples below.

Example 5

The transaction below involves an African lady about 25 years old purchasing jewels and a female Kikuyu seller. The seller overhears the buyer speak Kimeru to her friend and then responds to her question in Kikuyu.

T 1 B: *Nipatie hiyo* (Give me that) [Pointing at the jewels]

   2 S: *Iriku* (Which one)

   3 B: That earring.

   4 S: *Ino*? (This one?) [Picking an earring]

   5 B: *Ii.* (Yes) *Ii urendia atia*? (How much are you selling this?)

   6 S: *Iyo irenda* one eighty. (That one needs one eighty)

   7 B: *Niki ugumpenderia goro ou*? (Why are you selling to me so expensively?)

   8 S: *One eighty ni njega.* (One eighty is good)

   9 B: *Aari.* (No) *Hii kweli ni silver?* (Is this truly silver?)

   10 S: *Hii ni* pure silver. (This is pure silver) *Kwanja, turutagirwa dukaini cia ahindi.* (Actually, we get them from Indian shops) *Ino ugita ndukani ukenderua* six hundred. (These ones if you go to the shops you will be sold to at six hundred)

   11 B: *Unajua* (You know) I wouldn't want to carry something I will throw away.

   12 S: No no no. If you buy here, anything you buy here is guaranteed. Every market day you come here you find us here if it doesn't please you we refund your money.

In example 5, B opens the transaction in Kiswahili. S overhears her speak Kimeru, which is a code that is so close to S's L1 (Kikuyu). S's response in Kimeru in T2 and 4 may be attributed to her desire to break the cultural differences that may exist between them and induce B to view her favorably. B responds in English in T3 to assert her status and ignores S's attempt to break the language barrier between them. In T4, S maintains Kimeru and this forces B to give up, and, the following T6, 7, 8, 9 are conducted in Kimeru with a little switching to English and Kiswahili for clarity. It is interesting to note the way S tries to use Kimeru words underlined in the transaction "ugita, ndukani" (To go and shops respectively) in T10, but realizes she is not very competent in the language and completes in Kikuyu which B understands so well though she also cannot perform very well in the same. In T11 B switches between Kiswahili and English and S responds in English in T11.

From this transaction it was noted that S's motive was to be perceived favorably by B, by inducing B to switch to Kimeru. Irrespective of their incompetence in either of the L1 they were able to reduce their cultural differences in the interaction. The transaction in T11 and T12 shows that the interlocutors were aware of the existing social norms that define the expected code for that situation but choose to deviate because of the attitude they form about each other. The dialectal difference therefore, can cause convergence especially in a market
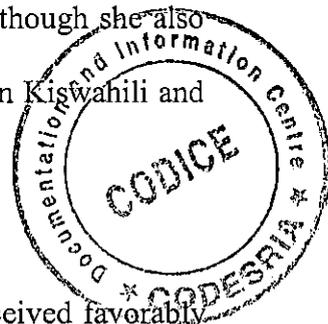
situation where the motive is to conclude a sale, and, for this reason the sellers will use any possible means to maximize profit.

Consider examples 6 and 7 below also.

Example 6

The example below involves two female African teenagers about 18 years old, buying woven puppets, and a female seller.

T	1	B:	*Hiyo ni "ndu" ngapi*? (How much are you selling that?) [Pointing at the puppets]
	2	S:	*"Fidje"*. (Fifty shillings)
	3	B:	*"Zii"*. (No) *Hatuna "fidje" tuko na* forty bob. (No we do not have fifty shillings we have forty shillings)
	4	S:	*Basi forty haiwezi*. (So forty shillings cannot)
	5	B:	*Yaani utakosa kutuuzia sababu tu ya "ashu"* (Ten shillings)? (You will fail to sell to us because of only ten shillings?)
	6	S:	*Ongezewa na rafiki yako* (Ask your friend to add you)
	7	B:	*Hapana*. (No) *Huyu "anashikia"* (Paying) bus fare *ya kwenda nyumbani*. (This one is paying the bus fare home)
	8	S:	*Basi leta "ndu"*. (Money) (Then bring the money)
	9	B:	*"Poa" basi*. (That is okay)
	10	S:	*Haraka haraka*. (Quick quick)
	11	B:	*Asante*. (Thanks)
	12	S:	*"Poa"* (Okay)

In this transaction S makes every effort to interject Sheng in the conversation because the situation demands her to do so. In order to be viewed favorably by the teenagers and may be make a sale, she has to switch to their language to assert their identity and for mutual exclusiveness. That is, their identity as youngsters and the language that excludes them from others is Sheng. This is more evidenced by the fact that S uses Kiswahili only in T6 and 10.

The seller is forced by external pressure to switch to the few "Sheng" words she knows to attract the buyers. When asked why she used "Sheng" with these teenagers she said that it is a bit sensitive selling to teenagers because they want to distinguish themselves by using "Sheng" in their interactions and for this reason they are forced to respond to their questions in "Sheng". The example below further highlights speech convergence between a teenager and a seller.

Example 7

This example involves a male African teenager about 17 years old, purchasing antiques, and a male Kamba seller.

T	1	B:	*Hii unauza aje?* (How much are you selling this?)
	2	S:	Two "*soc*" (Two hundred)
	3	B:	Two "*soc*" too much for me. (Two hundred too much for me)
	4	S:	Imagine two "*soc*" is not much *kwa* "*mjamaa poa*" (Good man) *ka wewe*. (Imagine two hundred is not much for a good man like you) *Hata wewe* "*ukicheck*" (If you check)

            utaona sijaitisha "mob". (Much) (Even if you check you will see I haven't asked much)

5   B: [Holding a pair of masks] *Lakini "tengeneza"* (Reduce) *hiyo "costi"* (Price) *yake.* (But reduce its price)

6   S: *Hata bahasha nitakupa ya kubebea.* (1 will even give you an envelope to carry it in) *"Cheki"* (See) *iko na hata bahasha.* (See it even has an envelope)

7   B: [Pays two hundred shillings] *Basi nirundishie "fidje".* (Then give me back fifty shillings)

8   S: *Poa.* (Okay) [Gives back fifty shillings] *"Tuchekiane".* (See you)

9   B: *Aya* (Okay)

The seller is challenged to speak in Sheng even if the buyer opens the transaction in Kiswahili. This is due to the fact that the buyer is a teenager, and therefore, age becomes a very important variable in the way interlocutors perceive each other hence the validity of Giles' (1979) statement that our beliefs, attitudes, feelings and motives may influence our use of language.

In Maasai Market the sellers are very conscious of this and as much as possible they want to maximize profit and have to modify their language depending on the beliefs and attitudes they have formed about their clients. The issue of how the variables affect language switching will be explored in detail in the next chapter. However, several such cases were observed in the data especially in the transactions that mainly involved teenagers.

In summary, forty-one transactions that were recorded could be explained by the Similarity-attraction/ Social Exchange tenets of SAT. This constitutes 51% of the total transactions recorded. It can be observed that the greater the convergence the more the interlocutors view each other favorably and the more they are likely to benefit. In a business situation, the sellers are likely to converge more to the buyers' language as can be seen above because they want to make a sale, which is the purpose of any business. In the market, it was observed that the sellers modified their language more than the buyers so as to accommodate the buyers in the ongoing transaction and in turn make a sale. However, it was also observed that the buyers as well would modify their speech if they thought it would cause the seller to give a fairer price as seen in example 1 above. The sellers were also seen to modify their language to maximize profit, which is the essence of business as seen in example 2. This was so with both the sellers and the agents. However, they (sellers) would switch codes when the situation demanded as in example 4 and 5 above. In example 3 the interlocutors (both buyer and seller) switched the codes to reduce the cultural barriers that may exist between the two. By doing so they both benefit from the sale. The seller gives a "brotherly" price and the buyer gives a "brotherly" pay.

It therefore, can be noted that convergence is a norm in business transactions especially for the sellers so as to maximize profit. Language plays a key role because it has to be used very creatively depending on different interlocutors in

terms of age, race, and sex as will be exemplified in chapter five. Although convergence is viewed more favorably and divergence unfavorably, instances of speech divergence were clearly noticeable in the data as will be exemplified below.

4.2.1.3 Instances of Speech Divergence Observed in the Data

In the following examples, the Social Identity theory of SAT is used to analyse the data to demonstrate/investigate why people diverge in a market situation.

Example 8

The transaction involves two European ladies about 50 years old, purchasing a picture frame and two male Kikuyu sellers. One of the ladies does the talking while the other one admires the picture frames. During the transaction an African lady comes and admires the frames.

T	1	S:	Have a look at this. [Pointing at a picture frame] This is bigger I only give you for four hundred. [An African lady comes by] [S addresses his fellow seller S2] *Kijana ongea na huyu customer.* (Young man talk to this customer)
	2	S2:	[To the African lady] *Sema* customer. (Say what you want customer) [The African buyer does not respond but continues admiring the frames]
	3	B:	Three hundred.
	4	S:	Now you are not taking five?
	5	B:	I will pay seven fifty for two.

6	S:	[Addresses S2] *Kijana funga hizi.* (Young man wrap these ones) [Passing the frames to S2]
7	S:	[Addresses the African lady] *Madam wacha kwenda hiyo nimewambia sio bei yako, kuja tuongee si wewe ni wetu?* (Madam do not go away the price I have given them is not yours, come we talk aren't you one of us?
8	B2:	*Hapana* (No) that is expensive.
9	S:	No madam. (Those are Europeans, come we talk I will give you a good price) I will give you a good price.
10	B:	[The European buyers pay and walk away]
11	B2:	*Siku ingine nitacome.* (I will come another day)
12	S:	Okay.

In T1 the transaction starts in English the expected language of transaction with the Europeans. Before the transaction is over an African buyer (B2) comes by and the seller diverges to Kiswahili to address his fellow seller (S2). S2 in turn addresses the African buyer in Kiswahili. The reason for switching to Kiswahili might be to exclude the European buyers in the sense that they would not want them to know the price they give the Africans is far much reduced. This is done with an effort to avoid losing either of the buyers. Here the sellers have to use language very dynamically to ensure that the European do not get to know that they spend more for the same commodity as compared to their African counterparts. At the same time they have to convince the African buyers that they can spend less on the same commodity hence the reason why S2 chimes in, in T2. The transaction between S and B progresses in English in T3-5 up to the point

where the seller and the buyer settle on a price. In T6, the seller addresses S2 in Kiswahili and then addresses B2 in T7 in the same code. S switches to Kiswahili to assert his identity with S2 and B2 and perhaps convince B2 to buy the frames. B2 accepts the identity (African) given by S and thus switches between Kiswahili and English in T8 to acknowledge S's effort to give a fairer deal. The need to make a sale makes S diverge more in T9 in order to convince B2 that she should not go away because she is not a "Mzungu" and for that reason she is bound to get a fairer price. In T11, B2 is convinced and promises to buy next time. She responds in Kiswahili with an interjection of a single English word.

Consider this example also that shows instances of speech divergence.

