MANIFESTATION OF GENDER PREDISPOSITIONS IN CONVERSATIONAL STYLES AMONG THE LUHYA IN MULEMBE FM RADIO CALL-IN- SHOWS

BY

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to the late Mzee James Maloba Wabulitsa and all those whose vision is to better our lives through the power of knowledge.

ABSTRACT

Differences in conversational styles between men and women usually turn out to disadvantage women. Language perpetuates male dominance and determines the way we view the world around us. It is not clear however; whether men are actually superior to women. The main objective in this study is to establish whether participants on Mulembe FM call-in programmes use different conversational styles in mitigating their face needs and how notions of power and powerlessness tend to manifest as a factor of their socio-cultural background.

A mixed method approach on the case study of Mulembe FM radio station call-in programmes is used to collect and analyse both quantitative and qualitative discourse data. Three theories are adopted for this study: the Community of Practice (CoP), Conversational Analysis (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CoP proponents Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) look at conversational styles in relation to language and gender research, as a move away from reliance on binary oppositions and global statements about the behaviour of all men and women, to more nuanced and mitigated statements about certain groups of men and women in particular circumstances. CA focuses distinctly on the organization and use of language while CDA on the other hand focuses on communicative features that play a role in the production of dominance by one group over another. It views language as a form of social practice that focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk.

The current study reveals that in as much as there are differences in the speech patterns and behaviour of men and women who speak Luhya language, other factors including age, status, economic prowess other than gender can determine the way one speaks on Mulembe FM call-in programmes and in general conversation. It is concluded that men are dominance oriented, more assertive and competitive in their speech while women were found supportive and cooperative but this is dependent on the context. It is recommended that future studies in language and gender must take into account the variety of contexts and other external factors. More studies need to be done in different contexts to examine gender behaviour on the discourse level. Such studies can include informal interactions between husbands and wives, casual conversations among same or cross sex friends, and forth.

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I am deeply indebted to my family whose concern that this study comes to a fruitful conclusion propelled me to do more. I single out my wife Truphena Eshibukule for her insightful contribution on my research topic. I cannot forget my children: Beth, Maureen, Wilson and Trevor James for their constant question: Are we there yet?

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFDB: African Development Bank

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

CCK: Communication Commission of Kenya

FPE: Free Primary Education

KNBS: Kenya Nation Bureau of Standards

FM: Frequency Modulation

BBC: British Broadcasting Cooperation

CoP: Community of Practice

FTA: First Threatening Act

GOK: Government of Kenya

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

MG: Male Guest

MH: Male Host

MR: Member Resources

MP: Member of Parliament

PhD: Doctor of Philosophy

SPSS: Statistical Package for Social Sciences

UNESCO: United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization.

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Community of Practice: A social grouping involved in a common engagement or endeavour.

Discourse: An interaction between people that can be analysed.

Face: The feelings that are protected or abused in a conversation leading to either one being polite or impolite.

Gender: A social distinction

Gender order: the roles and duties assigned to individuals based on their gender.

Honorifics: A title reference that denotes esteem.

Indirectness: A strategy in speech where one avoids being blunt and uses hedges, question tags.

Interruption: A violation of one's turn in speech

Luhya: A group of Bantu speakers mainly found in Western Kenya. There are over 16 dialects in the Luhya language. Luhya also means of the same clan or of the hearth. The sixteen dialects are the Bukusu, Idakho, Isukha, Kabras, Khayo, Kisa, Marachi, Maragoli, Marama, Nyala, Nyole, Samia, Tachoni, Tiriki, Tsotso, and Wanga. They are closely related to the Masaba (or Gisu), whose language is mutually intelligible with Luhya. The Bukusu and the Maragoli are the two largest Luhya tribes. Currently, the Luhyas total to about 6.1m people (KNBS, 2010).

Politeness: Politeness is the ability of the speaker to show respect, discretion, and goodwill.

Power: The ability to control others.

Sex: A biological distinction differentiating men and women. A binary biological division based on maleness and femaleness.

Status: A position held in the societal order of hierarchy.

Stereotype: A false belief held by an individual towards a group or groups of people as a fact yet it is a prejudice.

CHAPTER ONE

Background to the Study

1.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the background, the statement of the problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, justification, assumptions, scope, significance and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

There has been a considerable effort worldwide, in the last decade, to eliminate gender inequalities and emancipate women leading to an increase in participation in all spheres of societal life, a general improvement of their status in terms of education, life expectancy, position on the labour market, political participation and increase in their income rates. However, achieving total gender equality has remained elusive. Eckert (2006) asserts that significant asymmetries in the promotion of human rights, access to resources, decision making, health status and schooling persists worldwide especially in the developing countries. Eckert (2006) identifies the influence of language as the most powerful means of structuring public consciousness. She asserts that the socio-economic consequences of andocentric language (linguistic sexism) are adverse and relegate women. In the 20th century, verbal harassment and abuse on the ground of sex have been increasingly recognized as a form of linguistic discrimination. In response to international protocols (UN 2010, MDG 2000 and UNESCO 2010) many countries are enacting laws banning any form of discrimination.

The Kenyan scenario is not different from the above. According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics census records (KNBS 2009), with a total population of 38.6 million people, of which slightly above 50% are women, it is noted that the Kenya Policy on Gender and Development has failed in its mandate to provide a framework for the state to address gender imbalances and inequalities. Legal literacy among women is low and often results in many women being unaware of their rights, and are expected to abide by customary laws, which often discriminate against them (AfDB, 2007). The introduction of Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003 has created a near gender parity at the lower level in most parts of the country though these gains are lost at the secondary and tertiary levels.

The emergence of vernacular FM radio stations in Kenya was based on a need for culture and heritage continuity, economic reasons and a need to disseminate information to mostly the rural and slum population (Cheruiyot, 2008). FM technology has been hailed as a revolution in both rural and slum urban Kenya that has propelled vernacular radio stations to prominence by being a source of information in languages that the audience can easily identify with (Nderitu 2008). Cheruiyot (2008) asserts that both Kiswahili and English radio stations only appeal to the elite and ruling class urbanites that for decades have used ignorance of foreign languages to lock out the bulk of the population from mainstream socio-economic dispensation. However, this situation has changed with the influx of FM radio stations broadcasting in vernacular languages. Currently, FM radio and the internet are the twin pillars of the digital age and

studies by UNESCO have shown that vernacular languages globally are the real tools of invention and discovery (UNESCO, 2010).

In Kenya there are over 90 FM radio stations, with about 30 offering broadcasts in vernacular languages (CCK, 2005).Vernacular radio stations enjoy overwhelming support from the 42 ethnic communities they serve since they broadcast in languages the listeners can identify with and offer a menu of programmes that relate to their listeners. Many civil societies like the Kenya Human Rights Commission, Transparency International, have used the stations to educate the masses on governance and democracy (Cheruiyot, 2008). However, on a number of occasions these stations have been accused of fanning ethnicity. In 2000, the former President Daniel Moi threatened to ban all vernacular radio stations accusing them of promoting tribal chauvinism, sexist prejudices and undermining national unity (Cheruiyot 2008).

This study is guided by the Community of Practice Approach (CoP) developed by Wenger (1998) and later adopted by Eckert and McConnell – Ginet (1999) in relation to language and gender research. CoP views gender not as a possession or a set of behaviour imposed on an individual but as something enacted or performed. The CoP has been modified to include the construct of media genres where the politeness and impoliteness framework of broadcast vernacular call-in-interview data was analysed.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In response to international protocols (UN 2010, MDG 2000 and UNESCO 2010) many countries are enacting laws banning any form of discrimination. However, it has been difficult to distinguish discrimination on the grounds of sex from discrimination on other grounds, such as social class, race, disability or language (Smith, 2006). Differences in conversational styles between men and women can actually turn out to disadvantage women (Spender, 1980). Globally, language perpetuates male dominance by ignoring, trivializing and sexualizing women (Lakoff, 2004). Language stereotypes abound: women are polite, talkative and gossip while men are dominant, assertive and vulgar (Cameron, 1998).

In Africa, the patriarchal nature of cultures and by extension languages have marginalized women and denied them access to economic empowerment, leadership and governance (Salifu, 2010). It is not clear whether men are actually superior and should therefore domineer over women in the way they use their language. This problem of lack of empirical evidence warrants further research to pin-point whether it is language that causes dominance and subservience or other social factors. This study uses content from live call-in-programmes to analyse the different conversational styles in order to investigate conversational styles in order to investigate gender differences between men and women in terms the language used.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study was to investigate how participants on Mulembe FM use linguistic politeness forms in mitigating their face needs. In order to achieve this main objective, it was necessary for the study to use the following specific objectives:

i.   to establish whether men and women are different with respect to the use of linguistic forms and strategies.

ii. to assess how notions of power and powerlessness are manifested and conceived through the use of different conversational styles.

iii. to ascertain if any relationship exists between the socio-cultural background of an individual and the gendered use of linguistic forms.

1.4 Research Questions

This study is guided by the following research questions:

i.   In which ways do speakers on Mulembe FM use linguistic forms in conversations differently based on their gender, in mitigating politeness?

ii. How are the notions of power and powerlessness created and conceived on Mulembe FM call-in shows?

iii. How are gender differences manifested on Mulembe FM call-in programme in the use of linguistic forms based on socio-cultural backgrounds of the people involved.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The importance of this study is to ascertain whether the language used on the radio station portrays differences along gender lines. Secondly most studies carried out in this area have mainly concentrated on gender as a binary distinction between men and women ignoring other aspects that entail a conversation like the body language and other societal factors. This study intended to question the notion that differences in conversational styles is the same for all groups within a society as claimed by Lakoff (2004). The study tests the belief that there is a universal set of behaviours in which all classes, gender and ethnic groups have equal access to, and to which they all have similar attitudes, they all interpret in similar ways and they perform in similar ways (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Three theories are adopted for this study: the Community of Practice (CoP), Conversational Analysis (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CoP proponents Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) look at conversational styles in relation to language and gender research, as a move away from reliance on binary oppositions and global statements about the behaviour of all men and women, to more nuanced and mitigated statements about certain groups of men and women in particular circumstances. CA focuses distinctly on the organization and use of language (Wetherel et al, 2001). The authors point out that researchers' should look at transcribed data from interviews as social action independent of the motivational and psychological characteristics. CDA on the other hand focuses on communicative features that play a role in the production of dominance by one group over another (Fairclough, 2001). It views language as a form of social

practice that focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk.

What motivated the choice of Mulembe FM radio station was the content on its call-in programme and the spontaneous nature of the live broadcasts that elicit real life contexts that can easily be analysed. One characteristic of live radio programmes is that they do not allow "dead air" or a silence gap and therefore cases of interruption are obvious since the broadcasters must uphold the programmes in an interesting way allowing little pause to occur.

The present discussion pertains to the environment of mass-media in the study of which some insightful advancement have been made, especially in the area of broadcast news interview and radio call-in conversations. However, the potential of radio call-in shows in vernacular languages as the study of conversational techniques and language styles is yet to be explored especially with regard to African languages.

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

1. That listeners and speakers on Mulembe FM call-in shows are competent in Luhya language.
2. That listeners and speakers on Mulembe FM call-in shows understand their roles within the community and culture.
3. That the listeners and speakers of Luhya language on Mulembe FM are oblivious of the existence of a sexist language in their day to day interaction.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Although Luhya language is spoken in most of the former Western province: currently Kakamega, Vihiga, Busia, Bungoma, and parts of Trans Nzoia and Uasin Gishu counties, the study was only confined to broadcasts on Mulembe FM call-in programmes and its listeners.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

This study had the following limitations:

1. The choice of Mulembe FM as the only source of the corpus was not representative enough since Luhya language is spoken by over 5.3 million people in over sixteen different dialects (KNBS, 2009).

2. Realization of politeness cannot only be confined to the use of language forms but also to other socio-economical demographics of the interlocutors.

3. The study was to carry out 150 interviews with respondents of which 75 were to be women and 75 men. However, only managed a total of 103 respondents; 56 men and 47 women were interviewed, which was 69% of the intended original target.

4. One method of sampling was to purposively interview only listeners to Mulembe FM broadcasts. This proved to be delimiting since most of the potential respondents were either too busy to respond to the schedule or expected to be paid before the interview.

5. The patriarchal nature of the inhabitants of Mumias District could also have contributed to women not being enthusiastic about the interview.

They were expected to get permission from their husbands before accenting to be interviewed.

CHAPTER TWO

The Literature Review, Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter a review of literature related to this study is presented. It covers the theoretical grounding of the study; in addition, it explains gender differences in the use of linguistic forms and strategies. Finally, powerful and powerless language and the relationship between language, culture, gender and politeness are discussed.

2.1 Theoretical Foundations in Language, Gender and Politeness

A number of scholars including Lakoff, Cameron and Tannen had already begun to explore the complex ways in which language and sex are linked (Lakoff, 1973). Lakoff's (2004) article "Language and Woman's Place", made an important distinction between language about the sex, and language by the sexes, i.e. differences in the way women and men use language. The investigation and identification of differences between men's and women's conversational styles date back across time. Grey (1998), states that it was in 1970s that comparison between female cooperativeness and male competitiveness in linguistic behaviour was noticed. From the researches, Lakoff (2004), proposed theories on the existence of women's language.

2.1.1 Dominance Approach

The dominance approach (Lakoff 1975, Coates 1989 and Tannen 1990) interprets linguistic differences in women's and men's communicative competence as a reflection of men's power and women's subordination at both personal and institutional levels. The difference approach emphasizes the idea that women and men belong to different culture groups. The linguistic differences are seen as reflecting two distinctive communicative subcultures. The question whether gender or status and power is the motivating force for conversational behaviour has been resolved in favour of status and power in the literature. Most studies (Tannen 1990, Lakoff 1975) claim that in mixed talks men tend to be more dominating than women.

One of the obvious strategies for achieving this goal, as we have seen, is the use of interruptions. Their use is generally explained by the relative power of the participants which derives from their social status. The higher incidence of interruptions, thus, is seen in the relatively high social and economic status of men. Women, on the other hand, are powerless regarding their social position. This is reflected in fewer interruptions in cross-sex conversations. Similarly, as Lakoff (2004), Trudgill (1983) and others have pointed out, low social status is often characterized by passivity and low vitality. This in turn results in the wish to be accepted by the dominating group. Nevertheless, personality differences have to be considered as well. Individual subjects react differently in certain situations. In addition, maleness and femaleness are not discrete categories.

In a study by Appalraju and De Kadt (2002), they compared female and male differential uptake of English and Zulu in different social contexts (e.g. worship,

home) and with different participants (e.g. parents, shopkeeper). The results revealed a relationship between desired social mobility and use of the second language. They found out that it was the male pupils who adopted English in preference to Zulu to a greater extent than their female peers who used it in a wider range of domains and with a wider range of participants. The male pupils' greater use of English was not a matter of superior competence, or better language learning strategies but rather a social leverage.

Using English was a way for these young men to claim and signal their own high status (Appalraju and De Kadt, 2002: 129). Within the patriarchal Zulu system, it is men who are expected to be breadwinners, and many new jobs require English; further, English has high status. Conversely, however, Zulu culture is also valued, and whereas it is the men who perform the important cultural rituals in Zulu, it is the women who in their roles of 'natural child-rearers' are seen as the natural preservers of Zulu culture, of which speaking Zulu plays a substantial part (p: 129).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2005) introduce the term gender order in which they assert that gender is embedded in all institutions, actions, beliefs and desires that go along with the mapping of language use through communication, interaction and establishment of the social order. Language entails the construction and existence of patterns of relations that develop over time through which are defined male and female, masculinity and femininity, while simultaneously structuring and regulating people's relation in society (Shitemi, 2009). A study of language and gender therefore treats language as an instrument

of articulating and reflecting the various gender orders and resultant categories, it also looks at language as what constructs and maintains these categories.

Shitemi (2009) argues that gender discourse has tended to focus on the dichotomy between male domination on the one hand and gender separation and difference on the other as dialogue continued to revolve around overt and covert aspects of gender practice and labelling. She maintains that focus on the difference of separate gender cultures and emergent distinct gendered identities dislodge the dominance and structure of the male privilege downplaying the importance of difference in gender related experience and belief. She insists that gender is fluid, changing and variously maintained in practice.

