LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF IN-GROUP LANGUAGE AMONG CONSTRUCTION WORKERS IN GEM SUB-COUNTY, KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the candidate

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late brother-in-law: Mr. Ladislaus Onyimbo and my late sister: Mrs. Anastacia Onyimbo who never lived to see me through this work; to my mother: Mrs. Margaret Odhiambo for her prayers and encouragement, to my loving husband: Mr. Siguru Obok for both his moral and financial support and finally to our children: Anne and Moses for their perseverance during the course of study.

ABSTRACT

Communication is the essence of human interaction. The nature of communication is dependent on interaction between two or more individuals. Construction sites in Gem sub-County, Kenya bring together a variety of people of diverse interests, lifestyles and specializations. Construction workers engage in communication processes which exhibit diversity, since they apparently have a specific language for the in-group which is explicitly understood by themselves to the exclusion of non-workers. The language variety is replete with unique linguistic features. This unique style of expression act as an effective communication among the workers. In view of this, group identity, linguistic intergroup bias and linguistic features are some of the aspects of the gaps that this study addresses in the context of construction workers. The aim of this study was therefore to investigate the linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to: describe the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, determine the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites, and evaluate the linguistic features that construction workers adopt in their speech. Accommodation theory by Giles (2005) and the theory of Politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) guided this study. The study used Accommodation Theory's three strategies of convergence, divergence and maintenance to describe, determine and evaluate the in-group language of construction workers. The study adopted descriptive research design. The study area was Gem sub-County, Kenya. The study population comprised 110 construction workers. The sample population included; 10 construction workers, 1 site and 87 utterances. The unit of analysis in this study was the utterance. The study adopted purposive sampling in selecting the appropriate samples. Data were collected through participant observation and interview methods. The research tools for data collection namely the observation and interview schedules were pre-tested in order to ensure validity and reliability. Data were then analyzed qualitatively into themes. The study revealed that construction workers use a particular sociolect when interacting with fellow workers in the construction site and this sociolect is a restricted code. The analysis also revealed that in-group language generated a variety of stylistic choices that were in turn used to understand the mode of communication in the site. This was an indication that stylistic choices determined language usage in construction sites. It was also noted that construction workers converge on the communicative patterns deemed to be characteristic of their interactions. Finally, it was evident in the discussion that construction workers' use ordinary words but assign them special meaning with a view to maintaining positive in-group identity. The study recommends that construction workers should avoid the use of impolite remarks and taboo words for the sake of social harmony and smooth communication. This study would add sociolinguistic knowledge to the in-group language thereby benefitting linguists, sociologists, psychologists and the larger linguistic community.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UNEP: United Nations Environmental Programme.

KNBS: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

FTA   : Face Threatening Act.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

A construction worker: A kind of employee who works in the field of construction.

An utterance: A sentence used by the speaker for some purpose.

Characteristic: A quality of in-group language that is typical of them and easy to recognize.

Clients: Are people who engage construction workers and foremen.

Construction: A set of correlated and co-dependent process involved in building structures.

Convergence: Modification of speech in a direction towards that of another interlocutor.

Divergence: Shifting speech away from an interlocutor.

Feature: A distinctive characteristic of an utterance that sets it apart from similar items.

Foreman: A person employed by the client to take charge and supervise all the labour in the site.

Group: A collection of people who have a perception of shared characteristics.

Group identity: A feeling of sameness or togetherness whose primary symbol is language.

Identity: Is the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs.

In-group: A social category or group which one identifies with strongly.

Linguistic Features: Distinct characteristics related to sociolinguistic and semantic aspects of
the nature, structure and linguistic variation of in-group language of
construction workers.

Maintenance: Is the neutral condition or the regular speech pattern.

Out-group: A social category or group with which one does not identify.

Stylistic choices: Is the use of a variety of techniques to give an auxiliary meaning, idea, or feeling.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This chapter foregrounds the study by providing background information regarding language and communication, dialectal variations and interaction patterns among construction workers. It also incorporates statement of the problem, research questions, and objectives of the study, scope of the study, justification and conceptual framework.