Example 9

The transaction involves a European man about 55 years old, purchasing a woven basket from a female Kikuyu seller. Within the transaction there is a second seller (S2) who is a business partner to S, and a second buyer (B2) who is an African lady about 30 years old.

T	1	B:	[Picks a basket and admires it]
	2	S:	I give you another one. [Giving him another basket] This one have a look at it.
	3	B:	This is banana. Are there some made from sisal?
	4	S:	Yeah there are sisal. [To S2] *Tarehe kiria kia blaki mwena ucio.* (Bring the black one on that side)
		S2:	[Goes to get the basket]
	5	B:	It's okay it's okay you don't have to bother.

6	S:	[To S2] *Tigana nakio.* (Leave it) *Rehe kiu kingi kia mathogo kiri nahau.* (Bring that other one made from banana fibre, the one there)
	S2:	[Leaves the black basket and picks the banana fibre one]
	S:	[To B] This one here come and see it.
7	B:	No.
8	S:	[To B2] *Chagua yenye unataka.* (Choose the one you want)
9	B2:	*Hizi mum unauza aje?* (How much are you selling these mother?) [Pointing at the green baskets]
10	S:	*Chagua yenye unataka nitakufanyia bei.* (Make your choice I will give you a good price) [To B] Take this one. [Pointing at his first choice]
11	B:	How much?
12	S:	Five hundred.
13	B:	[Pays] Thank you.
14	S:	[To B2] *Leta mia tatu.*
15	B2:	[Pays] *Asante.* (Thanks)
16	S:	*Sawa.* (Okay) [Both B and B2 go away]

The first seller (S) diverges to Kikuyu while addressing her fellow seller (S2) to clarify quickly what she wants in Turns 4 and 6. In T8 she addresses the African client who is also the second buyer (B2) in Kiswahili to exclude the first client (B) in the interaction. B2 realizes S's efforts to exclude B in the interaction and diverges to Kiswahili in T9 as well. In this turn (T9) B2 asks the price which she is not immediately told but is promised a good deal in T10. In the same Turn (T10), the European is given more attention and the transaction is carried out in English until he pays. Divergence to Kiswahili in T10 keeps B2 on "hold" until B

has paid. S then diverges to Kiswahili in T14. B2 realizes she has spent two hundred shillings less than B; she pays and does not waste time haggling. She gives her appreciation still in Kiswahili in T15, S responds in the same in T16.

The transaction is carried out in English but is interrupted by Kikuyu when the seller asks her fellow seller to pass to her a basket. The seller (S) diverges to Kikuyu for clarity and to make a quick sale before she attends to an African lady also selecting the same and has not asked the price.

In the following example, instances of speech divergence are further highlighted.

Example 10

This was a transaction involving a European couple about 50 years old, purchasing batiks and a male seller as well as an agent.

T	1	A:	Buy one for the New Year. Tomorrow is a new year.
	2	B:	Yes yes but there is no money.
	3	A:	I will give you cheaply.
	4	B:	How much?
	5	A:	Two hundred.
	6	B:	I can only afford fifty.
	7	A:	[To S] *Miongo itano itano.* (Each fifty shillings)
	8	S:	*Miongo itano ni sawa.* (Fifty shillings is okay)
	9	A:	[To B] How many do you like?
	10	B:	Only one.
	11	S:	You can also buy for *mama.* (Mother)
	12	B:	As you say one for me one for *mama.* (Mother)

13	S:	Good.
14	B:	[Pays] Thank you.
15	S:	Welcome.

The agent opens the transaction in English up to the point where he diverges to Kikamba to find out the price of the batiks in T7 and 8. The seller is a Kikuyu but the agent is a Kamba. In these two turns the agent and the seller diverge to L1 to agree on a price that would benefit the two. Divergence in this transaction is aimed at concluding a sale not to exclude the client. The use of the Kiswahili word "mama" in T11 is not treated as divergence but used as a way of including the foreigner in the transaction, that is, to view the seller's and agents divergence to L1 positively. The agent converges to his L1 (Kikamba); the seller converges to the same in agreement of the price. Therefore, our data revealed that divergence is not aimed at excluding the interlocutors but maximizing a sale.

The analysis of the data shows that 10% (eight transactions) of the total transactions recorded were accounted for by the Social Exchange theory. However, the examples presented above disagree with the claims of the Social Identity theory, which states that interlocutors diverge to show disapproval, to assert their identity or they diverge when they do not like each other (Bourhis and Giles, 1977). The examples on instances of speech divergence above indicate that the speakers in a market situation diverge, not necessarily to assert their identity

or show disapproval of their interlocutors, but mostly to avoid losing clients. The idea is to maximize profit and therefore, diverge to conclude a sale.

As pointed out earlier SAT accounts for the motivational factors that influence CS. However, it has been observed that motivational factors are not sufficient enough to explain CS because not all speech strategies can be explained in terms of psychological motivations. As observed in the examples above, speakers' motives, perceptions and attitudes may be as important in determining speech behavior as the social norms dictating appropriate language behavior in ethnic encounter hence the need to use the Markedness Model.

4.2.2 The Markedness Model

The theory behind the Markedness Model proposes that speakers have a sense of Markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others, which they wish to have in place. The study used the Markedness Model to explain the social motivations for CS based on the norms of the society. The normative factors will be explained based on the tenets of the Markedness Model: the Unmarked choice, the Virtuosity maxim, the Marked choice and Exploratory choice maxims.

4.2.2.1 *The Unmarked Choice/ Expected Code*

The unmarked code can be identified empirically. It is the most expected code because it is the choice most often made and is viewed as a "safer" choice. The society's association of a certain linguistic code as unmarked depends on certain role relationships that hold between the participants. In Maasai Market it was observed that different codes served as the unmarked codes depending on such factors as age of the buyers, their race and sex. For instance, it was observed that when the buyer was a European, the unmarked code was basically English; if a young African teenager, it was Sheng; while for those Africans aged 21-40, the unmarked choice was CS. When a buyer was a female of the age bracket given above (21-40), the unmarked code would be English though in several instances it would change again to CS in the same transaction.

It is important to note that when the vendors were asked the most expected codes in the market, they said it was English for Europeans, and English and Kiswahili for Africans. However, from the data collected during the research it was observed that this was the expected but not the case. Several codes were observed as unmarked. These included English, Kiswahili, Sheng and Local Languages, depending on the rights-and-obligation sets that the seller and the buyer wished to have in place, for example, as ethnic brethren, friends.

The following examples 11 and 12 show the unmarked choice maxim.

Example 11

The transaction involves a European lady about 30 years old purchasing African attire and a female Kikuyu seller.

T	1	S:	Hi, what can I sell for you?
	2	B:	I want sandals. [B's child] They look beautiful.
	3	S:	[To B's child] You mean you like them? [B's child] Definitely. [S to B] Is this your brother?
	4	B:	No, this is my son.
	5	S:	You look so young to have a baby. [Laughter]
	6	B:	We need three pairs.
	7	S:	Okay, I will sell to you at six fifty each.
	8	B:	Okay, here [Gives two thousand shillings]
	8	S:	[Gives back change but B declines taking it and smiles as she walks away] Thank you
	9	B:	Not at all.

Example 12

The transaction is between a European man about 25 years old purchasing jewels and a Kikuyu seller of about the same age. The buyer recognizes that he is an age mate to the seller and thus gives himself a Kikuyu name as a way of teasing the seller. This defines their role relationships as friends and not foreigners.

T	1	B:	Hi, how are you Kamau? 1 am Njoroge.
	2	S:	Fine and 1 am Kamau. Now Njoroge how many pieces do you want?
	3	B:	I don't like the colours Kamau [Laughter]

4	S:	So what colors are you looking for Njoroge?
5	S:	Kamau l am looking for colors like…..[Picking some brightly colored jewels] Like how much? How much are these? I get four of these.
6	S:	I give you each for fifty. I didn't want to tell you sixty Njoroge.
7	B:	And I didn't want to tell you ten Kamau. [Pays two hundred shillings]
8	S:	Thank you Kamau.
9	B:	Welcome Njoroge.

In example 11 and 12 above the transactions are conducted in English. In this case English is the unmarked code. This is the case because those involved (buyers) are Europeans and, therefore, they are considered to be English speakers. We can therefore, remark that race is an important factor in determining the expected code in a particular interaction. In this case there are no RO sets that may induce switching because of the background of the participants who are native speakers of English. In example 12, we can also attribute the adoption of a Kikuyu name by the buyer as a way of showing his interest in knowing the language, and thus induce the vendor to perceive him as a friend not a foreigner. The buyer does not succeed in defining new role relationship and thus English is maintained as the expected code in this transaction.

From examples 8 and 9 discussed above, instances where CS, English and Kiswahili are used as the unmarked codes are observed. For instance, in example

8, the unmarked code for the European buyers is English. However, when an African buyer comes by, the unmarked code changes to CS between Kiswahili and English. This can be observed in all the turns where the African and the European are being addressed. Example 9 has three unmarked codes. These are L1, Kiswahili, and English. In this transaction like in example 8 the unmarked code while addressing the European is English, when addressing a fellow business partner it is L1, and while addressing the African buyer it is Kiswahili. From the transactions that were gathered in this market it was clear that the unmarked codes were English while addressing the Europeans, Kiswahili and CS while addressing the African buyers. Kiswahili was used to connote neutrality and brotherhood. CS gave the vendors a high bargaining power because they would use all languages available to establish the best RO set between themselves and the African buyer.

The choice of the unmarked code changes because of the change of the RO sets. That is, because the composition of the participants has changed from that of a European and African to African-African. The seller weighs the rewards and the cost and the rewards outweigh the costs. That is, changing the unmarked codes to favor his clients will enhance his chances of making a sale. Kiswahili denotes brotherhood to a fellow African; CS caters for the client's status that the seller may not be sure of; L1 denotes ethnic brotherhood (ethnicity) and English is used as the unmarked code to address foreigners in this market. It was also observed that very rarely would the African buyers respond in Kiswahili without CS though

the sellers could do it. It is also important to mention that it was not clear what was the unmarked code when addressing the African teenagers but some would switch codes, others would speak Sheng.

4.2.2.1.1 Virtuosity Maxim

The unmarked choice maxim is complemented by the Virtuosity maxim, which states that whenever any participant in the conversation does not have the linguistic ability in the unmarked code, the speaker should switch to whatever code in order to carry on the conversation or accommodate the participation of all speakers' present. In this study it was interesting to observe the way the sellers modified their language to accommodate buyers. Those mostly affected were Japanese, Italians and Arabs. The sellers would modify their English by using symbolism or rather giving signs of some things that they hoped the buyers understood so well and in cases where the buyers did not know English at all they would communicate through writing down figures and in very rare occasions the tour guides would interpret.