Tannen (1994) provides much research on the concept of misunderstanding in the dual-culture approach. According to her, the language of women is 'rapport-talk', where establishing connections and promoting sameness is emphasized. Men, on the other hand, use language described as 'report-talk,' as way independence while exhibiting knowledge and skill (Tannen, 1990: p 85). The contrasting views of relationships are apparent: negotiating with a desire for solidarity in women, maintaining status and hierarchical order in men. The frustration that occurs between women and men in conversation can be better understood 'by reference to systematic differences in how women and men tend to signal meaning in conversation (Tannen, 1994: p7). When these meaning signals are misunderstood, communication breakdown occurs.

2.1.2 Politeness, Gender and Community of Practice

Approaches to linguistic politeness research have distinguished between behaviour that is polite and that which is not, drawing from the Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness model. There is still the persistent belief that in some senses politeness is universal: a set of behaviour which all classes, genders and ethnic groups have equal access to, and which they all have similar attitudes towards, which they all interpret in similar ways (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, comprehensive and practicable as it is, has dealt extensively with the face work which covers issues of threats and their mitigation. The notion of 'face' claim that all participants have an interest in maintaining two types of 'faces' positive and negative faces.

According to Yule (1996), politeness may be considered as a fixed concept, more specifically, as polite social behaviour, or etiquette, within a culture. With a more concrete definition to follow, Yule understands politeness as a range of principles expressing politeness in any social interaction which may include being tactful, generous, modest, and sympathetic to others. Urbanova and Oakland (2002) suggest a definition which, compared to Yule (1996), makes the concept clearer. They define politeness as the ability of the speaker to show respect, discretion, and goodwill.

There are two subcategories concerning face according to Yule (1996), negative face suggests giving space to disagreement or refusal, or to be independent, to have freedom of action, and not to be imposed on by others. The exact opposite of negative face is positive face described as the need to be accepted, even liked, by others, [the need] to be treated as a member of group. This is how the

Community of practice comes in since it deals with "others" or a group with a common endeavour.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) have argued strongly that the social meanings associated with particular linguistic variants should be studied in the contexts in which those meanings emerge. Their perspective provides a complementary view to the more "top-down" perspective imposed by traditional social dialectology. There, macro-social categories such as gender, age and class are assigned deterministically to individuals according to objective measures and correlations between linguistic variants and different sub-groups of speakers are identified.

The CoP (Wenger, 1998, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999) posits that feminist linguistics should be concerned less with analysing individual linguistic acts between individual (gendered) speakers than with the analysis of a community based perspective on gender and linguistic performance. Politeness must therefore involve a sense of having different functions and meanings for different groups of people. The crucial dimensions of a community of practice are that it will have `mutual engagement; a joint negotiated enterprise; and a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time', (Wenger, 1998 and Meyerhoff, 1999). Thus, each community will develop a range of linguistic behaviours which function in slightly different ways to other communities of practice. Is what is deemed appropriate linguistic behaviour for a working class white English woman in conversation with a group of her peers not the same as what is deemed appropriate for a middle class Kenyan woman conversing with her peers?

2.1.2.1 Amount of Speech

A large number of studies have investigated the question of gender differences in the amount of speech (Lakoff, 2004, Coates 1986). According to James and Drakish (1993), just between 1951 and 1991, there were already over sixty studies that addressed this issue. The studies vary a great deal as to how amount of talk is measured. It has been measured by the average length of utterance, the average number of words per pause, the total number of turns taken and the mean length of verbalization minus repetitions, the average percentage of word output and the average percentage of time spent in a conversation (Thorne and Henley 1975).

In Western culture, there is a widely held stereotype that women talk too much (Lakoff 2004, Cameron 1997, Spender 1980). However, the bulk of research done in this area actually found that men talked more than women in mixed-sex interaction (Spender 1980, Brown 1980). Still a number of studies found that women produced more speech than men in some circumstances and some studies claimed that there were no significant differences between the sexes in the amount of talk (Tannen, 1998). The amount of speech therefore is determined by the context of the conversation, the formality and the informality that may surround it.

2.1.2.2 Turn Taking and Floor Holding

Turn taking has two central aspects: Frequency and control of contribution. Frequency refers to the amount of turn taking within a conversation while control of contribution refers to the amount of control a person has over what to say and how much to say. Turn taking should ideally follow a no gap, no overlap model

that prescribes that when one speaker stops speaking, the other begins in a predictable manner with no gaps or overlaps. In doing so, the listener interprets a variety of cues from the speaker. Interruptions, overlaps, taking over the floor, floor hogging and silence are some of the violations in turn taking (Coates, 1993).

How turn and floor are defined varies from study to study. Edelsky (1981) defines turn as 'an on-record speaking behind which lies an intention to convey a message that is both referential and functional'. The turn takers intention and sense of what constitutes a turn is important. A turn therefore means 'one at a time' in speech instances. To be counted as a turn, an utterance has to convey both referential and functional messages.

In language and gender literature, males are hypothesized to be more powerful and dominant than females (Lakoff, 2004 Cameron 1997). It is also hypothesized that men tend to exploit this greater power and exercise dominance over women through the control of language of language, such as holding the floor longer (Mills, 2003).

Turn taking is greatly influenced by culture and since culture determines language, different language strategies are used by men and women in conversations depending on their cultural background. A study carried out on politeness and sex differences on BBC Radio 4 Broadcast interviews by Mullany in 1998 gives credence to the present study. Mullany looked at the areas of turn taking, interruptions, simultaneous talk, overlaps, and minimal responses. The interviews studied were classified as political and non-political with a view of looking at them being supportive, facilitative, critical or antagonistic.

On turn taking, it was observed that the system was constrained by the question / answer framework. The interviewer had the main responsibility for the turn taking procedure and the interviewee was expected to answer accordingly. To understand the role of turn taking, it was therefore important that in political interviews, there were no instances of supportive questioning but most were critical in all pairings i.e. female/female (F/F), female/male (F/M) and male/male (M/M). However, antagonistic strategies were mainly evident where the interviewer was male and the interviewee female. It further emerged that the M/M pairings elicited the least positive responses compared to the F/F and F/M groups.

2.1.2.3 Interruptions

Interruptions are generally considered to be "violations of the rules of conversation". According to Sacks', Schegloff's and Jefferson's (eds) (1974), model of the structure of conversation, turns of speech are assigned such that the current speaker has the largest options. It is important that the gap between turns be kept short. This may lead to overlaps at the end of the first speaker's turn and the beginning of the next speaker's turn. By observing the no gap-rule overlaps in conversations are generally considered as facilitating.

Lakoff (2004) distinguishes the relationship between interruptions, overlaps and minimal responses as a gradual one on a scalar dimension. She delineates the three categories along a scale representing five different aspects of turn taking (Lakoff 1975).

1. Outright interruptions

2. Overlaps in which the second speaker takes the floor by default (i.e. based on an ensuing silence of the first speaker)

3. Overlaps that allow for a soft transition between the first and second speaker

4. Overlaps at the end of the first speaker's turns that are supportive and may encourage the speaker to continue

5. Minimal responses during a turn

(Based on Zimmerman and West 1975, p115-116)

Lakoff's hypotheses, however, have both pros and cons. Men's language as put by Lakoff is assertive, adult and direct, while women's language is immature, hyper formal or hyper polite and non-assertive. But such conclusions are questionable, Michaelson and Poll (2001), emphasized on the dynamic nature of speech of men and women by stating that the 'rule of politeness' governing face-to-face conversations seems to be less binding when there is no physical presence.

2.2 Powerful and Powerless Language

Early linguists argued that there was a more or less simple correlation between males and power and females and powerlessness (Lakoff, 1975; Spender, 1980). However, If we consider the notion of the dispersion of power, that is, the spread of power throughout a society, rather than the holding and withholding of power by individuals, we will be able to move towards an analysis which will see language as an arena whereby power may be appropriated, rather than societal roles being clearly mapped out for participants before an interaction takes place. In engaging in an interaction, we are also at the same time setting ourselves for a

position in relation to the power relations within the group and within the society as a whole. It is possible for someone who has been allocated a fairly powerless position institutionally to accrue to themselves, however temporarily, a great deal of interactional power by their verbal action, their confidence, their linguistic directness, as well as through the use of the seemingly more feminine linguistic display of care, concern and sympathy, described as cooperative strategies or rapport talk. (Coates 1998, Tannen 1991).

2.2.1 Assertive and Supportive language

There is a widespread belief that women talk more than men, yet research findings consistently contradict this. Men have been shown to talk more than women in settings as diverse as staff meetings, television panel discussions (Bernard 1972) and husband-and-wife pairs in spontaneous conversation (Soskin and John 1963). Evidence suggests that men and women tend to discuss different topics (Aries and Johnson 1983). For example, men tend to talk about sport, politics and cars, whereas women tend to talk about child-rearing and personal relationships.

It seems women are more ready to let other speakers into the conversation or to allow another speaker to dominate the discussion. They can dwell on one topic for quite some time and discuss personal issues whereas men tend to jump from topic to topic, vying to tell anecdotes about their achievements. They rarely talk about their feelings or their personal problems.

Women send out and look for signs of agreement and link what they say to the speech of others. They are careful to respect each other's turns in speaking and

tend to apologies for talking too much (Cameron 1995). Men compete for dominance, with some men talking a lot more than others. They don't feel the need to link their own contributions to others (Tannen 1994). Instead, they are more likely to ignore what has been said before and to stress their own point of view.

Traditionally, it has been seen as the woman's responsibility to initiate conversations on topics likely to be of interest to men, and to maintain the conversation. Fishman taped daily conversations of three young American couples (fifty-two hours of speech). She found that women asked the vast majority of questions: 263 out of a total of 370. This may reflect women's relative weakness in interactive situations: they exploit questions and answers in order to force a response and keep the conversation going. Women are much more likely to use minimal responses (e.g. 'yeah' or 'mhm',) to signal their active involvement in the conversation and to support the current speaker (Fishman 1980: p199).

2.2.2 Questions and Question tags

Lakoff also claims that women's use of question tags is a part of speech that makes women sound more polite, as it does not force agreement on the hearer (Lakoff 2004: p50). Lakoff also touches on requests, which she also calls polite commands, and how they, like question tags, do not force agreement on the hearer (Lakoff 2004, p50).This way, the hearer will feel more comfortable saying 'no' (Lakoff 2004: p51). This is closely related to Brown and Levinson's theory of avoiding face threatening acts with the use of negative face. Lakoff claims that women use more compound requests than men, women are taught to speak like

ladies and that man is taught how to speak around ladies (Lakoff 2004, Holmes 1993) research into the function of question tags, found women more likely to use facilitative tags and men epistemic modal tags. This increased use, by women, of question tags as positive politeness devices may, as Holmes (1993) points out, be due to the fact that females generally are more 'cooperative, facilitative and 'other-orientated'' (p 131).

Three decades ago, in a review of sex differences in group communication, Baird (1976) noted distinctions between men's and women's communication styles. He summarized his findings: Men are encouraged to be independent, aggressive, problem-oriented and risk-taking, generally are more task-oriented in their interactions, more active and aggressive verbally, and more likely to assume leadership in task-oriented situations. Women are taught to be non-competitive, dependent, empathic, passive, and interpersonally oriented, typically are more willing to self-disclose, more expressive of emotions and perceptive of others' emotional states, and less likely to assume leadership, although capable of providing leadership in certain situations. (p. 192).

One distinction that men are instrumental and women are affiliative, is a prominent thought throughout the literature in the dual cultures perspective. It is often considered a distinctive marker of difference in men's and women's communication. Kramarae, 1981 noted that "the `sex role differentiation hypothesis', that men specialize in instrumental or task behaviours and women specialize in expressive or social activities, has been influential in communication studies of the past twenty-five years" (Kramarae 1981: p 23). In a review of gender and verbal communication in professional settings, She concluded that

much of the research in this domain is guided by the "women-as-affiliative, men-as-instrumental" distinction. Finally, Kramarae (1981) summarized this distinction by suggesting that men use communication to achieve instrumental goals, whereas women use communication to build connections with others.

2.2.3 Indirectness

This is the ability to get one's demands without necessarily expressing them directly. It can be said to be a form of subordination since one does not express himself fully, but indeed it is also a form of power. Powerful people feel that they do not need to give orders, but let people know their preferences and in return accommodate them.

Indirectness has been associated with female speech and therefore seen as a form of subordination in literature. Lakoff (2004) identified two benefits of indirectness as defensiveness and rapport. Defensiveness refers to the speaker's preference 'to beat around the bush' so as to modify the message if it does not meet with a positive response. Rapport results from the pleasant experience of getting one's way (power) not because he demanded it but because the other person wanted the same thing (solidarity).

The claim by researchers (Lakoff, 1975 and Godwin, 1990) that women's language is powerless has been influential due to the fact that women tend to be indirect, and this has been taken as evidence that women do not feel entitled to their demands. This to some extent may be true, though it may also be demonstrated that those entitled to make demands may prefer not to, seeking the option of using rapport, which is a sign of power, rather than lack of.

Indirectness can therefore be said to be a prerogative of both the powerful and the powerless. The powerful use it so as to create solidarity between them and those being addressed. Far from being powerless, the addresser feels so powerful that she/he does not need to give orders but simply states their preference, in this way orders are communicated in indirect and highly polite way. An example by Gleason (1987) says that a father's speech to his young children 'you'll hurt your leg' had a higher incidence and implied indirect imperatives to a mothers 'don't climb that tree'. The use of indirectness can also be understood from a cross-cultural perspective. Tannen (1994) states that many Americans see indirectness as logical and aligned with power, whereas indirectness is associated with dishonesty and subservience as a norm in communication. In Japanese interaction for example, saying 'no' is considered too face threatening to risk.

Indirectness is therefore not a strategy of subordination. The interpretation of a given utterance and likely response to it depends on the setting, individuals' status and their relationships to each other, and on the linguistic conventions that are ritualized in the cultural context. Misunderstanding due to different uses of indirectness is commonplace among members of the same culture (CoP). It is a necessary means of serving the needs of rapport and defensiveness.

2.2.4 Stereotypes

Stereotyping is usually in the negative light since it is an oversimplified conception, opinion and image an individual or individuals have towards a phenomenon. It is acknowledged that women are more concerned about seeking solidarity and agreement, whereas men are more concerned about seeking power

and competition. The assumption here is that women are more polite as compared to men. Politeness is used to express behaviour which actively expresses positive concern for others, linguistic politeness contributes to better understanding and assists people to reach better decisions. Nowadays however, it is thought that women are regarded as subordinate as or less powerful than men (Holmes, 1993). Cultural and individual expectations have however of late changed and it is not strange to find young girls talking loudly, roughly and act like men while young boys acting vice versa.

A variety of explanations for gender differences in language use have been put forward: Some claim that innate biological differences account for sex differentiated rates of language acquisition, as well as for differences in psychological orientation or temperament (Cameron, 1995). Women are more concerned with making connections, they seek involvement and focus on the interdependence between people, men are more concerned with autonomy and detachment, and they seek independence and focus on hierarchical relationships (Trudgill, 1983).

Socialization is also cited as another factor that brings about differences in speech styles. Boys and girls experience different patterns of socialization and this leads to different ways of using and interpreting language (Cameron, 1995). The boys' interaction tends to be more competitive and control oriented, while girls interact more cooperatively and focus on relative closeness.

Power and society is another factor that affects the style of communication. Men's greater social power allows them to define and control situations, and male

norms predominate in interaction (Cameron, 1995). It has also been suggested that those who are powerless must be polite. So in communities where women are powerless, they are likely to be more linguistically polite than men who are in control.

Whether one is female or male is not just a biological fact, it assigns one to a membership of two social groups with many consequences, be they social, economic or political. Women and men, girls and boys are treated systematically in different ways, they have different experiences, they do different things and different things are expected of them.

In looking at Luhya language as presented on Mulembe FM radio Call-in-programmes, this study investigates the relationship between the use of different conversational styles and gender identity, how it reflects social divisions and inequalities are actually created through sexist linguistic behaviour and explore the tension and interplay between language and gender. We investigated the claim that language does not function simply as a mirror of society but that it is strongly implicated in the construction and maintenance of social divisions and inequalities (Graddol and Swann, 1989).