1.1.1 Language and Communication

According to Scott and Brydon (1997), communication is the process in which people attempt to create specific meaning and images in the minds of others. The scholars explain that for any communicative event to serve the foregoing purposes, communicators must effectively use language. This can be done by: eliciting a response, informing, interacting or creating a rapport. Robins (1985) defines language as a symbol system based on pure or arbitrary conventions infinitely extendable and modifiable according to the changing needs and conditions of the speakers. According to this definition, language is a symbol system. Every language selects some symbols for its selected sounds. The focus of this study is on the spoken language at construction sites. The system talked of here is purely arbitrary in the sense that there is no one to one correspondence between the structure of a word and the thing it stands for. Words go on changing meanings and new words continue to be added to language with the changing needs of the community using it. In line with Robin's (1985) definition of language, this study evaluates linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

Generally, language is useful for the promotion and maintenance of social contacts and this is what is evident in construction workers' language use as they use it to enhance communication efficiency among them. Construction workers' in-group language is part of a linguistic community and they play a central role in communication since language is basically for communication of identity.

Narasimhan and Verma (1981) posit that communication is an essential component of agentive behaviour. Communication is one of the characteristics that distinguishes agents from objects and hence, behavioural phenomena from physical phenomena. The main agents of communication in this study are construction workers. Although communication acquires its major significance in the context of group or social behaviour, it is of fundamental importance even to individual agents in isolation and that is why the study is expected to expose the uniqueness in construction workers' in-group language with a view to achieving objective three of this study. The study encompasses both general and specialized construction workers who engage in day-to-day communication processes in construction sites. Construction sites are considered ideal for this study as they serve as melting points for various participants: foremen, bricklayers, roofers, casual labourers, builders, electricians, plumbers, masons and painters, among others, with much influence on both economic and social life.

In conversation, speakers design their utterances to be understood against the common ground they share with their addressees. For instance, the common ground may include their common experience, social, economic status, expertise, dialect and culture. This ordinarily gives addressees an advantage over overhearers in understanding. Addressees have an additional

advantage as they propose, because they have understood what is said, whereas overhearers cannot (Clark & Schaefer, 1989). Addressees are participants in conversation at the moment whereas overhearers are not. Speakers are responsible for making themselves understood to the other participants, but not overhearers. They may try to disclose, conceal or disguise what they say. The study uses Clark and Schaefer's (1989) views to describe the characteristics of in-group language in construction sites.

Language use in construction sites is governed by the domains of language use. Language is the key to a person's identity as it enables the person to express emotions, share feelings, tell stories, and convey complex messages and knowledge (Imberti, 2007). This information is relevant to this study since it revolves around language use. In contrast to Imberti's (2007) study, the present study determines the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers in construction sites.

Studies on in-group language have shown that opposing preferences minimize chances of facilitating effective intergroup communication (Ogone, 2004). The study by Ogone (2004) also reveals a strong sense of social differentiation between touts and passengers which confirmed the use of positive distinctiveness strategies that serve to block intergroup communication. His study is relevant to this study since it revolves around language use among a particular social group (touts) the same way this study deals with the language of construction workers. Contrastively, this study focuses on linguistic features in construction workers' in-group language.

Amuka (1992) focuses on the play of deconstruction in the speech of Africa: 'Pakruok' and 'Ngero'. The essay employs Pakruok as part of a narrative technique to explore the art of naming among the Luo and to demonstrate how naming relates to the ontogenesis of the Luo individual in a communal setting. Amuka (ibid.) argues that people address one another with codes that conceal the nature of their interactions with the public. Contrastively, this study focuses on how linguistic features are unique. These are distinct characteristics which are related to the semantic and sociolinguistic nature, structure and language variations of in-group language of construction workers.

Yakub (2012) reveals that Kinubi maintenance thrives within the changes in the Kibera society. Kinubi is used both at home and at the workplace. Consequently, the current study investigates how unique linguistic features adopted by construction workers in construction sites are unique. Kinubi acts as a unifying force for the speakers of the language and the dynamics of the multilingual society leads the Nubian community to maintain their mother-tongue. In view of this, the present study evaluates linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

The construction sector is an important sector of the economy of any nation. The United Nations Environmental Programme has noted that about one-tenth of the global economy is dedicated to constructing and operating homes and offices (UNEP, 1996). United Nations Environmental Programme further observes that the industry consumes one-sixth to one-half of the world's wood, minerals, water and energy. The industry generates income for a significant percentage of the population and covers a wide variety of technologies and practices on different scales.

In America, maintaining one's native language is seen as spiteful- the purposeful rejection of American norms and rules. Those who use other languages other than English in the workplace are characterized as rude and insurbodinate. In order to be a good worker and a good American, one must repudiate one's native tongue and assimilate completely. Monolingual English speakers, predicting dire consequences for the country, contend that allowing immigrants to continue using their native language allows them to reject American values. The American economy is balanced on the backs of those immigrants whose limited English dictates they must accept the low paying or dirty jobs that white Americans disdains. For instance: Gardeners, housekeepers, babysitters, factory workers are among workers with low paying and dirty jobs (Gibson, 2011).