Consider the following example:

Example 13

| T | 1 | A: | My friend see what I have and see whether it makes you happy. [B looks at the goods] How much do you want to give for this? [Holding a giraffe] |
| | 2 | B: | Three hundred. |

3	A:	That's a joke my friend. Come up a bit I come down.
4	B:	No no.
5	A:	I mean be serious you see what you are getting my friend, a good thing. Be serious. You see I am coming down; you jump like a Maasai now.
6	B:	Okay, I give one thousand.
7	A:	Do better brother do better.
8	B:	No.
9	A:	You are only making chameleon, chameleon step, you know you are jumping like a baby. Jump like a Maasai.
10	B:	No
11	A:	Do better, do better brother, see what you are getting brother.
12	B:	No no.
13	A:	Do better, pay only four thousand five hundred. You see I come down and you come up.
14	B:	Okay I give two thousand.
15	A:	Do better.
16	B:	No no.
17	A:	Okay, pay that then.

This transaction involves a female French speaker about 30 years old and a male Kamba agent. The buyer does not understand English well and the agent has to modify the language so as to communicate. In this setting the expected code would be English but since the buyer is not very competent in English the language has to be distorted and modified to communicate. This is achieved through the use of symbols like chameleon and baby step to mean the buyer is

giving a very low price, jumping like a Maasai to mean to give a high pay. The seller uses chameleon and baby step because he believes the buyer can understand what they symbolize so well. It is also imagined that they know who a Maasai warrior is because these are things that would be of interest to them as tourists. The seller further makes statements like "come up I come down" to mean add a "little more money and I discount for you". This further shows how language is simplified to conclude a sale.

The example below also shows the use of exploratory choice maxim to negotiate the price and make communication possible.

Example 14

This transaction involves a French speaking teenager and a female Meru carving seller. An agent tries to convince the buyer that he can give her a good price but is immediately dismissed by the seller.

T	1	S:	Sister sister I am talking to you, it's me who is selling leave this one alone [Referring to the agent]. Give me only three hundred.
	2	B:	Two hundred
	3	S:	See it's [Overlaps with two hundred] a male and a female. Please sister you see me not too high.
	4	B:	Two hundred.
	5	S:	You see I told you three hundred and I am willing to come down to two fifty.
	6	B:	Two hundred.

7	S:	You see sister initially I was selling three fifty I told you three hundred and now I have come down to two fifty. You see I am not bad. Just imagine reducing one hundred bob sister please.
8	B:	Two hundred.
9	S:	Two fifty please.
10	B:	Two hundred.
11	S:	Lose fifty I lose fifty please.
12	B:	Two hundred.
13	S:	Please sister lose fifty I lose fifty.
14	B:	Two hundred.
15	S:	Fifty is my profit lose fifty I lose fifty please, add that fifty
16	B:	Two hundred.
17	S:	Don't be too hard with money. We will also come up one time, add something, baby step just come up baby step, yeah just add something. One baby step and you carry them, one baby step and here they are. [Giving her the carvings]
18	B:	Two hundred.
19	S:	Okay, bring the money.

In this conversation just like in example 13, we observe that the seller simplifies the language by use of symbolism like "baby step" and use of easily interpretable terms like " come up I come down" to make the buyer understand what the seller is driving at. However, in this transaction we also observe that the buyer is completely incapacitated hence the reason why she maintains the first price she gives. When the seller tries to bargain for a small increment she maintains "two

hundred" which means she cannot bargain any further. The sellers in these two examples employ the virtuosity maxim to conclude a sale.

4.2.2.2 The Marked Choice/ The Unexpected Choice Maxim

Though it is safer to make the unmarked choice speakers do not always do so. They assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices and make their decisions typically unconsciously. When the speakers decide the rewards are great enough than the cost, they make the marked choice. This idea is based on the premise that the speaker and the addressee know as part of their communicative competence that choice of one linguistic variety rather than another express social import. When a marked choice is made the participants define new role relationships and negotiate new identities as well as new RO sets. In other words, making a marked choice is a negotiation against the unmarked RO sets as exemplified below.

Example 15

The example below involves a European couple about 50 years purchasing baskets and a Luhya female seller. In this example the unmarked code is English and Kiswahili is the marked code.

T	1	S:	Yes welcome.
	2	B:	*Hizi ni ngapi mami?* (How much are these mother?)
	3	S:	*Shilingi mia tano.* (Five hundred shillings)
	4	B:	Hey! *Hiyo ni nyingi?* (That is too much)

5	S:	*Bei ya kuongea.* (A negotiable price)
6	B:	[To his wife] They look beautiful to carry home. [To S] I want you to make profit but not too much profit. I gonna see my wife looking beautiful in it back at home.
7	S:	I will also appreciate.
8	B:	Three fifty our price. [Hangs the basket on her shoulder] It looks beautiful. [Laughter] [Pays four hundred and returns one hundred in the pocket] [To S] This is lunch now [Laughter]
9	S:	You are well back again [To mean you are welcome back again]
10	B:	Thank you [B's wife] *Asante sana* (Thanks so much)
11	S:	*Karibu tena* (Welcome again)

The transaction above opens in English, which is the expected code (unmarked code) in this type of interaction. The buyer responds in Kiswahili which is the marked code in this form of an interaction. The transaction goes on smoothly in the marked code in Turns 2, 3, 4, and 5. The speakers then switch again to the unmarked code in T 6, 7, and 8 and finally, in T9 and 10 they result to the marked code. The European couple switches to the marked codes because they want to define new role relationships and new RO sets. That is, they want to be perceived differently not as the norms of the society dictate (as foreigners hence the use of English) but as friends and brothers in this interaction. They wish to be integrated in the new African setting and specifically in the market where majority are Africans. In T6, 7, and 8 the transaction is done in English the expected code because the interlocutors have succeeded in defining new RO sets as well as

defining new identities. They are thus comfortable using the unmarked code. The transaction closes again by switching to the marked code as a way of appreciation of the new relationships that has evolved between the acquaintances. Kiswahili in this case denotes brotherhood and solidarity.

Example 16 below further shows instances where the marked choices are made.

Example 16

The example involves a teenage European girl and her mother interested in jewels and a male Luo seller.

T	1	B:	Madam, is it you who makes these jewels?
	2	S:	Yes I do.
	3	B:	How much are you selling them?
	4	S:	Fifty shillings each.
	5	B:	[Picks a green necklace] *Unaweza tengenezea mimi hii?* (Can you make this for me?)
	6	S:	*Eeh naweza.* (Yes I can)
	7	B:	*Una rangi ingine?* (Do you have any other color?)
	8	S:	*Ni nyingi mimi nina nyingi.* (They are many I have many)
	9	B:	I want white and blue *tano.* (Five)
	10	S:	You want *tano,* (Five) five pieces.
	11	B:	*Ndio mama* (Yes mother) make straight *kama hii ni* (Like this one is) four strands. [Showing her what she wants] *Hapana kunja* (Do not fold) *fanya* (Make) straight *hapana kunja.* (Do not fold)
	12	S:	Okay, I know what you want *nitafanyia wewe mzuri.* (I will do it for you well)

13	B:	[B's daughter] Mum you will look beautiful. [B to S] *Tengeneza ikiwa* (Make it) straight don't twist.
14	S:	So you have said five pieces.
15	B:	Yes make them straight *hivo nimesema*. (As I have said)

The transaction opens in the unmarked code in T1-4. However, the buyer realizes the need to change her identity from that of a foreigner to that of a friend and a buyer like any other not a "special" buyer. She therefore, switches to Kiswahili the unmarked code for Africans but a marked code to Europeans. By switching to Kiswahili in T5 and 7 the buyer is in effect telling the seller, *"Put aside any presumptions you have based on societal norms for these circumstances and view our relationship to be otherwise"*. The buyer therefore, expects to be perceived like any other African client. This is achieved when the seller responds to the buyer's signals by CS in T6 and 8. The seller's reception of the buyer further motivates the buyer, to engage in a series of CS between Kiswahili and English in Ts 9, 11 and 13. The seller responds through CS as well, which is also a marked choice in this role relationship. In T14 the seller seeks clarification from the buyer in English the expected code but the buyer responds again through CS. In these two turns the vendor reminds the client of her status in the RO set but the client reminds the vendor " you need to perceive me differently"

In this example English is the unmarked code, CS and Kiswahili are the marked choices. The speaker dis-identifies with the expected code. The speaker dis-

identifies with the status implied in the role relationship hence calling for a redefinition of new RO sets.

In the two examples above, it can be observed that individuals in Maasai Market make marked choices because they weigh the potential costs and rewards. If the rewards outweigh the costs they make the marked choice. The marked choice defines new RO sets other than those defined by the societal norms; they negotiate new identities amongst those involved and also define new role relationships among the interlocutors. This is the case not only in Maasai Market but also in all aspects of life where individuals want others to perceive them differently from what the norms of the society have laid down.

4.2.2.3 Exploratory Choice Maxim

In some instances speakers may employ CS when they are not sure of the expected code or not sure which one will help achieve their social goals. Exploratory choice may be found when it is not clear which norms apply in a particular interaction, for instance, when little is known about the social identities of the new acquaintance. Therefore, exploratory choice exists when the role relationships are not well defined. Sometimes the exploratory choice may exist when the salient status of the participants is known but the unmarked negotiation of a desired role relationship is not clear, for example, a conversation with a former classmate in his place of business, not at home. Scotton (1993) posits that

in least conventionalized exchanges, the unmarked code is not obvious hence the reason why people resort to making exploratory choices. The data below will exemplify instances where exploratory choice is made.

Example 17

This transaction involves an African woman about 30 years of age and a male Kamba seller.

T   1   S: Madam *tafadhali angalia chenye nauza*. (Please madam look at what am selling) Please *kidogo tu* (Just a little) *kuja uangalie tu,* (Just come and see) please madam you are like my sister *niangalilie chenye unaweza* buy. (See what you can buy from me) *Angalia kidogo, nitakupatia bei mzuri na* discount. (I will give you a good price and a discount)

      2   B: *Hii nimeshanunua hii.* (This one I have already bought)

      3   S: *Ngapi?* (How much?) *Lakini unajua nauza hasara.* (But I am selling at a loss)

      4   B: Oh where is X?

      5   S: Come here madam and see what I am making [This overlaps with B's question above] She is there she is there I know her. Come here and see my stands *na mimi nitakupea bei mzuri kuliko hao wengine.* (And I will give you a better price than all the others)

      6   B: *Hii nishanunua lakini ukiuza vizuri tunaweza nunua ingine.* (This one I have already bought but if you sell well we can buy another one)

      7   S: *Badala ya kubargain sana mpaka tuchoke niambie utatoa ngapi.* (Other than bargaining so much and tire ourselves tell me how much you will pay)

8	B:	*Mimi nitatoa mia mbili hamsini.* (I shall pay two hundred and fifty)
9	S:	*Hapana hii ni mia saba.* (No this is seven hundred)
10	B:	*Hizo bei yako iko juu sana sisi tuko na* two fifty, *si ulikuwa umesema* two fifty? (Those price of yours is so high we have two fifty, had you not said two fifty?)
11	S:	*Hapana kwaherini,two fifty haiwezi.* (No goodbye fifty cannot)
12	B:	*Sawa basi asante.* (Okay then thanks)

The transaction opens in Kiswahili, the expected code in such an exchange, since the buyer is an African. In the same turn, the seller code switches between English and Kiswahili, he goes back to English and back to Kiswahili. All this is done with an effort to define new RO sets. The seller is not sure of the buyer's identity and status in this interaction. For instance, because of the perception they hold in this market that the clients aged between 21-40 are the working class and thus status conscious. In T2 the buyer responds in the expected code, Kiswahili, and the seller does the same in T3. The seller perhaps does this with an effort to arrive at the unmarked code that will suit the identity and status of the buyer as well as the role relationship they wish to have in place. In T4 the buyer asks for her friend in English the marked code to assert her status rather unconsciously. The vendor responds in the same in T5 to affirm her status and then code switches so that they can negotiate the code they are both comfortable in. In T6, the buyer switches to Kiswahili again to accommodate the vendor. This goes on up to the last turn. That is, the vendor code switches in T7, uses Kiswahili in T9, CS in T11 while the

client uses Kiswahili in T8, CS in T10 and Kiswahili in T12. This alternating pattern observed in this transaction is so because the seller is not sure of what code will suit the current exchange and thus have to negotiate between the two codes before they settle for the unmarked code so as to define and identify the role relationship evolving between them.