Another concern was to look at language used in the media, especially vernacular radio stations and in particular Mulembe FM, how it shapes people's unreflective habits of speech which project a biased evaluation of women and men and of female and male characteristics and thus come to define the expected social roles of men and women.

Mills (2003: 74) argues that by adopting the CoP approach to studies of gender and conversational styles then: "Individual linguistic acts between individual speakers must be replaced by a community-based perspective on gender and politeness, which must therefore involve a sense of politeness having different functions for different people". Mills therefore argues that Holmes' (1993; 23) definition of 'polite people', i.e. the female speakers in her data, 'does not relate those polite acts to a community which judges the acts and people as polite'. A CoP approach would avoid these kinds of problems.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) proceed to point out that gender is also 'produced and reproduced in different forms of participation' in particular communities of practice and this is crucially linked to the place of such groups in wider society. They believe that the CoP approach enables researchers to focus on 'people's active engagement in the reproduction of or the resistance to gender arrangements in their communities' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

2.3 Culture, Language and Gender

The notion of a community of practice is important for thinking about the way that individuals develop a sense of their own gendered identity; because it is clear that individuals belong to a wide range of different communities with different norms, and have different positions within these groups (both dominant and peripheral). Thus, rather than describing a single gendered identity which correlates with one's biological sex, it is possible within this model to analyse a range of gendered identities which are activated and used strategically within particular communities of practice.

This model of gender makes it more difficult to make global abstract statements about women's or men's language; however, it does allow for variations within the categories `men' and `women' and allows for the possibility of contestation and change, whilst also acknowledging the force of stereotyping and linguistic community norms.

It may also be the case that certain activities within those communities of practice might be coded or recognized as stereotypically masculine or feminine and thus certain types of linguistic activity may be considered by males and females as appropriate or inappropriate within interaction and sanctioned by the group as a whole.

Ige and De Kadt (2002), in a study done among Zulu students joining university, draw on the notion of identity, in this case the notions of 'traditional' and 'Western' identity, as well as of masculinity and femininity. Using both group discussions and role plays performed by six female and six male students, together with a few post-role-play interviews, Ige and De Kadt's rich and interesting data (verbal and non-verbal) suggest that female and male Zulu speakers of English do indeed perform the speech act of apologizing rather differently from each other. However, the authors go further: their data also demonstrate that as well as inter-group differences between the women and the men there also appear to be intra-group differences (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999).

Among their small group of male respondents Ige and De Kadt identify 'R(igid)-men' and 'F(lexible)'-men. 'R(igid)-men' aim to uncompromisingly maintain

what they see as a positive, traditional Zulu identity: they focus on politeness in relation to how women should behave to men, 'face' thus being related to social grouping. 'F(lexible)- men', on the other hand, are Zulu speakers whose sense of masculinity includes being able to accommodate more to changes brought by modernity and urbanization than does the masculine identity of their R-men peers. In another respect, too, Ige and De Kadt go beyond the traditional 'gender differences' paradigm.

In a study by Musungu and Joseph (2009) on the use of etiquette vocabulary among boys and girls in English discourse in Kenyan Secondary schools a case study of Kakamega District found that various polite forms were taught and effectively used. However, other aspects such as turn taking and negating were rarely used. They argue that there were significant differences between boys and girls in the usage of polite forms; that girls were more polite than boys.

The CoP is therefore considered appropriate since it embraces both the linguistic utterances and the context in which they are occurring. It is only individuals interacting within the community of practice who will be able to assess whether a particular act is polite or impolite (Mullany, 2003).

An important element in the assessment of politeness is the judging whether an utterance is appropriate or not, either in relation to the perceived norms of the situation, the CoP or the perceived norms of the society as a whole. These individual norms of course cannot be arrived at except through a particular CoP and the wider social norms held within that society that the community will take a position in relation to.

Participants in a community practice collaborate in placing themselves as a group in respect to the world around them. This includes the interpretation of other communities and their own practice with respect to those communities and ultimately with the development of a style – including linguistic style that embodies those interpretations. This is expected that participants on the Mulembe FM are a CoP that have developed a linguistic style to which their interpretation is based on their membership status.

2.3.1 Language and Culture

Gender is just one of many socio-cultural factors influencing linguistic behaviour, and should not be analysed in isolation from other non-linguistic variables. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1998) further proposed to think about language, gender and their interaction as "living social practices in local communities", and to abandon "assumptions that gender can be isolated from other aspects of social identity and relations, that it means the same across communities, and that the linguistic manifestations of that meaning are also the same across communities" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992:2). Any single linguistic feature (such as interruption) may carry different social meanings across culture or even within the same culture. If we "essentialize" Mendoza-Denton (1995) or "universalize" Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) all women into one group and all men into another while ignoring their other social identity (such as ethnicity), it is highly possible that we may mechanically link one linguistic feature to a certain group such as, interruption and dominance to male.

Joel Sherzer (1987) has suggested one useful overarching generalization: that in any community the normal linguistic behaviour of women and men will be

represented in ways congruent with the community's more general representation of the essential natures of the two groups. If women are said to be "naturally" modest, for example, their speech will be represented as expressing that modesty - community members may explain that "women don't like to speak in public," for instance. In observed reality, there may be little evidence for this generalization, or the evidence may be contradictory. Or it may be that women do indeed behave "modestly," precisely because the representation of women as modest has the force of a norm, which is enforced in various ways (e.g. denying women the opportunity to practice speaking in public, or sanctioning individual women who are insufficiently reticent).

Sherzer (1987) also points out, while the assumption that women's language proceeds from women's nature is culturally very widespread, there is considerable cross-cultural variation in precisely what "women's nature," and therefore women's language, is taken to consist of. Jespersen thought women more "refined" than men, and claimed that this was reflected in women's instinctive avoidance of crude, vulgar, and abusive language.

In the Papua New Guinea village of Gapun, however, a distinctive genre of speech called a Krosin Tok-Pisin, which is a tirade of obscene verbal abuse delivered in monologue, is represented by villagers as a primarily female genre (Kulick, 1993). Women in this community are not regarded as more reticent, delicate, or verbally cooperative than men. Among the Malagasy of Madagascar, a highly valued traditional style of speech known as Kabary, which is characterized by a high degree of indirectness, is associated with men, on the grounds that women are by nature direct speakers (Keenan, 1974).

Kitetu and Sunderland (2008) in a study done in Kenyan schools on "Gendered Discourses in the Classrooms: The importance of Cultural Diversity" assert that there is open and acknowledged sex discrimination but this is seen as something positive, part of what forms the core of society, and that most Kenyans are not willing or ready to let go of. They further contend that most Kenyans view gender differentiation as a normal, unproblematic, natural and therefore all right. They further say that gender stereotyping has been seen as having the potential to disadvantage women and girls as learners. They state that gender difference may indeed be a warning flag for inequity, automatic suspicion for such difference may run counter to the deeply held beliefs of cultures in which discourse of equal opportunities is an unfamiliar one. They add that in some sociolinguistic contexts, gender differences are celebrated and enjoyed by both men and women.

2.3.2 Gender and Status

Sex and gender serve a useful analytic purpose in contrasting a set of biological facts with a set of cultural facts. Gender designates a set of categories to which we can give the same label cross linguistically or cross culturally because they have some connection to sex differences. The distinction between sex and gender attempts to counter views which attribute differences and inequalities between women and men. Often implicit in such distinctions is the idea that what is socially constructed (gender) can be more easily transformed than what is biological (sex).

An increasing number of feminists argue that sex/gender models are problematic; both in their conception of gender and in their assumptions about sex (Cameron,

1998: 37). To say that "gender" refers "to the social, cultural, psychological constructs that are imposed upon these biological differences" implies that there are two genders, based upon two sexes. This dichotomous picture of gender is problematic because it overstates similarity within each of the categories so designated, and understates similarities across these categories.

Gender ought not to be conceived merely as the cultural inscription of meaning on a pre-given sex. Gender must also designate the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established. As a result, gender is not to culture as sex is to nature; gender is also the cultural means by which "sexed nature" or "a natural sex" is produced and established as "pre-discursive" prior to culture, a politically neutral surface on which culture acts.

Instead of asking "what are the gender differences?" this approach (post-structuralism or deconstructive feminism) leads one to ask "what difference does gender make?" and "how did gender come to make a difference?" To argue that differences found in people's behaviour, including their speech behaviour, can simply be explained by invoking gender is to fail to question how gender is constructed. Instead, one needs to ask how and why gender differences are being constructed in that way, or what notion of gender is being normalized in such behaviour. This approach, then, proposes that where people's behaviour does not conform to dominant norms of masculinity or femininity, it is rendered unintelligible or incoherent: certain people or certain behaviours may not be recognized as legitimately human.

2.3.3 Honorifics

The most common honorifics in modern English are usually placed immediately before a person's name. Honorifics which can be used (both as style and as form of address) include, in the case of a male, "Mr" (irrespective of marital status), and in the case of a female the honorific will depend on her marital status: if the female is "single" it is "Miss, if she is married it is "Mrs", and if her marital status is unknown, or it is not desired to specify it, "Ms."

Other honorifics may denote the honoured person's occupation, for instance "Doctor", "Captain", "Coach", Officer, "Reverend" for all clergy and/or "Father" (for a Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, or Anglican Christian priest), or "Professor". Holders of an academic doctrinaire, such as PhD are sometimes addressed as "Doctor" (abbreviated Dr). "Master" as a prefix ahead of the name of boys and young men up to about 16 years of age is less common than it used to be, but is still used by older people addressing the young in formal situations and correspondence.

Salifu (2010), in a study done among the Dagomba language speakers of Ghana, on politeness, power and solidarity through address terms, he found out that addressing a person with an appropriate address term that befits their age and status defined the relationship between the speaker and hearer. He further argues that concerns for face and the need to build and maintain valued social relations including power and solidarity in face to face interactions compelled the Dagomba to use culturally valued linguistic elements.

In a study carried out in Nairobi on Politeness Phenomena: A case Study of Kiswahili Honorifics, Habwe (2010) says that honorifics complement other politeness strategies, they are used in both formal and informal encounters. He claims that honorifics are used to express face saving ideals in Kiswahili language and are both of social and individual appeal. There is therefore a strong suggestion for social life and communal based politeness as opposed to individual politeness in Kiswahili.

Habwe (2010) categorizes honorifics into age, familial, occupational and homily. Age honorifics are defined against the backdrop of age differences and relationship: he gives examples of *kaka* (elder brother), *dada* (sister), *baba* (father), *mama* (mother) and *ndugu* (brother), familial are closely related to age honorifics only that they extend to include the extended family. Occupational honorifics relate to occupational hierarchical order and societal positions. They include religious (*askofu-* Bishop), academic (Lecturer-*Mhadhiri*) and political titles (*Mheheshiwa-* Honourable). However, he says that honorifics that refer to low paying jobs are rarely used to save face e.g. (*Mpishi*, cook). Homily honorifics refer to the dead e.g. *hayati* or *marehemu* (the late). Habwe argues that honorifics are very important as a social requirement in Kiswahili and lack of use often leads to reprimands.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

Language is part of society; linguistic phenomena are social phenomena. People use language in ways which are subject to social conventions. The idea in the

concept is that gender forms the core in the usage of language and it will either produce polite or impolite responses depending on the form of language used.

The Community of Practice (CoP) approach by Wenger (1998) and adopted by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) in relation to language and gender research, is a move away from reliance on binary oppositions and global statements about the behaviour of all men and women, to more nuanced and mitigated statements about certain groups of women or men in particular circumstances that negotiate between certain parameters of permissible or socially sanctioned behaviour Eckert and McConnell- Ginet (1999, P 365) Eckert and McConnell-Ginet in Kira (eds) 1992, define Community of Practice partly as:

> *Ways of doing, ways of talking, beliefs, values and power-relations- in short, practices emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor. P8.*

The process of becoming a member of CoP involves learning just like apprenticeship does; we learn to perform appropriately in a CoP as befits our membership status which involves the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) argue that social identities, including gendered identities, arise primarily from articulating memberships in different CoPs. Lave and Wenger (1998) introduced the notion in their work on learning as an on-going and thoroughly social process, and Wenger (1998) further develops the analytic framework. Gender is a global social category that cuts across communities of practice, but much of the real substance of gendered experience arises as people participate in the endeavours of the local communities of practice to which they belong. Meyerhoff (2001) details the implications of the

CoP framework more generally for the study of language variation and change, comparing the CoP to related constructs and frameworks: the speech community, social networks, and inter-group theory.

Programme hosts, guests, listeners and call-in guests form a community of practice on Mulembe FM call-in shows. Wenger (1998: P78) identifies three dimensions of a CoP as: mutual engagement, a joint negotiated enterprise and a shared repertoire of negotiable resources gathered over time. Wenger (1998) defines a joint enterprise as a process involving complex relationships of mutual accountability that became part of the practice of the community. He further explains that over time, a joint pursuit of an enterprise results in a shared repertoire of joint resources for negotiating meaning. This not only includes linguistic routines, but also resources like gestures, greetings, virtual and body language which eventually becomes CoP (P.73).

Discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction in which the processes of production and interpretation are analysed. The resource within a discourse is the text which is an important property of productive and interpretative processes that involve interplay between properties of texts and member resources (MR). MR is the ability that people draw upon when they produce or interpret text which includes their knowledge of language representation of natural and social worlds they inhabit, values, beliefs and assumptions. This is represented in the diagram below.

Figure 1: Model of Discourse as Text, Interaction and Context. Adopted from Language and Power (Fairclough 2001).

SOCIAL CONDITION OF PRODUCTION

PROCESS OF PRODUCTION

TEXT/ TALK

CONTEXT

SOCIETY
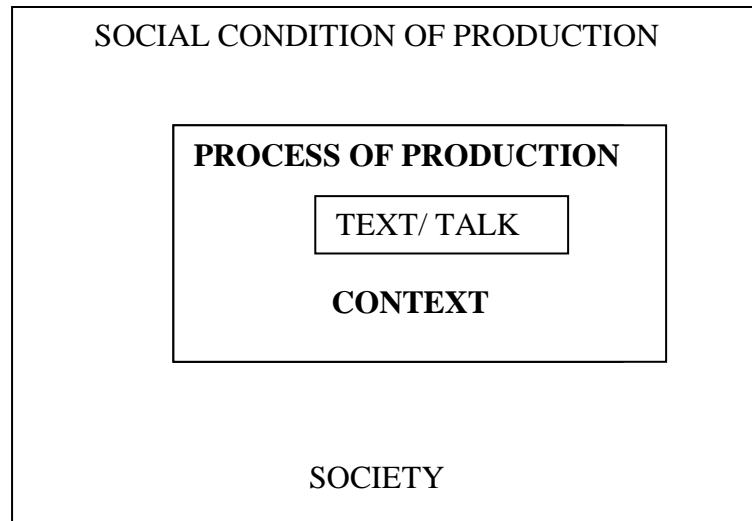
Figure 2: Own Conceptualization Model of the Corpus on Mulembe call-in-show.

GENDER

Male/Female

SOCIO-ECONOMIC

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Age, Education, Occupation, Race

POLITE

Supportive

Facilitative

Interruptions

Indirectness

Amount of speech

Turn taking

Floor control

IMPOLITE

Foul language

Swear words

Abusive
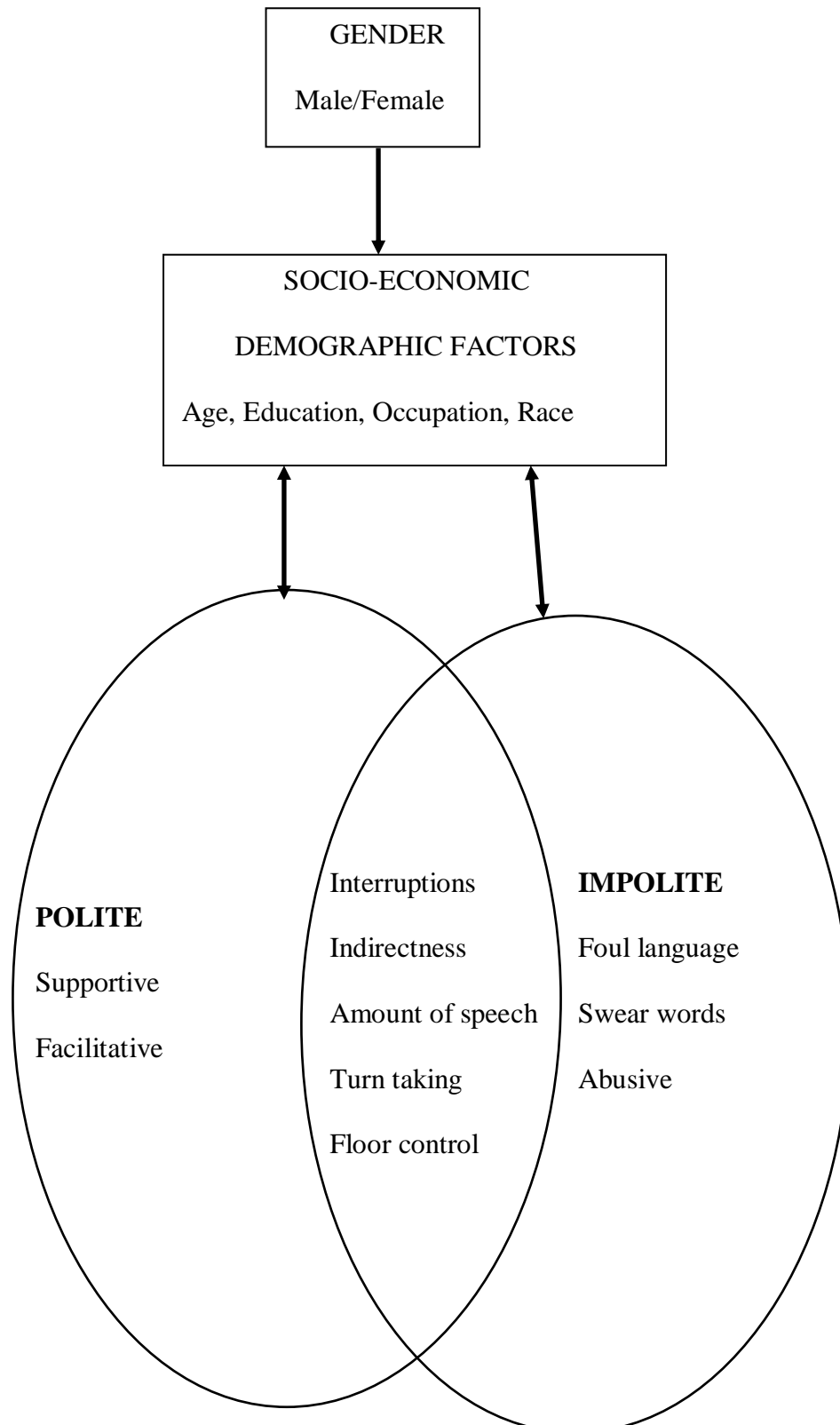
2.5 Gap in Literature

The literature reviewed here hinges on the claim that men and women have distinctive conversational styles. This is an oversimplification of the complexity of language and gender, such an approach ignores the diversity of speech within groups of men and groups of women. It also ignores cultural differences that may result from other social variables such as class, age and ethnicity. Power and dominance researchers believe that the difference emanates from the amount of economic, social and political power men wield over women in the society. All in all, language should not be treated as a closed system or studied without reference to "external" environmental factors. The literature also is mainly based on the western world setting with little from the third world where the environment is quite different.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Methodology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods that are used to collect data required for the study to achieve the objectives of the study. It includes a discussion of the research design that was adopted, the description of the research area, the study population, the sample, and sampling techniques employed. Data collection is then discussed before discussing how the variables were addressed.

3.1 Research Design

The need for a research design in any study cannot be underestimated since it facilitates the smooth sailing of various research operations thus making research as efficient as possible. Kombo and Tromp (2006) define research design as the structure of research, the glue that holds all elements in a research project together. It is a scheme or outline that is used to generate answers to the research problem (Orodho, 2003).

This study employed both qualitative and quantitative research methods on the case study of Mulembe FM radio station call-in programme using content analysis research design to analyse discourse data. Two basic types of discourse analysis are employed: conversational (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

CA focuses distinctly on the organization and use of language (Wetherel et al, 2001). The authors point out that researchers looking at transcribed data from interviews as social action independent of the motivational and psychological

characteristics of the interviewee. Social discourse analysis aims at revealing social characteristics of persons involved in the interaction (Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011).

CDA on the other hand focuses on communicative features that play a role in the production of dominance by one group over another (Fairclough, 2001). It views language as a form of social practice that focuses on the ways social and political domination are reproduced by text and talk. The presumption here is that language and power are entirely linked. CDA does not limit its analysis to specific texts or talk but systematically relates these to structures of the socio-political context (Fairclough, 2001).

The study uses a corpus of data recorded from Mulembe FM call-in live programme, and an open-ended interview schedule. The study collected information on a wide range of themes, each theme being investigated only on the particular aspect of consideration. The aim was to investigate how politeness strategies in language are used in creation of a gender identity.

3.2 The Research Area

The data is drawn from recorded and transcribed radio call-in programmes in Luhya language broadcast on the Mulembe FM radio over the period between June and August 2011. Luhya refers to both the people and their language. There are 16 (and by other accounts, 19, when the Suba are included) dialects that make up the Luhya each with a distinct dialect. Mulembe FM radio broadcasts reach across East Africa. Most of the programmes broadcast on this station are in the central dialects of LuWanga, LuMarama and LuTsotso. Respondents of this

research were drawn from among the Luhya of the former Mumias District in Kakamega County.

3.3 Study Population

The target population for the study consisted of all broadcasts in vernacular languages in Kenya and specifically call-in programmes aired on Mulembe FM in Luhya language for the period between June and August 2011. The respondents to the interview were Luhya speakers and listeners to Mulembe FM. The respondents included traders, boda boda riders (motor cycle/ bicycle transporters), vegetable vendors and the shoppers were drawn from Shianda, Malaha and Musanda markets within the former Mumias District (see tables 1, 2 and Appendix I).

3.4 Sampling Techniques

There are several call-in programmes broadcast on Mulembe FM dealing with different economic, political and social issues on a daily basis. Mulembe FM radio station has an average of 15 hours per week of call-in programmes which run between 30 minutes to one hour averaging about 60 hours in a month. The data for this study came from 15 purposively sampled episodes of the call-in programmes in Luhya language on Mulembe FM that run between June and August 2011. In total, 15 hours of audio-taped material was collected of which 12 hours was talk time whereas 3 hours was for commercials and music interludes. The talk time formed the corpus for this study.

The data that formed the corpus of the study was 15 episodes of the call-in shows in Luhya on Mulembe FM radio station. The data was mainly from *'Bushiele'* *Omucheni Wefu, Akabakofu, Witole, Emibayo* and *Khuli Khumuramba. Bushiele*

(Good morning) is aired on weekdays between 6-00am and 7-00 am, *Omucheni Wefu* (our guest) runs on Thursday between 10-00am and 11-00am. *Khuli Khumuraba* (as we work) runs between 9-00am and 10am on Wednesdays and Fridays. *Emibayo* (sports) is a sports commentary that runs daily for half an hour between 4.00 and 4.30pm. *Akabakofu*'(Adults only) is aired on Friday night between 11pm and 12 midnight. The subjects of the study on the corpus totalled to over 60 native speakers of Luhya language. An accurate number of males and females was not possible to accurately quantify since there were occasional overlaps of participation across the episodes. Each show had two hosts (male/male, male/female or female/female) who appeared regularly and a guest or guests of either sex were invited. Some callers phoned in more than once on different episodes. It would be safe to estimate the ages of the participants to be between 18 and 60 years. In all the episodes, there was cross-sex conversation thus the concentration of the study on cross-sex interaction.

Table 1: Sample of the Corpus from Mulembe FM

TOPIC	FRQ	HOST		CALLERS	
		M	F	M	F
Politics	3	1	1	8	2
Economy	2	2	0	7	3
Health	2	1	1	2	6
Marriage	2	1	1	4	5
Sports	2	2	0	6	2
Education	2	1	1	4	5
Culture	2	1	1	3	3
TOTAL	**15**	**9**	**5**	**33**	**26**

M-male, F- female

Table 2: Sample Frame for Respondents

Site	Male	Female	Total
Shianda	17	16	33
Malaha	18	16	34
Musanda	19	17	36
Total	**57**	**46**	**103**

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

3.5.1 Primary Data

The data collected by use of primary means formed the backbone of this study and therefore the study relied more on the information collected through this source. Primary data was generated through:

1. Audio-recording

2. Interviews

3. Honorifics Checklist

3.5.1.1 Audio Recorded Data

Oral recorded data for the study was generated from the audio taped call-in programmes on Mulembe FM radio station. Yin (2003) asserts that audiotapes provide a more accurate rendition of any interview than any other method. Yin notes that use of tape recorders is strongly recommended since if you tape record, you can listen to it several times and discern more each time. The corpus collected was divided into themes depending on the objectives they discussed. The purpose of the corpus was geared towards determining how socio cultural gender identity is manifested in the way the broadcaster and callers use linguistic conversational styles on the call-in programmes on Mulembe FM live broadcasts. The study investigates the gender based attitudes inherent in the hosts and

hostesses, callers/listeners through their use of linguistic strategies in interaction on Mulembe FM radio call – in programmes.

3.5.1.2 Interviews

The interview tool was divided in two sections: a qualitative open-ended semi-structured interview section which required the respondents to give, their demographic information on age, education level, marital status, occupation. Semi-structured interviews allow a deeper exploration of the participants' responses, probing and exploring emerging dimensions that may not have been previously considered pertinent to the study (Jwan and Ong'ondo 2011). The quantitative section expected their views and opinions on the call-in-programmes on Mulembe FM. The Likert scale was to sieve their perceptions on various themes on Mulembe FM call-in programmes.

3.5.1.3 The Check List

The checklist was derived from the researcher's knowledge and observation of Luhya communication practices and address title references that exalt both men and women in Luhya community. This helped in finding out the frequency of use of title references to either gender and what perceptions if any are associated with the same.

3.5.2 Secondary Data

Secondary data was generated from documented sources in form of previous research works done elsewhere and this provided the ethnographic information on Luhya cultural background and communication styles. The research mainly relied on public universities in Kenya including Margaret Thatcher Library at

Moi University, the Royal Media Services (owners of Mulembe FM) library and related information from journals, magazines, newspapers and the internet. Focus was also placed on any information on the genre of broadcast interviews, media outlets and output.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of the Research Instruments

3.6.1 Validity

The validity of the interview schedule and the checklist was determined by the supervisors from the Linguistics Department at Moi University who examined the contents of the instrument and accordingly advised on their face validity.

3.6.2 Reliability

The reliability of the research instrument for the listeners was determined by piloting on Makunga market within the former Mumias District, which was not included in the sample study. Fifteen (15) listeners (not in the sample study) were randomly selected and interviewed so as to identify and correct inconsistencies, deficiencies and weaknesses in the instrument.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

Permission was sought from the relevant authorities to collect data starting from the School of Social Sciences at Moi University, and the National Council of Science and Technologies (NCST). A courtesy call was made at the Royal Media Services (owners of Mulembe FM radio station) to express an intention to carry out a study on the broadcast call-in programme before proceeding to the field. The sampled markets were visited to inform the area administrators and market masters of an intention to interview people from the markets.

The market days were purposively chosen on since this would give the researcher a variety of respondents for the interviews at a central place. The interview schedule questions were read out as the respondents answered. Kiswahili and the local dialect LuWanga was used to interview those who did not understand English, probing further for more information or clarifying what they did not fully understand.

The standard format of the analysed phone-in programme is such that the host invites callers (members of the public at large) to become involved in discussions with invited guests on the current social, economic, political and cultural issues which feed the public discourse in the country. The structure of the call-in-programmes comprises of an introductory section in which the host introduces the guest thus setting the range for the subsequent callers input in the form of a question, comment or remark. The ensuing callers' contribution forms the main part of the programmes and the object of the present analysis. Data was analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The two paradigms quantitative and qualitative were drawn in a complementary fashion noting that the choice of a paradigm depended fundamentally on the purpose of the research envisaged and on the nature and focus of the research questions (Hammersly and Atkinson, 2007). In quantitative research is said to be controlled, objective, generalizable, outcome oriented and assumes the existence of facts which are somehow external to and independent of the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The generated data has to undergo transcription, collating, editing, coding and finally be used to write the final report.

Quantitative research produces numerical data, data which is amenable to statistical analysis (Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011). Qualitative research seeks to generate an understanding of the various possible meanings of a subject (focus of the study) in its natural setting, without undue manipulation of conditions of existence. The qualitative paradigm is a flexible approach that seeks to generate and analyse holistic data on an issue of interest using sufficiently rigorous, trustworthy and ethical methods and techniques.

The data generated through tape recording was grouped according to the research objectives. Thereafter, frequency distribution was used to calculate the percentages. The Qualitative data was used to complement the quantitative data from the interviews. To analyse perceptions, feelings and opinions of the informants, the Likert scale was scored as follows: strongly agree (S A) 5; Agree (A) 4; Disagree (SD); 1, for positively stated statements. For negatively stated statements, the scoring procedure was reversed. A mean score of above 3 denoted a positive perception / feeling. A mean score of 3 denoted a neutral perception while below 3 a negative perception.

Qualitative analysis involved translation of the corpus from Luhya into English, categorizing it into themes based on the objectives of the study. A corpus of linguistic politeness markers of usage or non-usage was generated from the recorded material after which a frequency distribution of the data was used to calculate percentages. In assessing politeness, Brown and Levinson's Models of positive and negative politeness was adopted as shown in appendix E.

The data for the study was analysed as per Appendix F:

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and Discussion

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with findings and discussions of the study. The results of the study were based on research questions stated in section 1.4 given on page 6. This chapter is divided into three parts: part one presents the gendered use of linguistic forms, part two presents notions of power and powerlessness whereas part three deals with the relationship of the socio-cultural background of individuals and their use of linguistic conversational styles.

4.1 Gendered Use of Conversational Styles on Mulembe FM Call-in Shows.

The main aim of this objective is to discuss gender differences in the use of conversational strategies in Luhya language. More specifically, it focuses on how the amount of speech, turns and floor holding and interruptions strategies are used by the speakers to create their gender identities. In the first section the differences are discussed and analysed quantitatively based on the data collected from the call-in- shows. In the second part, the results both from the corpus and observation are discussed qualitatively.

4.1.1 Amount of Speech

The overall amount of time spent on the corpus was measured in terms of minutes and there were 720 minutes of talk time on the whole corpus.

4.1.1.1 Overall Distribution of Amount speech by Gender

There were 12 hours of talk time collected for this study. The overall distribution of amount of speech between the genders is presented in table 3. The Units are in minutes.

Figure 3: Distribution of Amount of Speech by Gender (N=720)
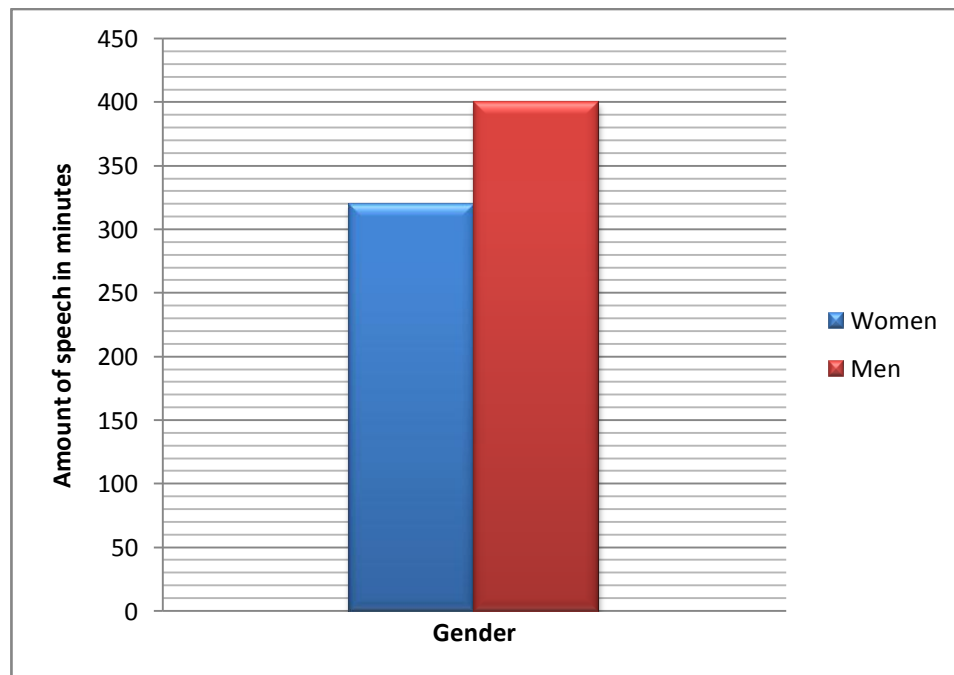
The figure 3 above shows that the overall talk time spent on Mulembe FM call-in programmes is not evenly distributed between the genders. Men talked more on the corpus (55.8%) compared to women (44.2%). This could mean that Luhya men from the data above, at least to some degree, do talk more than women.