The exploratory choice maxim can also be used to account for the language choice between the sellers and the African teenage clients. For instance, when we interviewed the sellers they pointed out that they could not tell which is the expected code to use when the client is a teenager because teenagers can fashion for themselves multiple identities. They therefore, employed the exploratory choice whereby they alternately switched between Kiswahili, English and Sheng to arrive at what language the buyer preferred most. This can be illustrated by the example 6 above, repeated here as example 18, where the teenage girls open the transaction in Kiswahili, the seller responds in Sheng and this goes on until they settle on Sheng as the unmarked code. That is, the transaction is carried out through use of Sheng, Kiswahili, and English until finally Sheng becomes the code of the interaction.

Example 18

The example below involves two female African teenagers about 18 years old,

buying woven puppets, and a female seller.

T 1 B: *Hiyo ni "ndu" ngapi*? (How much are you selling that?)
[Pointing at the puppets]

2 S: *"Fidje".* (Fifty shillings)

3 B: *"Zii".* (No) *Hatuna "fidje" tuko na* forty bob. (No we do not have fifty shillings we have forty shillings)

4 S: *Basi forty haiwezi.* (So forty shillings cannot)

5 B: *Yaani utakosa kutuuzia sababu tu ya "ashu"* (Ten shillings)? (You will fail to sell to us because of only ten shillings?)

6 S: *Ongezewa na rafiki yako* (Ask your friend to add you)

7 B: *Hapana.* (No) *Huyu "anashikia"* (Paying) bus fare *ya kwenda nyumbani.* (This one is paying the bus fare home)

8 S: *Basi leta "ndu".* (Money) (Then bring the money)

9 B: *"Poa" basi.* (That is okay)

10 S: *Haraka haraka.* (Quick quick)

11 B: *Asante.* (Thanks)

12 S: *"Poa"* (Okay)

As it has been demonstrated above, all the models used in this study accounted for

the data as summarized below.

Generally the Markedness Model (MM) and its sets of maxims accounted for 28%

of the transactions while SAT accounted for 60% of the data (where 50% were

instances of speech convergence and 10% instances of speech divergence). Instances of overlaps were observed between the two theories where 8% of the data could be accounted for by the two theories. Some of the data could not be accounted for by any of the theories. This data amounted to 4%. Below is a grammatical representation of the percentages.

Figure 1: Distribution of Results as They Conform to Various Theories
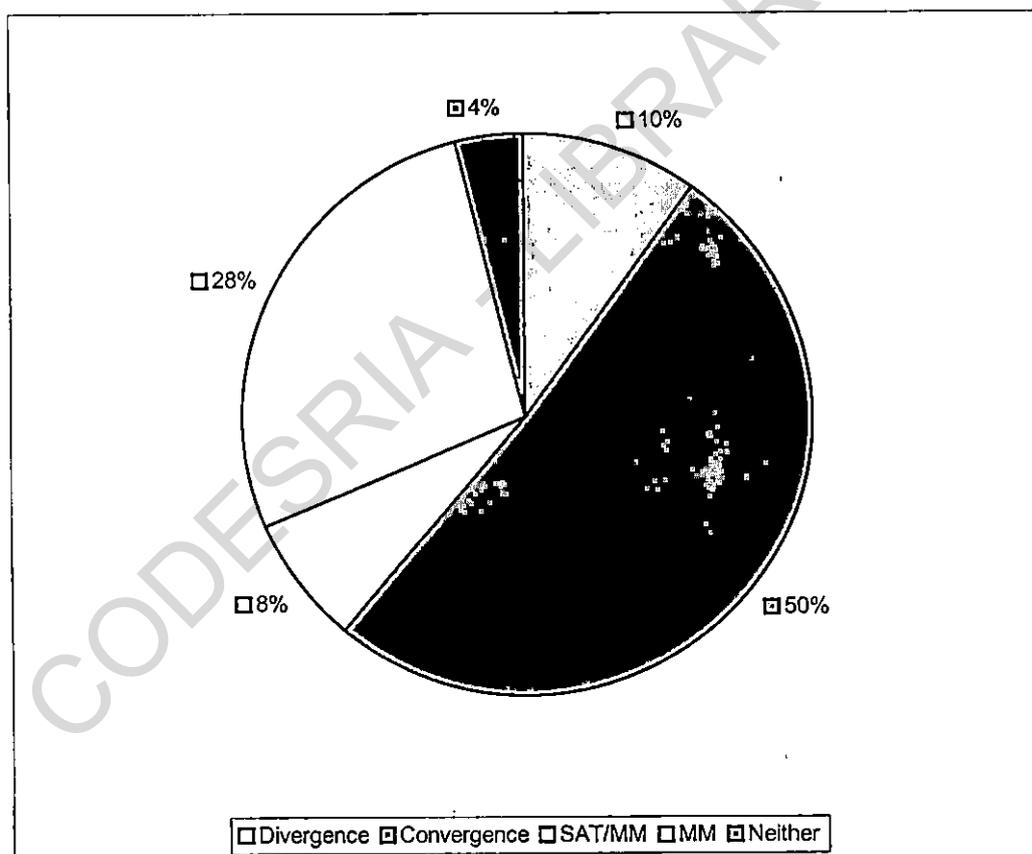
It is interesting to note here that whereas the Social Identity Theory of SAT states that speakers modify their speech away from their interlocutors in order to sound least like them, to show disapproval of them or because they dislike them, the data presented in the above examples 8, 9 and 10 (section 4.2.1.3) disagree with these claims. This study showed that the interlocutors diverged to conclude a sale and not to disapprove each other. In a market situation the profit motive is so strong such that the interlocutors use language so creatively to make the best out of the bargain.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0   SEX, AGE, RACE VARIABLES AND CODE CHOICES

5.1   INTRODUCTION

Studies have shown that code choice may vary depending on the variables that

may be in place in a particular interaction. For instance, language may vary

according to the sex of the participants, their social status, education, age and

ethnicity among others (see Labov, 1972; Milroy, 1980, 1987; Trudgill, 1986). In

our study this was also clearly observed. That is, the sellers chose the languages

they used carefully depending on the sex of the speaker, their races and age. This

section is therefore, intended to clearly bring out the way the code choice varied

depending on these variables.

5.1.1 Race

Race was seen as one major variable that influenced the way sellers choose codes

in Maasai Market. There were clear cut differences in the way vendors treated the

clients who were Africans and those who were not, in terms of the languages they

used. For instance, when the vendors were asked how they decided on the code to

use with people from different races, they pointed out that individual place of

origin would guide on what linguistic behavior was appropriate. If the buyer was

an American or a Briton, English would be the language of transaction, if a

Japanese or Italian, English would be used to open the transaction; if the buyer were perceived as incompetent in the language, the language would be modified by use of symbolism or through writing down figures. Africans were basically addressed in Kiswahili to connote brotherhood.

Due to the racial difference a regular pattern was observed in the data in the way language was used. For instance, when an interaction involved Africans it would mostly open in Kiswahili, haggling would be done through CS and prices would be slashed down greatly. Haggling was done through CS because the interlocutors used all the possible linguistic abilities to make the best out of the bargain. When the transaction involved the European buyers, transactions were done in English because they are perceived as the "rich" and money to them was not an issue. Therefore, there was no need for prolonged haggling that would trigger CS as in the case of other buyers who are Africans or Indians. If it was somebody else who was not perceived as "rich", for instance, the Africans CS would be used to convince the buyer to add a little more money for the item. The belief in this market is that the European will always buy what they want irrespective of the price hence the reason why they gave them very high prices. However, it was also observed that a few of the European buyers would bargain for a price they thought was reasonable but all this was done through English.

The population in our sample along racial lines was distributed as follows: 46 Africans, 26 Americans/Britons, 3 Indians, 5 others. This can be presented graphically in percentages as shown below:

Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents According to Races
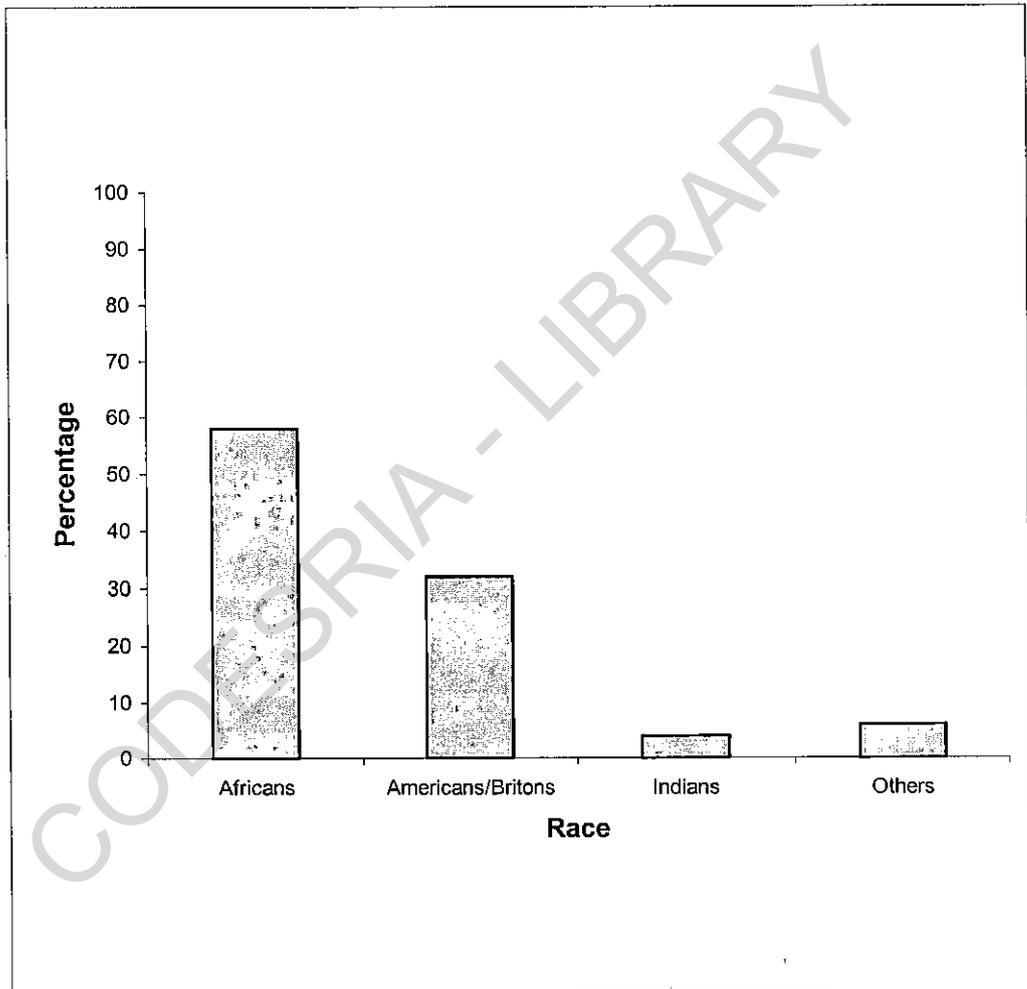
5.1.1.1 Distribution of Languages Among Africans