This could be in agreement with Biard (1976) who noted that there is a distinction between men's and women's communication in that males are encouraged to be independent, aggressive, problem oriented and risk taking. They

are more active and aggressive verbally while females are taught to be non-competitive and passive. This distribution however could be dependent on other factors like who was hosting the programme, who were the guests and what their topic of discussion was. Factors of topics can determine the amount of talk either gender can contribute to and this is also dependent on the interest of the callers and their inclinations.

4.1.1.2 Distribution of Amount of Talk by Gender and Topic

The contents of the corpus were mainly interactions on radio-call in programmes which were mostly informal in nature since participants were not expected to solve a problem or arrive at a given conclusion. As much as the contents of discussions were spontaneous, the topics were not since the host/hostess normally had the topic before the programme began. As soon as the programme began, the host/hostess would announce it and everyone (callers) were expected to contribute to it only. The table below shows an examination of an interaction between gender of participants and the distribution of amount of talk per topic. Time is shown in minutes while percentages are in parentheses.

Table 3: Distribution of Amount of Talk by Gender and Topic (N=720)

Topic	Male (talk time)	Female (talk time)
Economy	80.2(64.5)	44.1(35.5)
Politics	74.3 (76.1)	23.3(23.9)
Health	50.7 (45.2)	61.6(54.8)
Education	63.8(50.6)	62.2(49.4)
Marriage	35.1(39.7)	53.2(60.3)
Sports	55.9(63.3)	32.4(36.7)
Culture	53.(56.3)	41.2(43.7)
Total	**412**	**318**

Of the 7 topics sampled, men did more talking in 4 (economy, politics, education, sports and culture) the analysis shows that the gender difference is highly noticeable in economy (64.5% for men), politics (76.1%), culture (56.3%) and sports (56.3%) whereas in education the difference is almost insignificant (Men 50.6%, Women 49.4%).

The implication here is that men out-talk women by an observable margin especially in politics and economic issues. Men and women are almost equal in talk on education matters (males 50.6%, women 49.4%). But in the topics of marriage and health, women out-do the men. The above result shows that although the results show that men generally talk more than women, they do not do so in all situations. This therefore suggests that men will want to appear more competent in issues of politics, economy, sports and culture while women are keen on issues of health and marriage.

The above scenario could point to Mills' (2003) assertion that gender differences should not be looked at in terms of sex differences but more by the context of the speech act. Men share a common mutual engagement (CoP) in politics, economy, and sports since this allows them to be competitive and aggressive while women are at home with health and marriage issues which point to their role as "natural child-rearers". (Appalraju and De Kadt, 2010).

Tannen (1994), attributes this to her dual-culture approach in which she argues that whether one is female or male is not just a biological fact but it assigns one to a membership of two social groups with many consequences, be they social, economic or political. Women and men, boys and girls are treated systematically in different ways, they have different experiences, they do different things and different things are expected of them. This could also point to the notion of dispersion of power; where power is withheld by individuals and not spread throughout the society. Men in this case have clearly mapped out their societal roles in terms of politics, economics and sports thus locking out women. Usually, this is replicated in leadership and governance positions in the society.

4.1.1.3 Distribution of Amount of Talk by Ratio of Men and women

Taking into account a wide range of social structural factors in explaining gender-specific behaviour regarding amount of speech, the table below was generated from the corpus in instances where such ratios could be observed.

Table 4: Distribution of Amount of Speech by Ratio of Men to Women in Percentages.

Ratio of men	Male	Female speech
3:1	(96.8%)	(3.2%)
2:1	(82.9%)	(17.1%)
1:1	(54.4%)	(45.5%)
1:2	(40.3%)	(57.5%)

The above table shows that when there is an equal number of men and women (1:1 in an interaction the pattern showed a symmetric distribution (54.4% to 45.6%). This however changes as the ratio of men increases 2:1 (82.9%) and 3:1 (96.8%). In a situation of 2:1 (either gender) still men outdo women at 82.9% whereas if it is two women against one man the difference is 57.5% for women to 40.3% for men.

One explanation for the above finding is that in group interaction, the performance expectations are associated with their gender and status characteristic. Men have higher status than women in the society thus they are expected to show a higher intellectual competence in a formally structured call-in situation. They are expected to be experts in the topics of discussion. Pearson (1985) suggests that male speakers in group interaction will tend to compete for the females attention. The difference could be due to the topic of discussion which was not taken into account for this particular segment.

4.1.2 Turn Taking, Floor Holding and Interruptions.

4.1.2.1 Overall Distribution of Turns and Floors by Gender

It is necessary to get a more detailed picture of turn taking and floor holding to supplement the study on amount of speech. Results here too are analysed in terms of overall distribution by gender and the distribution of interaction of gender and topic. Table 5 illustrates the distribution of time spent in turns and floors by the two genders.

Table 5: Distribution of Turns and Floors by Gender

	Male	**Female**
Floor Holding Turns	352(59.9%)	230(40.1%)
Non-Floor Holding Turns	15.2 (57.3%)	11.3(42.7%)

The above table shows that men held the floor (59.9%) compared to women (40.1%) in the whole corpus. The result indicates that men hold the floor for longer periods of time. This means it is usually the male participant who does most of the talking and holds the participants' attention. The females either willingly turn the floor to male partners or their chances are forcefully grabbed by their male counterparts. It could also suggest that women are more likely to take a listening role than a speaking one in an interaction.

This could be explained in two ways: the socialization patterns of men and women are different thus they use and interpret language differently (Freed, 1996). Another factor leading to this would be the power men yield- male norms pre-dominate interactions- in the society allowing them to define and control

situations. The table also reveals that women are more likely to take non-utterance turns which are usually back channel responses that indicate someone is following what the other is speaking about. The women account for 66.5% non-turn-utterances while men only account for 33.5%.

The gender difference in men's and women's turn-taking and floor holding on Mulembe F.M call-in programmes was examined further in terms of the topics of discussion and the table below was generated:

Table 6: Distribution of Turns per Gender per Topic in Percentages (N=582 Turns)

Topic	Men	Women
Politics	87.3	12.7
Economy	80.5	19.5
Health	40.9	59.1
Education	49.1	50.1
Marriage	40.4	59.6
Sports	70.1	29.9
Culture	59	41

The turn taking and floor-holding presented in the table above shows that again depending on the topic of discussion, men held the floor longer in politics, economy, sports and culture whereas women only held an advantage in health and marriage issues.

In language and gender literature, males are hypothesized to be more powerful and dominant than females (Lakoff, 2004 Cameron 1997). It is also hypothesized

that men tend to exploit this greater power and exercise dominance over women through the control of language, such as holding the floor longer (Mills, 2003). As much as this might hold, it is important to consider the topic of discussion and how formal or informal the context is. It could also however point to the nature of the setting; men have been shown to talk more in settings such as staff meetings, television panel discussions and even in husband-wife pairs (Bernard 1972, Soskin & John 1963).

4.1.3 Interruptions

The analysis of data here tries to provide a source of information to understand if men interrupt women more. In this study, we will first look at the overall distribution of interruption by gender.

Figure 4:
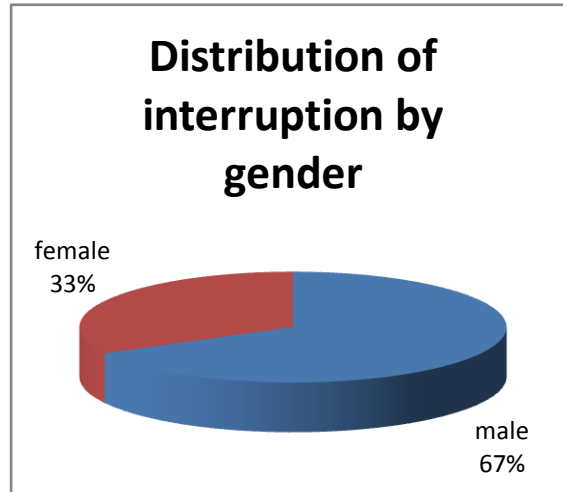
The results in the pie-chart given above clearly show that interruptions are not symmetrically distributed between the genders. Figure 4 demonstrates a dramatic asymmetric pattern: there are 143 interruptions by male speakers and only 70 interruptions by female speakers. However, it is also important to examine interruptions in terms of the gender of the interrupter, for it is possible that males speaking with females orient themselves to the role of listener differently than

they do with one another. Table 7 shows the distribution of interruptions by the gender interrupter.

Table 7: Distribution of Interruptions by Gender of the Interrupter

Gender	Frequency
Mm	100(46.94%)
Mf	43(20.18%)
Fm	46(21.59%)
Ff	24(11.26%)

M/F: Interrupter, m/f: Interrupted

The result is also significant between gender groups. Nonetheless, contrary to the assumption in language and gender literature that men interrupt women more than women interrupt men and that by their nature, women are polite in their conversation and take into account the face needs of those they are talking to, table 8 shows that males actually get interrupted significantly more often, or in other words, interruptions are more likely to happen when the one who is interrupted is a man. Combining the results of figure 4 and Table 7, we may conclude that a large percentage of interruptions are directed by males against other males.

The results show that each gender groups of interrupters treated the other group differently from their own group. It is confirmed that males interrupted other males most frequently, accounting for nearly half of all the interruptions in the data (46.94%). The interruption between males and females compared to females and males was almost equal with males interrupting females less (20.18%) than females interrupting males (21.26%). In contrast with males' interruption

behaviour, females appeared to interrupt less frequently when the interrupted was of the same sex (11.26%).

The above findings are in line with the dominance approach proponents who claim that participants in a conversation use a number of strategies to achieve conversational goals and the use of interruptions is seen as the relative power of participants which is derived from their social status (Trudgil, 1978 and Lakoff, 1975). However, it is important to note that maleness and femaleness are not discreet categories but are socially constructed and can be affected by other social factors like context, age, occupation and status.

4.1.3.1 Types of Interruptions

Interruptions do not always go together with dominance. In many cases, it is not meant to be a violation of another speaker's rights to complete a turn or disregard for what other speakers have to say. Instead, it is a way of indicating active listenership and high involvement in the on-going talk. There are two types of interruptions with totally different functions: one type of interruption is dominance-related and the other type is cooperative in nature. In the following section, a distinction is made between the two types and examines the interruption behaviours of males and females respectively in this study.

4.1.3.2 Dominant and Supportive Interruption

Table 9 shows the distribution of the two types of interruptions by the gender of the interrupter. No percentages are given to enable comparisons both across the rows and across the columns.

Figure 5: Distribution of Interruptions Types by Gender of Interrupter
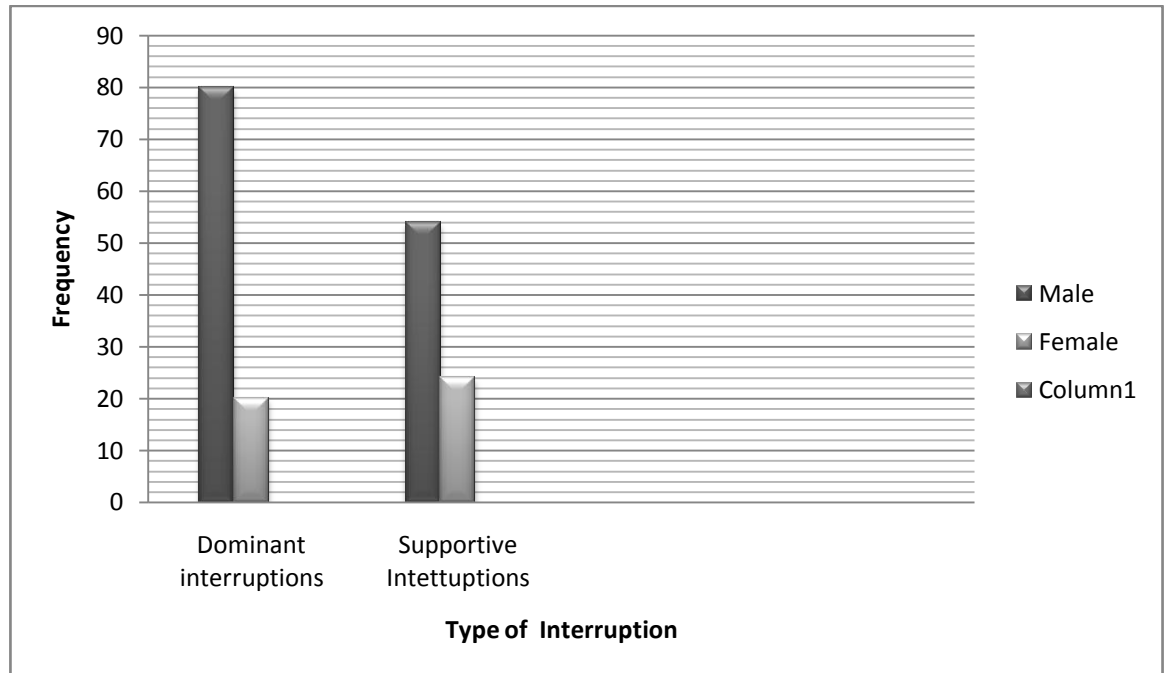
The results indicate that men make dominant interruption significantly more often than women do (80 versus 20). Men also make more supportive interruptions than women (54 versus 24) but there is a difference between genders with regard to this type of interruption. This may suggest that males tend to be more dominance-oriented, which is consistent with the results above on amount of talk and turns and floors. Figure 5 also shows a difference in the distribution pattern of interruption behaviour within the gender. While males make significantly more dominant interruptions than supportive interruptions (81 versus 54,), females make roughly an equal proportion of the two kinds of interruptions (20 versus. 24,), which provides one more evidence that males are relatively dominance oriented.

The distribution patterns of the two types of interruption are also observed in terms of the gender of the interrupter, as indicated in table 8 below;

Table 8: Distribution Types by Gender of Interrupter.

	Male	Female	%
Dominance interruption	72	28	100
Supportive interruption	51	49	100
Total	**123**	**77**	**200**

The results indicate that the men were not only more likely than women to interrupt; they were also more likely than women to be interrupted by a dominant interruption (72 versus 28). In addition, when men were interrupted, the interruption behaviour was more likely to be dominance – associated than supportive /cooperative in nature (72 versus 51), whereas in the females' interaction, the dominance related interruption accounted for 28 and supportive for 49.It may be concluded that men would have to be more competitive when dealing with others in conversational interaction.