The Africans in our sample were 46; this constitutes 100% population of the Africans. The results indicated that majority of the Africans (82.6%) spoke Kiswahili, while the remaining proportion was distributed as follows: English (10.7%), CS (4.4%), Local Languages (2.3%) as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Distribution of Languages Among Africans

Language	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Kiswahili	38	82.6
English	5	10.7
CS	2	4.4
Local Languages	1	2.3
Total	**46**	**100.0**

5.1.1.2 Distribution of Languages Among Americans/Britons

The results indicated that majority of the Americans/Britons (88%) spoke English, while the remaining proportion was distributed as follows: Kiswahili (4.0%), CS (8.0%), while none spoke any of the Local Languages as reflected in Table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of Languages Among Americans/Britons

Language	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Kiswahili	1	4
English	23	88
CS	2	8
Local Languages	0	0
Total	**26**	**100.0**

We therefore, observe that Americans/Britons used English during transactions. Those who used CS or Kiswahili did so with an intention of being perceived favorably, not as foreigners but a "friend" to the Africans.

5.1.1.3 Distribution of Languages Among Indians

The results indicated that Indians, who were only five in our population, always used CS in the transactions hence their use of CS was 100%. Since the Indians use CS the vendors address them in the same. Indians in this market are usually disregarded and the vendors are not careful about whichever code they use to address them. They consider Indians as the poorest buyers in monetary terms and this explains why the vendors are not very careful on the way they use language when addressing the Indians.

5.1.1.4 Distribution of Languages Among Other Races (Japanese, Italians, Germans, Asians)

The data indicated that 60% (3 respondents) spoke English, while 40% (2 respondents) communicated through writing down figures. However, even those who used English had problems with the language because they were not very competent in the same. The vendors had to modify the language a lot through use of symbolism and sometimes sign language. Where communication failed completely, the only mode of communication between the vendors and buyers was through writing down figures. Haggling would be done through the same until a sale would be concluded.

5.1.2 Age

It was observed that age, as a variable was an important factor in code choice among the Africans. The Americans/Britons in whichever age group were addressed in English and this was also the case for others (Japanese, Germans, Italians). The Indians on the other hand were addressed through CS.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents According to Age

Age	No. of Respondents	Percentage (%)
Below 20 yrs	6	13
21-40 yrs	34	74
40 and Above	6	13
Total	46	100.0

N=46

5.1.2.1 Distribution of Respondents According to Age

Those aged between 21-40 yrs (74%) were the majority who visited the market (as shown in table 3 above or figure 3 below). The respondents confirmed this during the interviews when they pointed out that the age bracket above were their best clients or rather they made up the largest population that visited the market frequently and could also be considered as the main buyers. Those aged 41 and above (13%) were subsidiary buyers; they were very few in the market. Below twenty (13%) also visited the market but were limited on the kind of items they purchased which were mainly batiks and jewels.

Figure 3: Distribution of Respondents According to Age
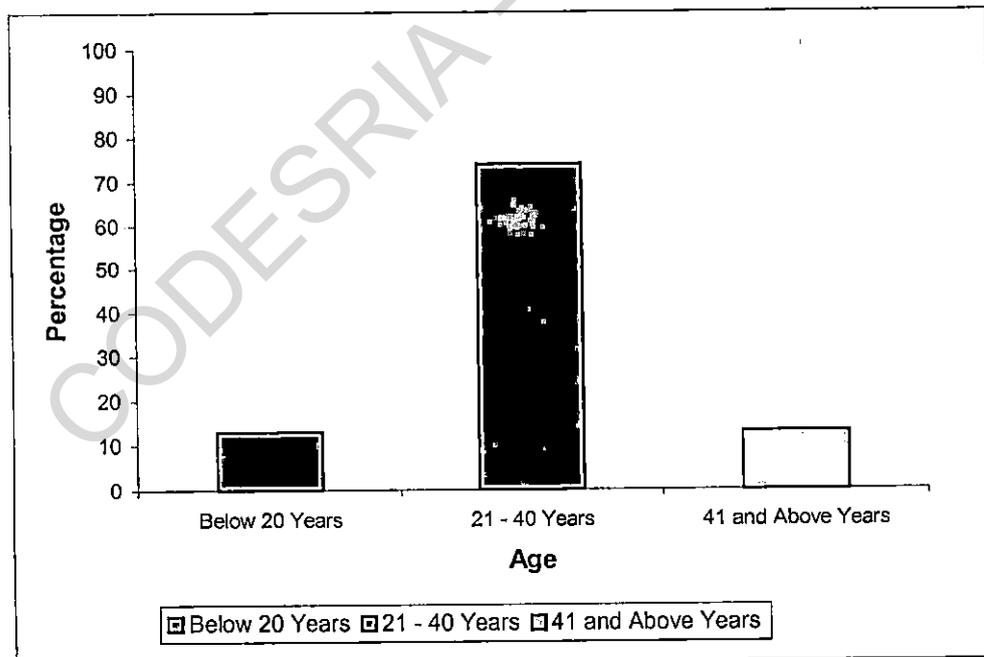
It was observed in our data that age was very important in the choice of codes in different age groups. Basically Sheng was the language of the teenagers. Those aged between 21-40 were considered status conscious since the majority were perceived to be in colleges, universities or they were the working classes. The vendors would thus open the transaction in English or Kiswahili, and, depending on the response of the buyer the code of transaction would be defined. It was noted that in this age bracket most transactions would typically open in English to mark the buyers status or Kiswahili to denote "brotherhood" and proceed through CS. Above 40s were considered not status conscious hence the language of transaction was Kiswahili, Local Languages or CS. The foreigners (Europeans) in whatever age group were addressed in English. Age was thus an important variable in choosing the code to use among the Africans (figure 3).

5.1.2.2 Distribution of Languages in the Age Group Below 20 Years

The data indicated that below the age of twenty the language spoken was predominantly Sheng. From the sample all the six respondents aged below age twenty spoke Sheng. This constitutes 100% of the teenagers who spoke Sheng. Sheng was used by teenagers to assert their identity and for mutual exclusiveness.

5.1.2.3 Distribution of Languages in the Age Group 21-40 Years

Majority of the respondents in the age group of 21-40 (47%) code switched, the other proportions were distributed as follows: English (24%), Kiswahili (29%). It was also noted that none of those aged between 21-40 years spoke the Local Languages as shown in table 4.

Table 4: Distribution of Languages in the Age Group 21-40

Language	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Code Switching	16	47
English	8	24
Kiswahili	10	29
Local Languages	0	0
Total	34	100.0

This Table shows that the language commonly used with the age bracket between 21-40 is CS. This was so because CS ensured that typically most languages especially English and Kiswahili were used to assert identity and connote brotherhood respectively as well as concluding a sale. The vendors would do the haggling without struggling so much to use one code because they have several codes at their disposal to ensure they communicate efficiently and effectively. Therefore, CS is very useful in a market situation because it enhances communication and helps the vendors conclude a sale and in turn make profit.

5.1.2.4 Distribution of Languages in the Age Group 41 and Above

Of the respondents aged 41, 33% spoke Local Languages, 50% spoke Kiswahili and 17% of them code switched. This distribution of languages according to age is represented in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Distribution of Languages in the Age Group 41 and Above

Language	Frequency	Proportion (%)
Code Switching	1	17
Local Languages	2	33
Kiswahili	3	50
English	0	0
Total	6	100.0

The languages commonly use by those aged above 41 was predominantly the Local Languages and Kiswahili. An important observation made was that in this age group English was not used. This contrasts with the age group between 21-40 who used English but the Local Languages were not used at all. It is evident therefore, that those aged above 41 are not status conscious but are interested in carrying out a transaction efficiently in whichever code.

5.1.3 Sex

Sex of the speaker is as important as age among the Africans in the choice of codes in Maasai Market. For instance, we have noted above that the buyers aged

between 21-40 were perceived as more status conscious since they were the working classes than the aged (above 40s). However, it was also noted that the sex of the speaker was also vital in code selection among the Africans. In the data, it was observed that the females were 36 in number and this constitutes 78% of the whole population of the Africans. They used language more carefully or rather grammatically than the men who were 10 in number and thus constitutes 22% of the total population of the Africans. The sellers pointed out that they were more "careful" in the choice of the language they used to address the women than the men. For instance, one of the respondents stated that for women you "simply look at them; their dressing and know you need to open a transaction in English". This means that when addressed in any other code they may not respond to the seller at all because they feel their status is not acknowledged. Males on the other hand would often, be addressed in Kiswahili or CS. This is because they were not status conscious and are not very careful on the way they used language.

Figure 4: Distribution of Respondents According to Sex
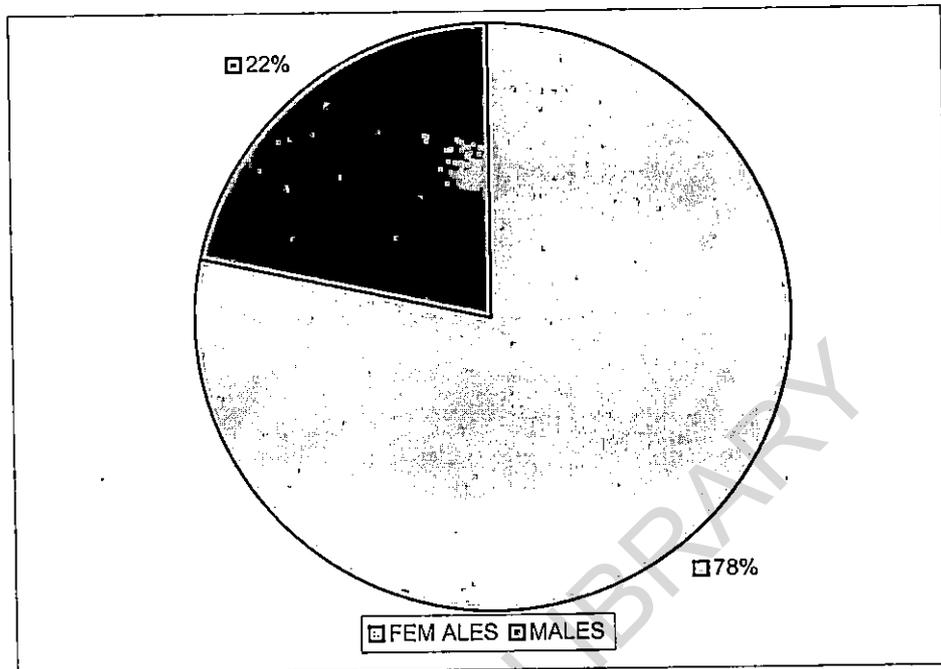
Table 6: Distribution of Females According to Languages Spoken

Language	Frequency	Proportion (%)
English	12	33
Kiswahili	7	19
Local Languages	2	6
C S	11	31
Sheng	4	11
Total	36	100

From table 6, it can be observed that women mostly opened transactions in

English hence probably the reason why the vendors claimed that they are more

status conscious. CS was the second most used language because it would give the women a chance to negotiate for a price that favors them since their status is already acknowledged as can be reflected by the higher percentage (33%) use of English as compared to CS (31%).