The above findings are in line with the difference approach that claims that there is a difference in the communicative behaviour of men and women by assuming existence of two sub cultures in the speech community. However, in a situation of cross conversation, women have an interest in maintaining the 'face' in an interaction thus taking into account the needs of the other participants (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Women would rather remain silent as a sign of politeness than try to wrestle the floor from the interrupter. The same could be interpreted to mean that women will always judge if an utterance is appropriate or not in relation to the perceived norms and situation (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1999). Figure 6 presents a further breakdown of the gendered distribution of each type of interruption:

Figure 6: Gendered Distribution by type of Interruption
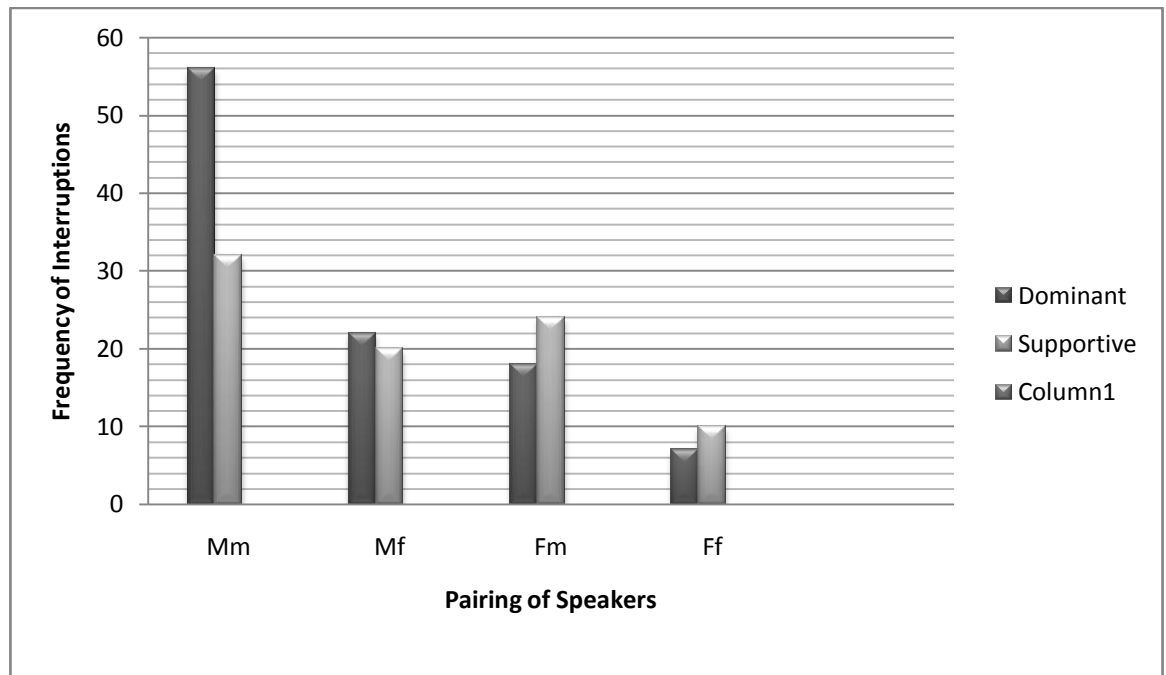
M, F = Interrupter, m f = interrupted

The largest number of interruptions is found in male to male (Mm) interactions, and among these interruptions, 56 of them are dominance-related while 32 of them are supportive interruptions. In contrast, there is little difference in the type of interruptions among other groups of interactions Male to female (Mf) (22 dominant 20 supportive), Fm (16 dominant 24 supportive), Ff (7 dominant and 10 supportive). Moreover males did not interrupt female speakers as frequently as they interrupted other male speakers. Not many interruptions are found in the Ff situations, which may suggest that women are in general more cooperative and less competitive than men when they interact with other speakers of the same sex.

One reason for this phenomenon is that men are competitive; both male speakers want to take the dominant role in the conversation. In this way, both of them hold the same authority in the conversation. As no one would allow the other to be

dominant in a conversation, a balance or similar ratio of interruption would be resulted. Further on interruption was analysed in terms of topic and type of interruption.

4.1.3.3 Distribution of Interruptions by Gender and Topic

The results from interruption behaviours are also in terms of conversational topics in which the two types of interruption occur, as shown below in Table 9. The results have not revealed a conspicuous pattern of distribution across different situations. Due to the small number of observations involved in interruptions female (Fm or Ff); it is hard to give a full account of gender difference in interruption use in relation to conversational topics.

Table 9: Distribution of Interruptions by Gender and Topic

Distribution of Interruption by Gender and Topic									
		Dominant Interruption				Supportive Interruption			
Topic	Episodes	Mm	Mf	Fm	Ff	Mm	Mf	Fm	Ff
T1 Politics	3	8	4	2	0	3	1	2	1
T2 Economy	2	10	2	2	0	2	2	3	1
T3 Health	2	7	4	3	0	5	2	4	4
T4 Education	2	2	2	0	2	1	3	0	2
T5 Marriage	2	5	1	1	0	0	0	2	3
T6 Sports	2	6	2	0	0	2	0	0	1
T7 Culture	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	2
Total	**15**	**40**	**16**	**9**	**2**	**12**	**9**	**12**	**13**

In general the Mm dyad has the highest number of interruptions (total 40) in all episodes while again the Ff dyad yields the highest supportive interruptions (total 13). If we further examine the distribution of interruptions on a per episode basis,

we find that T2 economy yields the highest number of Mm dominant interruptions (10), while T3 health yields the highest supportive interruptions.

In a qualitative question, the respondents were asked if they used interruption as a strategy to take over the floor and the male scored cumulatively 3.30 whereas the females scored 2.67. This shows that the men are more likely to use interruption as a mean of taking over the floor for domineering purposes whereas women interrupt to facilitate the person holding the floor. This assertion is evident in the respondent's replies to the question if interruption was used as a facilitative / supportive strategy in which male (2.2) and female (3.85) results were generated.

For women, the purpose of interruption does not mean competing for speaking right. They just want to help or cooperate with each other by interruption. An example from the corpus:

Example 1

Luhya	Gloss
Ndiyamire	I agree with you

Therefore, they would give equal right of speaking to each other. When compared to men, women would be less likely to interrupt, even in the same-sex interaction. Women try to support each other or collaborate with each other by inserting facilitative interruption. They would support each other's turn by interrupting with some supportive sentences, but not trying to dominate the speaker's floor. For example from the corpus women would often used:

Example 2

Luhya	Gloss
Ni abwene/ Ni tooto	It is right/ true

Women respect each other's turn and they try to wait until the end of one's sentence. So, women talk has a relatively lower frequency of interruption than that of men. Women respect each other's turn and try not to interrupt frequently.

Example	Luhya	Gloss
3	Omalire elio obolilenje?	Have you finished what you were saying?
4	Ako ni amangu, embara..]	That's easy, I think…
5	Shoolakha emale?	Can't you let me finish?
6	Koo, ekhubolila mbu…	Hey. I am telling you…
7	Linda…	Wait..
8	Tawe, shikanyalikha	No, it is not possible
9	Ni ka toto, embara mbu	It's true, I think

Women may interrupt when they want to express their view through a question like in example 3; while men would simply stop current speaker by giving a solution, like in example 4. In this way, men are more likely to interrupt than women. All these reasons help to explain why male interrupt their fellow men and women more.

First, men are more likely to take the dominant role in a conversation. Men like to compete for the speaking right in order to control the topic of conversations. For example, men will adopt a louder voice to compete against the current speaker. Sometimes, a woman's speech is competed against and they get exasperated and show their frustration through a question as exemplified in example 5. This shows that women are less able to compete their turns of speaking and they would talk less. In this way, women are pushed to a listening role when men take over the floor.

Also, men like persuading women to believe in what they say, or when they fail, they simply give commands by interruption, example 6 attests to this. Men are more likely to ignore what had been said before and to stress their opinions. Moreover, men interrupt for criticizing others other than giving support. For instance, men will always explicitly display their discontent as shown in example 7 and 8 above. While women express their disagreement in a different way, they will wait until the end of one's utterance and use a supportive strategy like in example 9

4.2 Powerful and Powerless Language

A review of sex differences in conversational styles, Baird (1976) noted distinctions between men's and women's communication styles. He summarized his findings: Men are encouraged to be independent, aggressive, problem-oriented and risk-taking, generally are more task-oriented in their interactions, more active and aggressive verbally, and more likely to assume leadership in task-oriented situations. Women are taught to be non-competitive, dependent,

empathic, passive, and interpersonally oriented, typically are more willing to self-disclose, more expressive of emotions and perceptive of others' emotional states, and less likely to assume leadership, although capable of providing leadership in certain situations. This situation therefore makes the assumption that men are actually more power oriented than women and in looking at this phenomena, a discussion is made on the following paradigms: assertive and supportive functions, questions and question tags, indirectness and stereotypes.

4.2.1 Assertive and Supportive Functions by Gender

One way to observe gender differences in conversational assertiveness and supportiveness is to compare the gender specific distribution of time spent in utterances with assertive and supportive functions. The functional intent of each verbal contribution can be detected. For example, if the intent of an utterance is to give information, make a statement or show a positive or negative opinion, it is deemed to be an utterance with assertive functions; if the intent of an utterance is simply to indicate listenership or encourage others to go on talking, it is an utterance with supportive functions. The gendered distribution of time spent in utterances with assertive and supportive functions is presented in table 10 below;

Table 10: Distribution of Utterance Functions by Gender

	Male	Female
Assertive Functions	347 (70.1%)	148.3 (29.9%)
Supportive functions	27.7 (20.4%)	107.8 (79.6%)
Total	**374.7**	**264.1**

Table 10 shows that men made significantly more utterances with assertive functions than women did (347.7 minutes versus 148.3 minutes) whereas females made significantly more utterances with supportive functions than males did (107.8 minutes versus 27.7minutes). On the other hand, when we examine the distribution of utterance functions within genders, we can see that males produced significantly longer utterances with assertive functions than utterances with supportive functions (347.7 minutes against 27.7 minutes females also show a tendency of making longer utterances with assertive functions, but the difference between these and supportive utterances is so big (148.3 minutes versus 107.8minutes. This is not surprising if we consider the results in the previous sections: males held the floor for longer periods of time and took longer turns than females; males made more dominance-related interruptions than supportive interruptions. Since utterances with assertive functions are associated with dominance, power and control, it is reasonable to expect men to produce longer utterances with assertive functions.

Table 11: Distribution of Utterance functions by Gender and Topic

ASSERTIVE FUNCTIONS			SUPPORTIVE FUNCTIONS		
Topic	MALE	FEMALE	Topic	MALE	FEMALE
T1 Politics	70.8 (97.0%)	2.2 (3.0%)	T1 Politics	3.5 (27.8%)	9.1 (72.2%)
T2 Economy	47.2 (92.0%)	4.1 (8.0%)	T2 Economy	3.3 (27.5%)	8.7 (72.5%)
T3 Health	22.7 (28.4%)	82.3 (71.6%)	T3 Health	5.4 (17.2%)	26.0 (82.8%)
T4 Education	17.6 (35.3%)	32.3 (64.7%)	T4 Education	2.8 (10.3%)	24.4 (89.7%)
T5 Marriage	29.0 (72.7%)	10.9 (27.3%)	T5 Marriage	5.1 (35.2%)	9.4 (64.8%)
T6 Sports	43.6 (76.5%)	13.4 (23.5%)	T6 Sports	3.0 (21.7%)	10.8 (78.3)
T7 Culture	23.8 (44.7%)	29.5 (55.3%)	T7 Culture	2.3 (27.4%)	6.1 (72.6%)

4.2.1.1 Assertive and Supportive Functions by Gender and Topic

Table 11 demonstrates the distribution of utterances with assertive and supportive functions by gender and topic. The results are consistent with findings made above. Males are found to produce many more utterances with assertive functions in the discussion of five of the topics. These are the same four topics in which they have already been found to talk more than females namely: T1 politics, T2 economy, T5 marriage and T6 sports. At the same time, males took longer turns and held the floor for longer periods of time. In the remaining three topics – T3 Health, T4 Education and T7 culture women held the floor longer.

However, the gender differences are significant in T3 and T4 a female –oriented topics, and in T7, which is a relatively neutral topic. Females are found to produce significantly more utterances with supportive functions than males do in most the topics. Only in one topic, namely T6 sports, are the gender differences in these respect are not significant. It is notable that with T1 politics, T2 economics, T5 marriage, even though the analysis given earlier shows that men talked significantly more than women in these situations, women are found here to produce more utterances with supportive functions. One interpretation would be that women participate very little in the discussion of these three topics, and when they talk; their remarks tend to be supportive rather than assertive in nature. In contrast, men talk a lot in these situations, but only a very small amount of their speech has the supportive element. Again, this may suggest that men show more dominance and assertiveness in their speech style when they are involved in more male-oriented topics

In the table given above, it is evident that men made most assertive function utterances in the topics of politics, economy, marriage and sports. Women made the least assertive function utterances in politics (3%) and economy (8%) and they were assertive in health (71.6%), education (64.7%) and culture (55.3%).

The most supportive function utterances were made by women in the topics of education (89.7%), followed by health (82.8%). In general, men were more assertive in topics that involved competitiveness (politics, sports, economy etc.) whereas women were adept in issues of child rearing like health, education and culture.

4.2.1.2 Assertive/Supportive Functions by Ratio of Men to Women

Conversational assertiveness and supportiveness can be further examined in terms of the ratio of men to women who participate in mixed –sex interactions. The results are presented in Table 12 below;

Table 12: Distribution of Utterance Functions by Ratio of Men to Women

	Assertive Function		*Supportive Function*	
Ratio	Male	Female	Male	Female
3 to 1	15.8 (97.1%)	0.49(2.9%)	0.2 (40%)	0.3(60%)
2 to 1	107.3(84.4%)	19.2(15.6%)	4.4(53.7%)	3.8 (46.3%)
1 to 1	197.4 (68.3%)	91.6(31.7)	17.5(18.4%)	77.5 (81.6%)
1 to 2	27.2 (41.8%)	37.8(58.2%)	5.6(17.4%)	26.5 (82.6%)

In table 12 it is shown that, overall men made more utterances with assertive functions than women, while women made more utterances with supportive functions. It seems that the higher the ratio of men to women in an interaction, the higher the difference it makes in assertiveness behaviour between the two gender groups. As to supportiveness behaviour, it cannot be observed as clearly what effect the ratio of men to women has on utterances with supportive functions that men did in the 1:1 situation. Women also produced significantly more supportive utterance than men did in the 1 male 2 female's situation. It is possible that when more partners of same sex are present, they tend to be more relaxed and more close to their speech style in all-female interaction. However, so far no work has been done in the Luhya context on women's speech style in an all female situation. A challenging task for further research is to find out if an all

female interaction in the Luhya context shows significant features of conversational supportiveness.

The findings in the above section are in agreement with, proponents of CoP; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2005) assertion that gender is embedded in all institutions, actions, beliefs and desires that go along with the mapping of language use through communication and interaction. That language entails the construction and existence of patterns of relations. Women's being supportive does not mean that they are immature, hyper formal and hyper polite but it may possibly mean that they are interested in creation of rapport. It is also supported by Tannen (1994) who claims that the language of women is primarily rapport talk. Women talk to establish the connections and promote sameness while men talk is report talk which basically promotes the preservation of independence while exhibiting knowledge and skill. Again, it should be noted that females are interested in the image which the speaker or hearer would like to maintain. Women are geared towards mitigating against any face-threatening act thus their actions are concerned with demonstrating a desire to be liked, respected and appreciated (Odebunni, 2003, Brown and Levinson, 1987).

4.2.2 Question Tags

In Luhya language, especially the central dialects, there is an extensive use of certain words that function as question tags. From the corpus, it was noted that in a same sex conversation especially among peers, it is common to use words like *'nomba'* (or?) *'ita'* (don't you think so?) *maana* (then?). These words normally appear in a question form in conversation especially after a statement. Just like question tags in English, they act as an invitation by the current speaker for the

listener to contribute to ensure the correct flow of the conversation. Examples are given below from the corpus:

Example	Luhya	Gloss
10	*Abana kenyekha batsie musikuli, ta?*	Children should go to school, shouldn't they?
11	*In'gubo ino ni indayi, ita?*	This dress is good, isn't it?
12	*Inzu ino yeywe, nomba?*	This house should be swept, shouldn't it?

In example 10 (*Children should go to school, shouldn't they?)* above, the current speaker is expressing what he/she thinks is the best alternative but would wish the decision to be confirmed by the listener and thus the speaker invites the listener to support his/her line of suggestion. The listener has very limited opportunity to think otherwise for the question tag expects only support and if the listener were to give a contrary opinion, there is a likelihood of miscommunication. The occurrence of the tag question is evidence to support the observation that there is solidarity between the two involved in a conversation, that the speaker feels that the opinion of speaker two is important. The speaker in the above example uses a positive politeness strategy that seeks agreement from the listener (Brown and Levinson, 1987). As much as it is a politeness style it has an implication of imposing a decision on the listener. The above example is from a conversation between two men.

In example 11: *This dress is good, isn't it?* The speaker has already made up her mind that the dress is beautiful but she is only being polite to invite the listener to

give her opinion which equally is positive. The strategy being used here is the speaker is seeking a common ground with the listener. To the speaker, the dress is beautiful but she wants to create solidarity with the hearer by inviting the hearer to agree with her opinion. The above examples show that in Luhya culture question tags are common and they are mostly used to facilitate the flow of the conversation.

However, not all tags are used as a face saving device. In the example 12: *This house should be swept, shouldn't it?* The question tag is used as FTA since the speaker does not bother about the face needs of the addressee. The example is in a mixed dyad conversation of an observation made of a husband talking to his wife:

In the above case the tag acts as an order. This is an aspect of dominance, where the man dominates by ordering the woman just like he would order someone of a lesser status to him. The tag here becomes an order and shows distance between the two speakers.   The example above shows that unlike Lakoff's' (2004) assertion that question tags are used to lessen the imposition on the hearer, in Luhya, tags can be used both as politeness strategies and imposition markers.

Respondents were asked if men or women used question tags in their speech. The difference in the results between the two genders did not show much difference since most of the respondents said that the use of *'ita', 'nomba'* and *'noho'* was common among peers and was a style used to create solidarity among those in an interaction. It was used as an invitation to the listeners to contribute or to be part of the conversation that is taking place.

4.2.3 Indirectness

In Luhya language, especially the central dialects- luWanga, luMarama and LuTsotso dialects- it emerged that indirectness is used both as a powerful and powerless linguistic tool. It was observed that women rarely asked things to be done directly from their husbands or their older male children. Their demands were mostly framed in a question form. This could be attributed to their upbringing which regarded use of questions as a sign of respect and politeness towards their husbands or men in general.

From the interview schedule, we sort to know which conversation style was most associated with men/women among Luhya speakers. Out of the 103 responses 75% felt that women preferred indirectness and hedging whereas 25% felt that men were prone too to use indirectness. To understand these results, the example below from the corpus was analysed, it was a skit within a call in programme of a conversation between a man and his wife, their son had been sent out of school and the woman addressed the husband thus:

[Luhya] "*Engorwa kali kanyalikha engusie tsingokho erunje fees yo omwana?"*

[English gloss "I don't know if it is possible to sell the chicken to clear the fees for our son?"

Instead of being direct, and saying:

"I am going to sell the chicken to clear fees for our son"

The above example is in a question form starting with "I don't know…" already here the speaker (woman) has put herself in a subservient position; she cannot make the decision but invites the husband to be responsible in deciding whether the chicken should be sold to pay fees for their son. Again, the woman uses 'if it

is possible' as a way of not appearing imposing thus performing a FTA. The above example is in line with Luhya culture where the man is the sole owner of all property in the home and decision making thus must be consulted on all matters even if they are as petty as selling chicken.

Indirectness is also used to show power like in the example below from the corpus. The host to the programme was interviewing an incumbent Member of Parliament (MP) defending his political seat.

Example 13

Interviewer	*Luhya*	Gloss
1. MH	*Bwana Mheshimiwa, opara nokalushe mu parliament?*	Honourable sir, do you think you will go back to parliament?
2. MG	*Wina oundi?*	Who else?
3.MH	*Baliho abandu baparanga banyala okhukhuiniayo shichila shiwakhola ngabenyanga tawe.*	There are people who think they can remove you since you have not done as they wished.
4. MG	*Inzi ndabasenaka.*	I will trample them

In the example above, the MG is indirect in all his answers. At no time does he attempt to answer the question he is asked instead he uses a question in 2 (Who else?) and a vague reply in 4 (I will trample them). The use of the question here does not relegate MG to a lesser status but empowers him. The question in 2 shows the power the guest holds and his opinion that there is nobody who can go to parliament apart from him; no wonder he asks who else? To him it is obvious knowledge that he is the best. In line 4 he replies that '*I will trample on them*'.

He does not even bother to answer the allegation that he had done little by his stay in parliament. The power relationship here shows that the guest uses indirectness to communicate his superior status in the community and the belief that he can outwit any opposition. He exudes "no fear" attitude that is expected of the men in Luhya culture.

In the above example, there is definitely a confrontational atmosphere. The host broadcaster starts with a challenging question, questioning the ability of the honourable member for re-election. In this case the broadcaster uses a FTA, he does not care what the question will do to the image of the Member of Parliament (MP) and the M.P's answer/question is also far from polite. He also takes up the challenge and picks up the confrontational cue. He in fact uses the violation of the manner maximum in which meanings that would threaten the face are delivered off-record by making them indefinite. The M.P does not actually answer the question posed to him but he indirectly gives a rhetoric question. In fact in the entire example there is no single time that the guest intends to answer the given question but instead delves into yet another question. The M.P is out on the defensive and once he is on the wall, he comes back fighting and therefore uses an impolite strategy to wriggle out. He is not bothered about mitigation of face needs.

In example 13 is probably a result of the Socio-cultural beliefs of the participants. Being an M.P, the guest yields a lot of power and the expectation is that all the rest of the people (including the broadcaster) should be subservient and respectful to the leader. Unfortunately for the broadcasters, they have to work and must get

answers and that is why they employ a questioning technique that in most cases would lead to a conflict.

The use of indirectness by the M.P is to show a superiority complex- a feeling that the question and by extension those questioning him are below him. However for the listeners, this kind of confrontation is what they enjoy most since they expect their leaders to be fearless and show brute force. They are contextually expected to be rude.

Example 14

English Gloss

Host (F): Welcome to our studio your honour.

Guest (G): Thank you aunty I am happy

Host (M): Thank you. Tell us, what happened in Malava to cause the death of children?

Guest (F): Mmm…. kindly repeat your question?

Host (F): You know you medical practitioners are quite important and when something   happens you are able to know exactly what happened. He wanted to know what caused the deaths in Malava.

 Guest (F): Thank you. In Malava we had cholera outbreak at its onset but before we   diagnosed it had already killed the children.

In the above example 14, there are two communication styles evident. The male host seems to be in a hurry to get to the issue of the day and get done with and he sounds confrontational. It is true the issue being discussed is grave and possibly this interview would give a clue on how to solve it. The female host on the other hand is courteous from the very beginning by using a respectful title reference to

the guest "*omushiere*" (respectful lady). As much as the host begins with a thank you, what follows shows that he has no regard for the face needs of the guest, he starts off with a conflict setting by posing a question that actually finds the guest off-guard.

This is an example of an off-record politeness strategy which displaces the hearer. In fact the guest is shocked and she decides to use a defensive tactic by claiming that she did not understand the question. Luckily the female host comes to her rescue and attends to the interest of the hearer by using positive politeness strategy 1: To mitigate on damage done on the guest's face. The female host decides to use a strategy that softens the impeding FTA from the male host by creating a friendly environment thereby intensifying the interest to the hearer. The male host in this example is quite impolite whereas the female host is interested in the needs of the guest.

4.2.4 Stereotypes

The findings revealed that stereotypes abound in Luhya language and are often used to disadvantage women. The respondents were asked who between men and women was talkative and most felt that women were. A common claim was that women were talkative only in their own groups and they often talked in low tones in mixed groups. The respondents characterized women talk as being mostly gossip and that's why they talked in low tones lest they are heard.

This claim of women being talkative is a stereotype since no study has been done among the Luhya to ascertain this. Just like in the Western culture, there is a widely held stereotype that women talk too much. However, the bulk of research

done in this area actually found that men talked more than women in mixed-sex interaction (Mullany 1998, Drakish 1993). Furthermore, a number of studies found that women produced more speech than men in some circumstances and some studies claimed that there were no significant differences between the sexes in the amount of talk (Tannen 1990, Pearson 1985). The amount of speech therefore is determined by the context of the conversation, the formality and the informality that may surround it.

Another stereotype in Luhya language is that women gossip, this could be in agreement with Lakoff's (2004) assertion that women talk was casual whereas men talk was informative. However, the low tone that women talk in could be attributed to their need to connect with the hearer. It could also be explained from their socialization where boys and girls experience different patterns of socialization and this leads to different ways of using and interpreting language. The boy's interaction tends to be more competitive and control-oriented, while girls interact more cooperatively and focus on relative closeness.

There is a belief that women among the Luhya cannot or should not speak in public, this can be explained through Freed's (1996) assertion that power and society is a factor that affects the style of communication. Men's greater social power allows them to define and control situations, and male norms predominate in interaction. It has also been suggested that those who are powerless must be polite (speak in low tones).

On being asked which speech styles they associated with men or women, most respondents felt that men were assertive, commanding and were expected to

exhibit aggression and competitiveness especially in public. Again, this is a mere assertion that is hinged on the patriarchal cultural orientation of the Luhya.

4.3 Culture, Language and Gender

4.3.1 Introduction

In trying to ascertain if there exists any relationship between the socio-cultural background of an individual and the gendered use of conversational styles, the face to face interviews with the respondents came in handy. The interviewer sought to know how gender roles, the status, education and modernity has affected the conversation styles and patterns. The following findings were generated.

4.3.2 Gender Roles

The duties and roles of an individual within the Luhya community reflect the position one holds in the community. Husbands are the heads of the household and anything happening in the family has to have their blessings. As mentioned before, basically most Luhya families were traditionally polygamous and patriarchal. The head of the home is expected to organize duties for his wives and children and in cases where the family is polygamous the first wife is the matriarch who all the women folk look upon for direction.

The male child is very important in the Luhya family mainly because he is expected to inherit from his father usually after death. Among the Luhya, girls played a lesser important role since they were look upon as a source of wealth (dowry). Of late, education has become very important as a route towards

prosperity and it can be gauged how households prioritize it. Most families within the Luhya community place little importance on the benefits of educating girls. This is quite clear from the demographic characteristics in the table below of the respondents especially in terms of their education level.

Table 13: Level of Education of Respondents (N=103)

Education level of Respondents (N=103)		
	Male	**Female**
None	6	13
Primary	15	16
Secondary	23	10
Post Sec	12	8
Total	56	47

The table above shows that the education level of the respondents favoured the men in that only 6 (23%) do not have any education compared to 13 (77%) women, 15(56%) men had primary level education compared to 16 (44%) women, the greatest discrepancy however is at secondary and post-secondary level where 23(69.1%) men are compared to only 10(30.1%) and 12(60%) men and 8(40%) women respectively. According to these results, the majority of the women respondents 26 (54%) had only basic education thus they were disadvantaged compared to their male counterparts.

The findings further reveal that a woman's value is measured by their passivity and subservience to men. In communication with men, women are expected to look down or aside to avoid eye contact with the man. It is not expected that a woman can initiate talk with a man older or a peer to her husband. A woman is not also to budge into a conversation of men for this would be looked at as being

shameless. When a man wants to talk to a woman, even if she is in a group of others, all the man needs to do is to look in her direction and she should drop whatever she is doing and attend to her husband. However, most respondents felt that with education, status and occupation, women have gained a say in what they do and how they should behave.

On inquiring if the gender of someone affected the way they talk; most respondents felt that the gender of an individual affected the way they talk. A woman is expected to be modest and talk in low tones especially in the presence of men. They said that there were some words that are a taboo to be mentioned by women in public especially dangerous creatures like snakes and sexual organs. Probed if the same applied in women only interactions, they said they are freer in their groups. No restrictions are found in the male speech though as noted before, a talkative man is despised for being womanly.

4.3.3 Status

Status among the Luhya goes with age, occupation and the role one plays in the society. The old men in the society are considered wise and thus the custodians of the wisdom within the community. However, currently with education and Christianity, there has been considerable change. Educated and employed women with the power to hire and fire have gained some form of recognition and are referred to as 'madam'. Traditionally, young women and girls are expected to listen to what older women say and they are expected to learn chores like cooking and child care. To the respondents, not knowing how to cook by a girl is an embarrassment to the mother.

Boys, it emerged are to respect older people irrespective of their gender. They therefore respect older women as they would do to own their mothers. This however changes in most cases after circumcision since now they take up their duties of protecting their women who include those older than them.

The respondents were asked if the status and education of the woman affects the way they talk to others. Most of the respondents felt that the status of a woman is most defined in work environment contexts; the woman is accorded respect according to her position and ability to pay the men that work under her. However, this status is not expected to replicate in the home environment since the man makes the decisions in the household. One respondent said:

> *"Education and the status of the woman remained in the office and has nothing to do with the home".*

When asked what conversation styles they associated with women of status in the community, most respondents felt that most of them are commanding, direct and polite. The respondents attributed this style of conversation to their position in the society. They gave examples of female teachers whom they said that their environment dictated that they be commanding and direct to be obeyed and respected by their pupils. The same is attributed to female administrators, policewomen who often have to deal with male related occupations.

4.3.4 Honorifics

In the Luhya vocabulary there are words that communicate aspects of power and powerlessness or domination and subordination. From my check list, I observed that men were referred to as *Omwami* (the leader), *Omukhulundu* (the elder) *Omukofu* (the older) this was especially for the older men whereas terms that

referred to older women were *Omushiele* (old woman) *senje* (aunt)or *kukhu* (grandmother).The above examples were mainly applicable to the people over the age of 50. It was quite evident from the call-in shows that the hosts and callers used address titles more often in addressing men than they did to women. The figure 7 below illustrates the findings:

Figure 7: Distribution of Use of Address Titles on Callers by Hosts on Mulembe FM
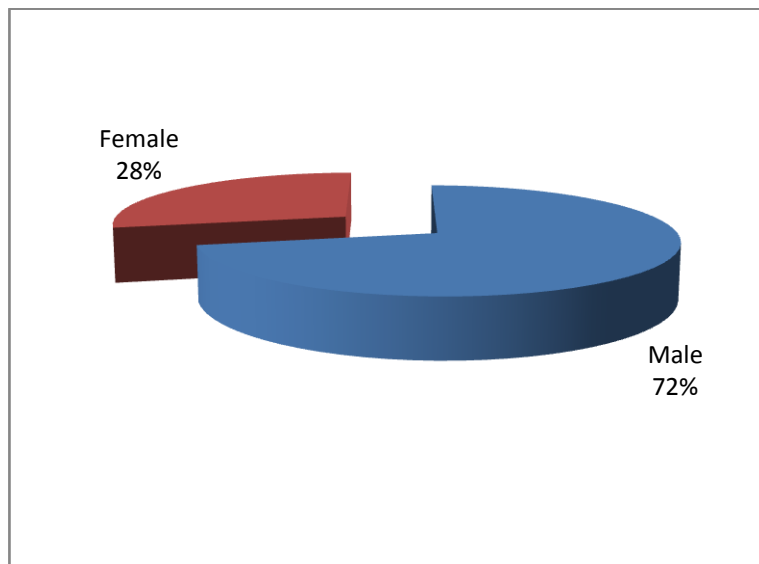
In the above table, the hosts to the call-in-programmes used a total of 102 address titles in referring to their callers and guests. Of this only 29 (28%) were in reference to women whereas men enjoyed 73 (72%). This could be attributed to the perception of Luhya speakers whose language is more expressive in terms of describing men than it is in describing women. The same results were similar to the callers in referring to the hosts of the programmes.

For men in the range of 25-40 years their titles tended to refer to the brute strength of animals. Most of them were referred to as *isolo* (the beast) isurusi (the

bull) *imboko* (the hippo) and *italanyi* (the lion). For the women matching the above age criteria most of them were referred to in relation to their first male children e.g. *Nyina* Wesa "the mother of Wesa', or would be referred to by their husbands' name e.g.*mkha* Waswa (wife of Waswa), or by the clan she comes from e.g. *Nabakolwe* (Girl from *Bukolwe* clan).

The interpretation drawn from the above indicates that in Luhya language a woman is only referred to in relation to the people in her life especially the males. It is important to note here that when a woman is called or being referred to in a conversation, the first person that comes to the mind of the referent is her clan, husband or her first male child.