Table 7: Distribution of Males According to Languages Spoken

Language	Frequency	Proportion (%)
CS	5	50
Kiswahili	3	30
Sheng	2	20
Total	10	100.0

Males on the other hand basically used CS as seen on table 7 hence the reason why they are considered not status conscious as compared to women.

From the statistics on table 6 and 7 it can be observed that women typically used English in the transactions while men used CS. This was so because women tend to be more status conscious than men. CS and Kiswahili are more used by men than women as well. This can be given the same explanation, in that women as represented in table 6, with an effort to conclude a sale and at the same time maintain their status used CS. Men on the other hand code switched to facilitate or make communication easy and efficient.

5.1 ADVANTAGES OF USING DIFFERENT CODES IN MAASAI MARKET AND THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CODES

When individuals are challenged in a language game by their interlocutors they use language in a jocular manner often accompanied by banter (Parkin, 1974). Parkin further points out that when people use different languages they do so for a reason. Each language has a specific function that it serves in a particular situation and therefore, different languages serve different purposes. In his studies, Parkin observes that market place transactions are very useful from the analytical viewpoint because they are transactional or contractual (Parkin, 1974:193). That is to say, the transactional aspects of speech are thrown more clearly into relief because language is an important tool and symbol in the haggling, which accompanies economic transaction. However, all the languages that are used in these transactions have specific functions and advantages in those economic transactions. This section will thus embark on the advantages of CS and the social significance of the languages involved.

In the following sections advantages of CS and the social significance of different codes will be presented.

5.2.1 Advantages of Using Different Codes in Maasai Market

The codes used in the market were all aimed at achieving a certain goal namely maximizing profit. CS was used mostly during haggling and when the social status of the buyers was well defined as observed in the variables above. CS gives

the sellers a higher bargaining power in terms of language use because they were not limited to only one code that they may not be very competent in. They thus used all the linguistic resources available to ensure communication is done effectively and efficiently. Therefore, CS helped settle on a price and in turn conclude a sale. The use of CS ensured that all the languages known to the interlocutors were used to negotiate a price. The buyers would negotiate for a price that best suits them. The vendors also used CS to recognise and acknowledge the status of the buyers especially women. Women were considered status conscious and vendors used CS to make sure they do not lose any potential client especially women.

Kiswahili created a friendly atmosphere especially between the Africans because it connotes "brotherhood" or "solidarity". Kiswahili would thus bridge the gap of whichever type of differences that may exist among interlocutors, for example, age, sex or ethnic differences. It was observed that even though females aged between 21-40 may wish to communicate in English, they did not take offence when addressed in Kiswahili. Kiswahili thus made Africans view each other more favorably. Through the use of Kiswahili Africans also got fairer prices than the Europeans. For instance, we noted in Chapter 4 section 4.2.1.3 that if there were a mixed audience in a single transaction Africans would be addressed in Kiswahili. In this case the seller was able to retain the buyer and the buyer would also negotiate for a much fairer price.

The use of English was aimed at maximizing profit among the sellers. The foreigners would therefore, be addressed in English to conclude a sale. However, in instances where the buyers were not competent at all in English language, vendors would modify their English through use of symbolism or complement it through writing down figures. English was therefore, a necessity when the interlocutors were foreigners.

Sheng was aimed at achieving very unique roles among the teenagers. They used Sheng to assert their identity and for mutual exclusiveness. However, in this market they also aimed at challenging the sellers and if they perceived a seller as having a good command of Sheng they would be attracted to them for at least a "chat" if they were not interested in buying. It was also observed that the sellers who had items that would be of interest to the teenagers had to learn Sheng either for communication purposes, which in turn would lead to monetary gain, or to approve the status of the teenagers. For example, during the study, it was notable that the sellers would draw the attention of the teenagers by inviting them for a chat in Sheng.

Lastly, the Local Languages were seen to denote " ethnic brotherhood" that is, help to perceive one another as members of the same ethnic group. This made the interlocutors reduce the dissimilarities between them and thus develop some sense

of "closeness". The seller would thus define new role relationships that would induce him to slash the cost of the commodity. The buyer on the other hand would be obliged to buy from the "brother" than from "a stranger". It is important to note that the prices varied greatly in this market but if interlocutors shared a common Local Language the buyers preferred buying from "their own" than from someone else who sold at a lower price but from a different ethnic group. The sellers used the Local Languages among themselves when they wanted to confirm the cost of the commodities and discuss the amount they could discount for a buyer so that they cannot incur losses. They also used Local Languages in transactions that involved mixed audience (e.g. Africans and Europeans) to ensure they do not lose any potential clients. The Local Languages therefore, bargained for a sale to those who shared an ethnic background.

5.2.2 Social Significance of the Different Codes

There are four codes used in Maasai Market, these include: English, Kiswahili, Local Languages and "Sheng". In the Kenyan situation Kiswahili is the national language, English is the official language and the Local Languages are used to denote ethnicity (social group distinctiveness). It is important to note that a Local Language is not a language but any of the many Kenyan indigenous languages for example, Kikuyu, Kikamba, Luhya, Dholuo among others that is used in a particular interaction. Local Languages are used where individuals share a common ethnic background. Sheng is used by young people for mutual

exclusiveness. Language use in any setting expresses social life and therefore, it is important to identify the role of each code in a market situation as discussed below.

5.2.2.1 English

In Kenya, English is the official language and as such has a higher status than all the other languages. It is therefore, used as a medium of instruction in schools, it is the language of most written works and because of its international status it has dominated all the other languages in terms of its status. As a language of education, it is a symbol of power and position. It is linked also with colonialism and this adds its authoritative symbolism.

In the market setting, English was seen to serve specific functions as well. It was the language of high status. For instance, when the informants were interviewed they pointed out that they often open a transaction in English if the client is perceived as a working class, in college or university. They gave an age bracket of between 21 – 40 years, above that, they are not very conscious of their status. English is also used as the unmarked code with the foreigners mostly the Europeans. This is because English is perceived in this market as an international language.

5.2.2.2 *Kiswahili*

Kiswahili is the national language and as such a lingua franca in Kenya. It is therefore, used for achieving unity and integration at national level (Parkin, 1974). It stands for national brotherhood. Kiswahili is the unmarked code which does not signal socio-economic status and is a transactional language in multi-ethnic encounters (see Parkin, 1974; Scotton, 1983). Whiteley (1974) further points out that Kiswahili denotes brotherhood in Kenya and imparts a sense of national identity and pride. In our data, Kiswahili is the unmarked code among the Africans both buyers and sellers. It is seen to complement English in the market situation. That is, even though the sellers opened a transaction in English in most conversations they often switched to Kiswahili especially when the buyers were Africans or when the transaction involved a mixed audience. From the data it was also observed that in such an audience the vendors often used Kiswahili to show the African buyers that "we are brothers" and hence will obtain a good price. It was also observed that they often used the language to convince the buyers to "hold on" until the on going transaction is completed in English and they switch to the "home language". Kiswahili in the market is therefore, seen as a language of wider communication and socialization.

5.2.2.3 *Local Languages*

Muthwii (2000,20(4)) points out that in Kenya, none of the forty ethnic languages feature prominently at the national level but each one is important to individuals

and communities at the interpersonal and interactional levels of communication as a marker of particular ethnic identity. Local Languages therefore, denote ethnic group membership and are very useful in enhancing relationships within an ethnic group hence they promote solidarity. In the study, it was observed that buyers often used the Local Languages for the same purposes, to enhance ethnic identity and in turn get a fairer price for the commodity. For example, it was observed that when buyers overheard the sellers speak in a Local Language that they understood, they would switch to the Local Language even though they are not very competent in that language but can at least utter a few words. This was done in an effort to be integrated as a "brother" and in turn demand for a fairer price.

5.2.2.4 Sheng

Sheng is a language system that has evolved in Nairobi among the youth. It is a mixture of English, Kiswahili and Local Languages. Echessa (1990) argues that Sheng for many Nairobi youngsters is a necessity both linguistically and as a form of social identity. The youth need to assert their independence and also to feel that they belong to a group by being in a close-knit unit of linguistic solidarity. The speakers of Sheng usually come from different mother-tongue backgrounds, but they do share the national language-Kiswahili and the official language-English (Echessa, 1990:14). Sheng does not, as its main purpose, serve a communicative need as the speakers have Kiswahili and English as a common language, but serves a social need as its main purpose (Bitutu, 1991). This means that the

purpose of Sheng is basically that of social identification more than that of communication. The words in Sheng are not created out of a single language, but from a combination of recognizable components from different languages. In the market the teenagers used Sheng for mutual exclusiveness. The sellers on the other hand used Sheng to assert the teenagers identity and this would in turn encourage the teenagers to buy the goods.

5.3 ROLES OF CODE SWITCHING

An important observation made during the research is that, CS is so natural such that respondents were not aware of it. To them they believed the languages they used were English and Kiswahili to carry out transactions and that Local Languages were not used at all. However, rarely was any transaction carried out in a single code. CS was so common though the respondents were not aware of it. CS gives both the buyers and the sellers a high bargaining power that in turn concludes a price that is fair between them. CS helps the sellers to acknowledge the status of the buyers especially women. Through the use of CS the sellers explore all the linguistic resources available to them to ensure they do not lose the clients who are women because in this market, women are considered to be status conscious. Haggling was also done through CS because it gave the interlocutors a high bargaining power since they have a large linguistic resource to conclude a sale and in turn maximize profit.

It was also observed that two Local Languages are used in Maasai Market: Kikuyu and Kikamba. This is because the dominant traders in this market come from the two communities: Kikuyu and Kamba. The items sold in the market do not necessarily come from these two communities. For instance, many goods in the market are associated with the Maasai. It was noted that all the sellers in this market therefore, knew a little Kikuyu or Kikamba even those who are not native speakers of the languages such as, the Maasai, Meru, Kisii, Tanzanians, Luhya and Luo among others.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was designed to investigate Code Switching in a market situation in a multilingual urban setting, in Nairobi, Kenya. The objectives of the study were to identify the different codes used in business transactions in the market; to describe the normative and motivational factors that influence the choice of the codes; to investigate the advantages of using different codes; to find out whether Code Switching promotes or hinders trade and finally discuss the influence of variables of sex, age and race in code selection.