In reference to unmarried men, still Luhya language bestows the young men with beastly aggressiveness, strength and wittiness, most young men will be referred to as *Omuchesi* (the clever one) or *Waamani* (the strong one) depending on the characteristics the young man displays in the home. For the girls, their terms of reference tended to refer to delicate things like *liiwa* (flower), *inyungu* (the pot) and *eshiombo* (best of all). This was to show that whilst men exhibited the brute force and aggressiveness, the woman was expected to be delicate and protected by the men.

Two aspects of communication styles that come out from this example can be explained as follows; the female host wants the guest to find a common ground by trying to highlight a positive aspect of a negative issue. Rather than appearing to be accusing the nurse of negligence that led to the death of children, the

hostess avoids disagreement. In the clarifying the questions the hostess is only trying to be polite. This could be explained from a socio-cultural point of view.

The male host is keen on asserting himself, putting himself on an advantage level so as to control the discussion at hand whereas the hostess is keen on creating rapport before delving into more serious issues of the day. The hostess is thus deliberately being facilitative and supportive, whereas the host, due to his social background and possibly cultural learning, he wants answers immediately.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

This study aimed at investigating how participants on Mulembe FM call-in programmes use linguistic conversational styles and strategies in mitigating their face needs. Differences in the use of linguistic conversational styles between men and women in Luhya language and notions of power and powerlessness were analysed and discussed. The study also attempts to find out the other factors that influence interaction in communication. In this chapter, I present a summary of the findings and conclusions.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Chapter Four dealt with the findings and discussion based on the research objectives. In objective one, the data in the framework of three discourse variables was analysed: amount of speech, turn taking and holding of floors, interruptions (dominant versus supportive). The analysis of data produced the following distribution patterns. Concerning amount of speech, males did a greater share of talking measured by the length of time. Regarding turn taking and holding of floors, this study finds that (1) males take longer floor holding turns than females; (2) females are more likely than males to make non-turn utterance; and (3) there is not much gender difference in non-floor holding turns. On interruptions, the results are as follows: (1) males interrupt more than female; (2) males also get interrupted more than females; (3) males interrupt other males frequently; (4) males interrupt females more often than reverse; and (5) males' interruptions tend to be more dominance related.

With regard to topic and gender, this study made the following findings; males talk a greater amount of time than females on politics, economy, culture and sports. Females talk more than males on marriage, health and education, but they participate to a very limited degree on culture. Males take longer floor holding turns than females in most of the situations (politics, economy, sports and culture) and only in the discussions of health and education do females hold the floor for a longer period of time than males. As to non-turn utterances, there was no sufficient data to study gender differences by topic; on a per episode basis. The topic, "economy", produced the highest number of males dominant interruptions. This study also notes that in male initiated interruptions, there is a rough tendency that the more male oriented the topic is, and the more likely it is for dominance- related interruptions to occur. Not much gender difference is found in supportive interruptions. Males produce more utterance with assertive functions than females do on the topics of politics, economy, health, and marriage; only on the topic of health and education do females makes more assertive utterances than males do. In contrast, female tend to produce more utterances with supportive functions than do males on almost all topics.

It was also noted that the use of questions and question tags was common to both genders though in mixed conversations, the tendency was higher with the women than the men. Women used questions in making requests or in seeking support from their listeners. Both genders used the question tags as a way of creating solidarity in the parties involved in the conversation. On the other hand, men used question tags as a form of command or order especially in cases where they felt a certain action ought to have been taken by whoever they were addressing. It also

emerged that women were prone to use indirectness and hedging in their speech and often all their statements would begin with a question. It should be noted however that indirectness can also be used as a tool of power in a conversation as exemplified in the example of a conversation between the MP and the radio hosts.

The findings also noted that there are stereotypes in Luhya language that cannot be supported empirically. The claim that women are talkative has been disputed with the findings in this study which found men to out-talk women on most occasions. Another fallacy is the claim that women are gossips since they talk in low tones but this could be attributed to their need to connect to the hearer or the socialization in which they were taught to talk in low tones. Another factor here could be the patriarchal nature of the society that denies them a voice and bestows all the decision making to the man.

The level of literacy in the study also favoured the men whose power to read and write definitely gives them an upper hand. They are therefore conversant in current affairs thus their outlook to the world around them is wider than the women's. No wonder they are apt to discuss politics and economics than their women counterparts who are limited due to their level of education. It is noted however that the women who are literate and are gainfully occupied command respect and can discuss any topic with ease.

On the use of honorifics, the findings reveal that Luhya language is limited in references for women. Women were referred to in terms of their male relatives and rarely did they have nicknames to show their attributes. On the other hand

men took on titles that either exalted their strengths or their courage and their high level of knowledge.

5.2 Conclusions of the Study

On the whole, males consistently demonstrate conversational assertiveness in the discussions of politics, economy, sports and culture. They are found to talk more on these topics, take longer turns, hold floors for longer periods of time make more dominant interruptions, and produce more utterance with assertive functions. This suggests that these topics are relatively male-oriented in Luhya society. Women show more features of conversational supportiveness in most of the situations. The topic of health and education is the only situation that initiates more assertiveness from the female speakers.

With regard to ratio of men to women, gender difference is salient when there are more males than females participating in the interactions. When the ratio of men to women is 2:1, men talk much more than women, while the converse is not true. A tendency is shown that in the presence of women, men are likely to become increasingly more talkative as the number of male participants increases. Men take longer floor-holding turns in almost all situations; the highest rate of male floor- holding is found in the 3:1 male to female situation. Women produce more non-turn utterances, especially when the ratio of men to women is even. Men make more utterances with assertive functions overall; it appears that the higher the ratio of men to women, the sharper is the gender difference regarding assertive behaviours. Women produce more supportive utterances in ratio of 1:1 and 1:2 male to female situations.

The findings reveal that males were likely to be more assertive and direct in their speech as women on the other hand were supportive, use questions and question tags more often than men and are often indirect in their speech manners. It is however evident that, men too, use indirectness and questions as a form of dominance in their speech.

The findings also reveal that the gender, status and socio-demographic characteristics of a speaker and a listener determined the conversation strategy they employ in their interaction. However, other factors like culture and context have been noted to play a very crucial role in interactions.

On the whole, males are found to be more dominance-oriented than females in this study: they talk more than females, take longer turns, hold the floor for longer periods of time, interrupt more their interruptions are likely dominant than supportive. Males' utterances featured assertiveness. There is ample evidence for gender difference on the discourse level in the Luhya language. Overall, Luhya men's speech shows more dominance, power and control, while Luhya women's speech is more associated with cooperation, support and subservience.

However, a note should be added here concerning this conclusion. The current study only examines verbal interactions in radio call-in-shows. The context in which the interaction takes place is formally structured, although the interactions themselves are not formally task-oriented. It may be that this type of context affects expectations and beliefs about men's and women's verbal behaviour and may have produced more stereotypical gender behaviour. For instance, as mentioned before, men may be expected to be more intellectually competent than

women in a situation such as call-in shows, and they may tend to act as authorities and give more statements, information and opinions than women.

The results above indicate that men tend to be more competitive when there are more male participants present in cross-sex interactions. Women are pushed to an essentially listening role when men seem to be competing for the talking time or the floor. Women are consistently less competitive and more supportive than men, regardless of the male to female ratio.

In addition to the perceived nature of the situation in which verbal interactions take place, there are other social factors that affect the language behaviour of men and women. Their performance might vary according to the underlying pattern of social relationships, the content of the interaction, the structure of self-other expectations, and /or other constrains on the contexts. This study mainly focuses on the factors that could have important effect on gender-differentiated performance- the topic of conversation, and the ratio of men to female who participate in the interactions.

5.3 Theoretical Implications and Recommendations

This corpus based study of radio call-in shows is one of the first attempts in the Luhya field to give a systematic, mixed methods study of gender differences in conversational interaction in realization of politeness. Since very little has been done on Luhya to address similar questions, it is difficult to compare the findings here with similar studies conducted by others. It is expected that future work in this field will re-examine the findings in this study and offer confirmations, further refinement, or challenges to the results obtained here based on a set of

radio call-in shows. It is hoped that this initial study will contribute to the understanding of language and gender issues in the Luhya context, as well as to more general, universal characteristics of language and gender.

The current study reveals that Luhya men and women have different sets of norms for conversational interaction, and those socio-cultural factors play an important role in the gender differentiation in language. The work is representative of the new direction of linguistic research that recognizes the importance of social contexts. Nonetheless, the variety of contexts that might be helpful in understanding the encoding of gender in language, as well as the construction of gender through language, is virtually endless. In this study an attempt has been made to explore to a certain extent some contextualized situations, but there are many more that will need to await further research. Given the limited size of the project and the nature of data collection (radio call-in shows), It is not possible to address such issues as socioeconomic status, age, occupation, education, call-in shows host dynamic, and so forth.

The current study is viewed as laying the groundwork for the kind directions and questions to be answered and as part of the on-going research and inquiries into new areas of exploration in the interaction of language and gender. More studies need to be done in different contexts to examine gender behaviour on the discourse level. Such studies can include informal interactions between husbands and wives, casual conversations among same or cross sex friends, and forth.

As noted a number of studies have been conducted to explore gender differences in amount of talk, but virtually all of these studies have used English speaking,

Chinese and Japanese as their subjects. However, since no similar studies have been done on Luhya, and African languages, it is still helpful to compare the findings in the current study with those carried out in the Western field. As reported by James and Drakish (1993:284), out of 56 studies dealing with adult mixed –sex interaction, males were found to talk more than females overall in 24, or 42.9%, of the studies. A further 10 studies (17.9%) males to talk more than females in some circumstances, with there being no differences in other circumstances. In 16 studies (28.6) no difference was found between the sexes overall and only 2 studies (3.6%) found females to talk more overall. The remainder of these studies found that sometimes males and sometimes females talked more, depending on the situation. In summary, a majority of the studies have found males to talk more than females, either overall or under at least some circumstances, which is similar to the finding in my study regarding amount of talk.

All in all, language should not be treated as a closed system or studied without reference to "external" environmental factors. Future studies in language and gender are expected to extend into such areas as the social causes and consequences of gender difference in language, the acquisition of differentiated interaction patterns by boys and girls, and the development of differential communicative competence. The field will undoubtedly benefit from the growing interest in the sociolinguistic analysis of gender differences in speech and the contribution from informed and detailed studies of a language such as Luhya.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.

Listeners Survey Interview Schedule

Dear Mulembe FM radio Listener,

The purpose of this interview is to investigate the use of politeness strategies on Mulembe FM radio station. This is purely for academic reasons and all the answers you give will be acceptable.

Demographic Information of Respondents

Sex	
Age	
Level of Education	
Occupation	

Section B: Open-ended Questions

In this section briefly give your views on various issues in regard to conversation between and among men and women.

1) What is the role of the man/ woman in your society?

2) How are boys/ girls regarded in your community?

3) Does the sex of someone affect the way they talk? Yes/No. Probe

4) Does the status of a woman affect the way she communicates with others? Yes/No Probe

5) Does the education level of a woman affect the way they communicate with others?

6) How do you address the following? Your peer(same sex/ different sex)

    a. Your senior(same sex/different sex)

    b. Your junior(same sex/different sex)

7) Which of the following conversation styles do you associate with men

    a. Men Luhya speakers?

    b. Women Luhya speakers?

    c. Women of status?

    i. Politeness

    ii. Interruption

    iii. Talkativeness

    iv. Indirectness/ hedging

    v. Swear words

    vi. Commanding

6. How has modernity/education affected the way of conversation between;

    i. Boys to boys

    ii. Girls to girls

    iii. Men to women

    iv. Women to women

Appendix B

During conversations, men and women exhibit the following characteristics which indicate either politeness or impoliteness. Please tick the one choice of each statement that represents your honest opinion.

(SA) - Strongly Agree, (2) A- Agree, (3) U-Unsure, (4) D- Disagree, (5) SD- Strongly Disagree

	Question	1	2	3	4	5
1	Men use question tags e.g.(*ita, nomba, noho*etc) in their speech					
2	Women use question tags e.g.(*ita, nomba, noho*etc) in their speech					
3	Men use questions in their speech					
4	Women use questions in their speech					
5	Men usually control a conversation when talking to women					
6.	Status is observed in a conversation between men					
7	Status is observed in a conversation between women					
8	Men interrupt more ; fellow men					
9	; Women					
10	Women interrupt more ; fellow women					
11	; men					
12	Men are talkative					

13	Women are talkative					
14	Men are assertive when they talk					
15	Women are assertive when they talk					
16	Men talk more in public gatherings					
17	Women talk more in public gatherings					
18	Men are polite in their speech					
19	Women are polite in their speech					
20	Men swear in their speech					
21	Women swear in their speech					
22	Men often use vulgar/obscene/taboo language					
23	Women often use vulgar/obscene/taboo language					
24	There are words used on Mulembe FM that exalt men					
25	There are words used on Mulembe FM that exalt women					
26	Men are commanding in their speech					
27	Women are commanding in their speech					
28	Women use euphemism					

Appendix C

Check list for honorifics

English	Luhya Masculine	Luhya Feminine
1.Family Honorifics		
Brother	Omusiani wefu	
Sister	Omukhana wefu	
Uncle	Papa	Khotsa
Aunt	Senje	Mama
Grandfather	Kuka	Kuka
Grandmother	Kukhu	Kukhu
Father-in- law	Nyakhufiala	Nyakhufiala
Mother-in law	Nyakhufiala	Nyakhufiala
Cousin	Mwanawefu	Mufiala
,,	wandaye	Akhaasi
Husband	Omusatsa	
Wife	Omukhasi	
Brother in law	Mukhwasi	Mulamwa
Sister in law	Mulamwa	Mulamwa
2. Age set		
Boy	Omusiani	Omusiani
Girl	Omukhana	Omukhana
man	Omusatsa	Omusatsa
woman	Omukhasi	Omukhasi
Older man	Omukofu	Omukofu

Older woman	Omushiere	Omushiere
Age mate	Bakochi	
3.Peer honorifics		
Friend	omwitsa	
Animal/beast	isolo	
Lion	Italanyi/	
Elephant	Inzofu	
Hippo	Imboko	
Leopard	Ingwe	
Hare	nakhamuna	
Flower		Liiwa/eshiombo
4.Ocupational		
Leader	Omwami/omuruchi	
Teacher	Omusomesia	
Honourable	omuruchi	
Priest	Omukhulundu	
Strong one	Waamani	
Creator	omulonji	
Prostitute		Likhura, litamba,lichoti, ling'ang'ule

Appendix D

Politeness Guide (Brown and Levinson 1987).

	Positive Politeness Strategies		Negative politeness Strategies
1.	Claiming Common Ground Notice, attend to hearer	1.	Be conventionally indirect
2.	Exaggerate	2.	Question, hedge
3.	Intensify interest to hearer	3.	Be pessimistic
4.	Use in group markers	4.	Minimize imposition
5.	Seek agreement	5.	Give deference
6.	Avoid disagreement	6.	Apologize
7.	Presuppose/raise/assert common ground	7.	Impersonalize speaker and hearer
8.	Joke	8.	State the FTA as the general rule
9.	Assert speaker knowledge	9.	Nominalize
10.	Offer / promise	10.	Go on record as incurring a debt, or indebting to hearer
11.	Be optimistic		
12.	Include speaker and hearer in activity		
13.	Give reasons		
14.	Assume reciprocity		
15.	Give gifts to hearer		

Appendix E

Data Analysis Guide

OBJECTIVE	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	RESEARCH DESIGN	DATA GENERATION TOOLS
To establish whether men and women are different in the use of linguistic politeness forms and strategies on Mulembe FM call-in-shows	Conversational style	Amount of speech, turn taking and interruptions	Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis	Tape recorded data Interview Observation
	Linguistic politeness	Assertiveness and supportiveness, Question tags and questions and indirectness	Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis	Tape recorded data, interview and observation
To assess how notions of power and powerlessness are created and conceived through linguistic politeness on Mulembe FM	Linguistic Politeness	Gender roles, Status, Communication patterns per gender and age, stereotypes and	Qualitative Content Analysis	Interview, observation guide, honorifics checklist guide
To ascertain if any relationship				

exists between socio-cultural background of an individual and the gendered use of politeness.		Honorifics		

Appendix F

Map: Former Mumias District. (Source Wikimaps 2011)