The researcher tape-recorded spontaneous speech from the informants in the Maasai Market through the social networks of the vendors. The tape-recorded data was then transcribed on paper. Using two theories viz: Speech Accommodation Theory and the Markedness Model, the issues of the language use in Maasai Market were examined. Five motivations for Code Switching were observed. Namely: speech convergence, speech divergence, the unmarked choice, the marked choice and the exploratory choice.

Speakers converge when they desire social integration and approval (Giles, 1979). The motivation for adjusting speech to be similar to that of the interlocutors was a

way in which the speakers increased their attraction to the listeners. Convergence was used to maximize profit and break cultural barriers that may exist between the interlocutors. Bourhis and Giles (1977) pointed out that speakers may use divergence because they personally dislike their interlocutors or because they wish to assert their identity. However, this is not the case in our findings. The sellers diverged not because they disliked their clients or they necessarily wanted to assert their identity but because they aimed at making profit and to avoid losing a sale especially when a transaction involved a multiple audience, for example, Africans and Europeans. The unmarked choice represented the most expected code in any given interaction depending on the defined societal norms for such an interaction. The use of the marked choice dis-identified with the expected code choice and called for the redefinition of the existing rights-and-obligation sets that the societal norms dictate for a particular interaction. In cases where the salient statuses of the speakers were not known or where there were vaguely defined role relationships, the exploratory choice was used.

There were four languages used in the market; they include, English, Kiswahili, Sheng and Local Languages. English was perceived as a high status language hence the language of the elite and mostly used to address the Europeans. Kiswahili denotes neutrality, solidarity and brotherhood hence used to address the Africans. Sheng is a language of the teenagers and thus used to assert identity and for mutual exclusiveness. The Local Languages denote ethnicity.

In this study, it was observed that Code Switching is very common in the market. The choice of codes was not necessarily conscious but represented alternative ways of speaking arising from recurring situations, for instance, when the interlocutors were a mixed audience in terms of age, sex or race. Therefore, Code Switching became the only available alternative to accommodate all the interlocutors.

In a market situation the driving force of Code Switching is to make profit. It gives the interlocutors a high bargaining power because they have all the languages available to them and choose from them to conclude a sale. It was observed that the profit motive drive the sellers to code switch so as to maximize profit. The buyers on the other hand code switched to bargain for a price that best suit them. In Maasai Market therefore, speakers engage in a series of switching as the situation demands especially during haggling, thus knowledge/competence in more than one language is crucial in business transactions because Code Switching promotes trade.

The use of different codes among the speakers is viewed as strategies where speakers negotiate their social identities and obligation sets with each other. Speakers are therefore, motivated to switch between codes to negotiate their social identities and define new right-and-obligation sets other than those defined by the societal norms (Scotton, 1993). This was found to be true in the data where

speakers switched to particular codes when they wished to achieve integration, approval and be perceived favorably.

There were three variables that were studied: sex, age and race of the respondents. The results indicated that these variables influenced the choice of codes in different ways. When the buyers were Africans the vendors would mostly open transactions in Kiswahili, if a European they would use English. If the buyer was a female, the vendors would mostly open transactions in English or code switch between languages to take care of the buyer's status and identity. Men were mainly addressed in Kiswahili or Code Switching. Men are considered not very cautious in the way they use language. Teenagers were basically addressed in Sheng for accommodation and integration on the on-going transaction, while those aged between 21-40 were addressed through Code Switching. Those aged 41 and above were mostly addressed in Kiswahili and Local Languages. These variables prompted the vendors to use language creatively and to ensure they gain in monetary terms as well as carry out a transaction efficiently and effectively.

There were no instances in the study, where speakers switched because they wished to distance themselves from their interlocutors or because they disliked them, or wished to show them disapproval as claimed by the Social Identity theory of SAT. Divergence was aimed at negotiating the prices especially where there were mixed audience involving Africans and Europeans. Buyers from the

two races were given the same commodity at different rates hence the need to diverge so as not to lose any of the clients.

Code Switching is very important in Maasai Market because the interlocutors explore all the linguistic items at their disposal to conclude a sale. Through Code Switching the sellers can bargain for themselves the fairest price that will enable them make some profit and at the same time the buyers can negotiate for the price that favors them unlike when interlocutors are competent in only one language. Code Switching therefore, deserves more respect than contempt.

6.2   RECOMMENDATIONS

1.   In the transactions observed in our study, a regular pattern was identified to be occurring especially during haggling. There was back and forth switching. It would be of interest to study these patterns especially among different races, for example, Indians, Japanese and Africans. Such a study would be useful to business people because it would show when switching is necessary to conclude a sale. It would also be useful to sociolinguists because it would yield data that explains when switching mostly occurs in business transactions and why it occurs in such a regular pattern.

2.   This study was drawn from an African setting. A study from a different setting that is not African would probably yield different results. This would show whether the use of Code Switching in business transactions in

areas with people from different cultural backgrounds or races, especially in multilingual societies is universal or whether it is unique to particular settings.

3.   Our study examined three social (extra linguistic) variables: age, sex and race. A research that incorporates other extra linguistic variables such as education and other characteristics of the social network groups of the respondents would be informative. There are also linguistic variables such as phonological, lexical and semantic variables. A study on any of these variables would probably provide new insights on Code Switching.

4.   The present study was drawn from an urban setting. A rural based study on Code Switching would yield different results. For instance, in the rural areas, English would hardly be used because such speakers would not be viewed favorably in a rural setting and for this reason, it is possible that Code Switching would involve Kiswahili and Local Languages. It would therefore, be interesting to observe back and forth switches between two languages.

5.   A broad based study that incorporates more than one theory would give a wider knowledge of Code Switching. The current study used Speech Accommodation Theory and the Markedness Models, which give only the

normative and motivational factors in Code Switching. More theories would yield interesting findings on Code Switching because it would incorporate the normative and motivational factors and also introduce other factors that influence Code Switching, such as the social structural factors and functional factors.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: DATA

Similarity Attraction/Social Exchange

1. A transaction between an African lady about 30 years old purchasing carvings   and a Kikuyu seller.

T	1	B:	How much are you selling these? [Pointing at the carvings]
	2	S:	Four hundred shillings
	3	B:	I have three hundred.
	4	S:	*Ongeza tu* (Add only) fifty.
	5	B:	*Hapana.* (No)
	6	S:	That is your last?
	7	B:	Yes because when I come back *sitaki moja.* (I do not want one)
	8	S:	*Aya basi, najua ukipata* order *utaniletea.* (All right then, I know if you get an order you will bring to me)

2. A transaction between an African lady aged about 25 years purchasing jewels and a Luo seller.

T	1	B:	*Hii ni rangi gani?* (What colour is this?) [Pointing at the jewels]
	2	S:	*Hiyo inakaa kama* colourless *hivi.* (That one looks like colourless)
	3	B:	*Nataka* (I want) cream white.
	4	S:	*Hapana, niko tu na hizo.* (No, I only have those)
	5	B:	*Unauza aje?* (How much are you selling)
	6	S:	*Hiyo ni one fifty.* (That one is one fifty) *inadepend na* stone *madam.* (It depends on the stone madam)
	7	B:	[Over hears the seller speak Kikuyu] *Ati ciigana* (But how much)
	8	S:	*Iigana ria fifty. Korenda kuruta ciigana?* (One hundred and fifty. How much do you want to pay?)
	9	B:	*Iigana.* (One hundred)

3. A transaction between an African lady purchasing African attire and a Kamba seller.

T	1	B:	*Hizo* lesso *mnauza aje?* (How much are you selling those lessos'?) [Pointing at the lessos']
	2	S:	*Unataka* double *au* single? (You want double or single?)
	3	B:	*Mimi nataka tu* double. (I want only a double) *Utaniuzia aje?* (How much are you going to sell to me?)
	4	S:	five hundred shillings for the two.
	5	B:	Each two hundred and fifty? *Hapana.* (No)
	6	S:	*Basi lete* (Then bring) four fifty.

	7	B:	[Over hears S speak Kikuyu] *Niugutinangiria?* (Will you cut it for me?)
	8	S:	*Tinangie imwe imwe?* (I cut into one one?)
	9	B:	*Ii.* (Yes)

4. The transaction involves a teenager purchasing batiks and a Kikuyu seller.

T	1	S:	*Sister karibia uone chenye kitakupendeza.* (Sister draw nearer and see what will please you)
	2	B:	[Picking a batik] *Ni ndu ngapi?* (How much money?)
	3	S:	*Blu* (Twenty shillings) only.
	4	B:	[Gives two hundred shillings note]
	5	S:	[Attends to another client and forgets to give B back the change]
	6	B:	*Ujanipatia* change (You have not given me the change)
	7	S:	*Umenipatia ndu ngapi?* (How much money have you given me?
	8	B:	*Umeniambia cost ya hii ni blu na nikakupatia su mbili.* (You have told me the cost for this is twenty shillings and I have given you two hundred shillings) *Kwa hivyo unanigive* one eighty, *unaelewa?* (So you give me one eighty, you understand?
	9	B:	*Pole* madam *kwa hivyo unanidai* one eighty? (Sorry madam so I owe you one eighty?

Social Identity Theory

5. The transaction involves two African women about 40 years, who are speakers of Dholuo purchasing African attire from a Kikuyu seller.

T	1	B:	Madam you have beautiful T-shirts and we hope you will give us a fair price.
	2	S:	Of course I will. Five hundred shillings each.
	3	B:	*Tunataka hata za watoto lakini* (We want also for the children but) your price is big.
	4	S:	*Hata hizo mtapata na bei mzuri* .(Even those ones you will get and good price) [S realizes that she does not have enough stock at the moment hence addresses S2 in Kikuyu so that the clients cannot go away] [To S2] *X thie store uke na* T-shirt *ingi.* (X go to the store and bring more T-shirts)
	5	S2:	[To S] *Urenda ta ciigana?* (You want about how many?
	6	S:	*Rehe ta ikumi.* (Bring about ten)
	7	B:	*Utauza zote aje* in total? How much are you going to sell them in total?
	8	S:	*Lipa zote* (Pay all of them) eleven fifty.
	9	B:	*Hapana chukua* (No take) ten thousand.

| | 10 | S: | *Mngeongeza lakini* (You would have added but) it's okay. |

6. The transaction involves a European lady aged about 50 years interested in purchasing jewels and a Kikuyu seller.

T	1	S:	What do you like here I sell to you. [Pointing at the items on the stand]
	2	B:	Lets see what you have.
	3	S:	[Realizes he has a limited variety of the jewels] [To S2] *X tarehe icio, rehe haraka.* (X bring those ones, bring quickly)
		S2:	[Goes to pick the jewels] [To B] This is something new in the market. See it's beautiful. [Gives B a jewel]
	4	B:	No no I don't like this.
	5	S:	[To S2] *X rehe icio kana ugire aaria.* (Bring those ones or you get from there) [Pointing at another seller's stand]. [To B] I will give you a good price for these. [Pointing at a set of bangles]
	6	B:	I want only one.
	7	S:	Okay. Then pay twelve hundred.

7. The transaction involves an African man about 30 years old buying batiks and Kikuyu seller.

T	1	B:	*Nataka map ya Kenya na Africa.* (I want the map of Kenya and Africa)
	2	S:	*Unataka kununua aje?* (How much do you want to buy?)
	3	B:	*Najua unataka kuuza.* (I know you want to sell) *Hii ni biashara nifanyie tu na su.* (This is business give me at a hundred)
	4	S:	[To S2] *Tamaka aroiga igana.* (Imagine he's saying a hundred) [S2 to S] *Asha ndingiendia igana.* (No I cannot sell at a hundred)
	5	B:	*Utaniuzia mia?* (Will you sell to me at a hundred?)
	6	S:	*Hapana, mia haiwezi.* (No, one hundred cannot)

The Unmarked Choice

8. A transaction between a European lady about 50 years old purchasing African attires and a male Luhya seller.

T	1	B:	Am interested in that Maasai blanket. [Pointing at a blanket]
	2	S:	This one? [Pointing at the same blanket]
	3	B:	Yes. How much are you selling it?
	4	S:	Six hundred shillings.
	5	B:	No, my son bought the same here at a cheaper price.
	6	S:	How much?
	7	B:	Four hundred shillings.
	8	S:	I can give you for that price.
	9	B:	Okay, here. [Pays for the blanket]

9. The transaction is between a European couple about 40 years old purchasing antiques and a Kamba vendor.

| T | 1 | S: | Welcome welcome. |

	2	B:	How much for this? [Pointing at an old animal skull]
	3	S:	Two thousand only. I know am not asking you too much.
	4	B:	Okay. Let me think about it.
	5	S:	Okay, I will wait. You think, I know I haven't asked for too much.
	6	B:	You will wait I think.
	7	S:	You think, then you give me a price.

10. The transaction involves a European lady about 40 years purchasing curved glasses and a Kisii seller.

T	1	S:	Madam, do you know how much I am selling this? [Pointing at the glasses] I will give you a good price. Yeah choose.
	2	B:	How much?
	3	S:	For this one is only one thousand.
	4	B:	No [Laughter]
	5	S:	How much do you want to pay?
	6	B:	No [Laughter]
	7	S:	No tell me how much you want to pay and how many you want to buy.
	8	B:	No am buying only one, aaah two hundred.
	9	S:	That is too little mum add a little.
	10	B:	No. I gonna give you two hundred or I leave it.
	11	S:	Add me something. Add something small.
	12	B:	No I leave it.
	13	S:	Okay then. You are not adding anything?
	14	B:	No. [Pays two hundred shillings]
	15	S:	Come buy for us next time.
	16	B:	Okay. Thanks.

Virtuosity Maxim

11. The transaction involves a male client about 25 years old, purchasing carvings from a Meru seller. He speaks French and knows very little English.

T	1	B:	How much this? [Pointing at a curved giraffe]
	2	S:	Six hundred only.
	3	B:	Too high, two hundred.
	4	S:	If two I give five fifty. [Writes five fifty in figures on the buyers palm]
	5	B:	Two hundred.
	6	S:	I have gone down a bit so you also go high like mountain.
	7	B:	[Writes down two hundred and fifty on a piece of paper and gives the vendor] Added last money.
	8	S:	[Writes back 550 in figures]
	9	B:	[Walks away but S beckons him back and accepts the two hundred and fifty shillings]

12. A transaction between a German speaker (a lady) about 30 years interested in buying batiks and a Luhya seller. The client knows very little English.

| T | 1 | B: | I want picture with man standing. |
| | 2 | S: | I give you two thousand eight hundred. |

	3	B:	[Does not understand and gives the vendor pen and paper to write down in figures] No. [She writes five hundred in figures]
	4	S:	Come high madam.
	5	B:	No. [Shows the vendor the figures again]
	6	S:	[Vendor gives up haggling and takes the money]

The Marked Choice

13. The transaction is between a European buyer about 30 years old interested in buying antiques and a Maasai seller.

T	1	B:	How much are you selling this drum?
	2	S:	[Writes the price on a piece of paper and shows B]
	3	B:	You don't have to write, just tell me the price. *Unauza pesa ngapi?* (How much are you selling?)
	4	S:	*Elfu mbili hamsini bei ya kuongea, na wewe, sema yako.* (Two thousand and fifty a negotiable price, and you, give a price)
	5	B:	*Elfu moja.* (One thousand)
	6	S:	*Fanya mzuri kwa hiyo.* (Do well on that) [Meaning to add a little more]
	7	B:	One thousand.

14. The transaction involves a young European lady about 25 years purchasing jewels and a Luhya seller.

T	1	S:	Welcome madam. What would you like?
	2	B:	A necklace and a bangle. How much is this? [Holding a necklace]
	3	S:	One fifty.
	4	B:	I like this it looks beautiful.
	5	S:	It looks like your skin.
	6	B:	[Laughter] Our skin changes from brown to red to white *kabisa.* (Completely) It's a strange skin [Laughter] I like the black skin.
	7	S:	You love the black skin?
	8	B:	Yes I do *kabisa.* (Completely) [She pays two hundred shillings and S gives back the change] *Asante sana.* (Thank you very much)
	9	S:	*Asante.* (Thank you)

15. A transaction between a European couple about 60 years purchasing carvings and a Kamba seller.

T	1	B:	I want to give you five hundred for these. [Pointing at two carvings]
	2	S:	No give me fifteen hundred only.
	3	B:	No that's all I have.
	4	S:	Madam, madam add something small.
	5	B:	No *sina pesa.* (I do not have money)
	6	S:	Me I don't like bargaining. *Ongeza tu kidogo.* (Just add a little)
	7	B:	Then you are in the wrong business. [Laughter] *Utachukua pesa?* (Will you take the money?)
	8	S:	*Niongeze tu kidogo.* (Add me a little)

9   B: *Hapana* (No) no.

Exploratory Choice

16. The transaction is between an African lady about 30 years old and a Kamba carving seller.

T   1   S: Madam look at these. [Showing her a set of giraffes] Am not ignorance as you can see. I will sell for you nicely.

2   B: No I have so many giraffes in my house.

3   S: You know I will not ignore you because you are not a "mzungu". (European) I am not like that I know you can be more better than that "mzungu" for your price, I will give you all the four for two fifty.

4   B: *Hii ndogo hivi?* (This small one like this?)

5   S: *Ngapi ukonayo customer?* (How much do you have customer?) *Mimi sio* ignorance *kama vile wengi wanakuacha kwa vile wewe sio mzungu.* (I am not ignorant like the way many leave you because you are not a European) I am not like that, *niambie bei yako.* (Tell me your price)

6   B: *Niko na* giraffe *nyingi kwa nyumba.* (I have many giraffes in the house.

17. The transaction involves an African lady about 40 years purchasing baskets and a Kikuyu seller.

T   1   B: *Hii unauza aje?* (How much are you selling this) [Picking one basket]

2   S: *Elfu moja.* (One thousand)

3   B: *Elfu moja ni* high *sana.* (One thousand is too high)

4   S: *Tunanunua* high *hivo hata sisi.*(We also buy that high)

5   B: *Lakini sipendi hii rangi lete hiyo ya* purple. (But I do not like this colour bring that purple one) *Ni nzuri lakini hiyo bei yako ni* prohibiting. (They are good but your price is prohibiting)

6   S: *Unataka kulipa ngapi?* (How much do you want to pay)

7   B: Six hundred

8   S: Six hundred *haiwezi.* (Cannot)

9   B: *Wacha tukuongezee mia basi,* please. (Let us add you a hundred shillings then, please)

10   S: *Haiwezi kwa sababu hakuna* profit *napata hapo.* (It cannot because am not getting any profit)

18. The transaction involves an African lady about 30 years old purchasing jewels and a Maasai seller.

T   1   B: *Nataka* chain set *ya* green. (I want a green chain set)

2   S: *Si hii ni* green *hiyo unataka?* (Isn't this the green you want) [Pointing at a green chain set]

3   B: *Nataka zile zina* shine. (I want the ones that shine)

4   S: *Ama unasema zile za* bones. (Or you are saying the bony ones)

5   B: *Hapana sio za* bones. (No not the bone ones)

6	S:	*Sina hizo.* (I do not have those) *Niko na* green *hii tu.* (I have only this green)
7	B:	Okay, they are good but so dull. *Nataka* (I want) the shiny ones.
8	S:	*Si hata hizi ni* shiny *kidogo? Chukua tu.* (Are not even these shiny a little? Just take)
9	B:	*Zenye nataka ni* shiny *sana na huna.* (The ones I have are very shiny and you do not have)
10	S:	*Sawa basi.* (Okay then)

APPENDIX II: UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Guiding Questions During the Main Research

1. Who are:

    a.   The main customers (those who are most expected or the majority)
    b.   Subsidiary customers (those who are frequent but are not so many)
    c.   Occasional customers (those who come from time to time but not regularly)
    d.   Unexpected customers (those you don't expect)

2. Direct questions to seller(s)

    (i) Which language(s) do you use according to the categories

        a.
        b.
        c.
        d.

    (ii) Researchers own observation during some of the transactions with

        a.
        b.-
        c.
        d.

3. Opinion of the vendor if the expected code is changed in the case of

    a.
    b.
    c.
    d.

4. Will trade suffer if unexpected code is used in the case of

    a.
    b.
    c.
    d.

5. Who are your best customers

    Answer using the rank scale 1-5

        a)   Italians
        b)   Africans
        c)   Japanese
        d)   English men
        e)   Other(s)

6. Name the items that sell well

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

7. Of the items above which ones are more frequently bought by (i) men (ii) women

    _____

    _____

_____

_____

_____

8. In what language is therefore more trade transacted?
   Grade using the rank scale 1-5

   Sheng   _____
   Mixed language   _____
   English   _____
   Kiswahili   _____
   Local Languages _____

9. What language(s) (Sheng, English, Kiswahili, Mixed language or Local Languages) do you use with customers aged:

   Below 20 years_____
   Between 21-40_____
   Above 41_____

10. Who buys more?

    Below 20_____
    Between 21-40_____
    Above 41_____

11. Why would you use the languages: Sheng, Mixed language, English, Kiswahili or Local Language(s) within the age bracket(s)

    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____
    _____

12. Which is your first language?
    Kikuyu_____
    Kikamba_____
    Luhya_____
    Other (specify)_____
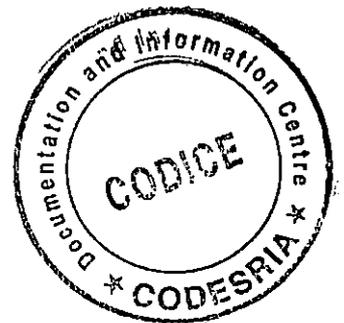
13. Which other Kenyan language is familiar to you other than your first language?