In sub-Saharan Africa, construction sector is a major source of employment and income. The industry in most countries is characterized by extensive sub-contracting, temporary and insecure employment (Mitullah & Njeri, 2000). The South African construction industry experiences an increase in immigrants, many of whom are illiterate. Furthermore, South Africa has eleven official languages which create a problem of communication within the country. The Kenyan construction industry comprises a large number of enterprises of various sizes, owned by different ethnic groups (ibid.). Kenyans of foreign, mostly Asian, origin still dominate the industry. Kinyanjui and Mitullah (1999) have argued that although Asian-owned firms may be regarded as local, they have preferential access to finance outside the official bank system, and access bank loans at fair interest rates and remission, which enables their business to thrive and operate in the formal sector. The construction sector has a team of professionals including architects, surveyors and engineers who oversee the design and construction of a project and act as intermediaries between the clients and the builders.

Construction work in Gem sub-County is dominated by men who are largely Luos of diverse interests, lifestyles and specializations. Women's role in construction sites is limited to selling food to the workers and bringing water in case of shortages. The construction workers are drawn from the locality and could be multilingual but are largely native Luo speakers. Dholuo speakers are River Lake Nilotes who are settled around Lake Victoria, in Nyanza Province, Western Kenya.

Gem sub-County is situated in Siaya County, Nyanza Province in Western Kenya. The neighbouring sub-Counties are Emukhaya, Luanda, Khisa, Alego-Usonga, Bondo, Rarieda, and Seme. There are two divisions in Gem sub-County namely Yala and Wagai. There are also nine locations, thirty nine sub-locations, six wards and one hundred and seventy-nine villages. The current study was conducted in a construction site within Wesa village, which is located in Ndere sub-location, Gem sub-County, Kenya. Moreover, the construction sites in Gem sub-County are referred to by the names of the village or locality where construction is taking place.

1.1.2 Dialectal Variations

All languages exhibit internal variations. Each language exists in a number of varieties and is in one sense of those varieties. Hudson (1996) defines variation of languages as a set of linguistic item with similar social distribution. According to Hudson's (1996) definition, all the languages of some multi-lingual speaker or community are treated as a single variety since all the linguistic items concerned have a similar social distribution. A variety can therefore be something greater

than a single language as well as something less, less even than something traditionally referred to as a dialect.

Ferguson (1971) also offers definition of a variety: "any body of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogenous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough semantic scope to function in all form of context communication". Hudson (1996) and Ferguson (1971) agree in defining linguistic variation in terms of a specific set of linguistic items or human speech patterns (presumably sounds, words , grammatical features among others) which can uniquely associate with some external factors (geographical area or social group).

McDavid (1966) defines dialect as "any habitual variety of language, set off from other such varieties by a complex of features of pronunciation, grammar or vocabulary. Thus, a dialect is a variety of the same language. This makes a super ordinate distinction (one is part of or a version of the other). There is very thin distinction between language and dialect. Language can be used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms and dialect refers to one of the norms. There are two dialects in Dholuo language namely Trans-Yala and Kisumu South Nyanza dialect but all this forms one language. This is termed as regional dialects. Regional dialects refer to variations within a particular language based on geographical origin of the speaker. Due to language changes which may be regional and communication barriers between one geographical region and another, language may develop traits of differences that may result into speakers in one region to speak differently from others. The variations in these two dialects are realized predominantly in phonological and lexical levels. The differences at the lexical level

seem to be more pronounced because words are easier to notice than single sounds. Luo's from Kisumu-South Nyanza and Trans-Yala region speak the same language (Dholuo) but with different dialects. The utterances collected in this study are replete with both Trans-Yala and Kisumu South Nyanza dialect. This is because data was collected at a site that borders Ugenya and Alego where residents are speakers of Trans-Yala dialect. The dialect spoken in Gem sub-County falls under Kisumu South Nyanza dialect. Linguistically, no accents are superior to any others as long as effective communication is going on (Wilkinson, 1965).

1.1.3 Interaction Patterns among Construction Workers

Gilani (2008) defines construction as a set of correlated and co-dependent processes involved in assembling or building structures. A construction worker therefore is any type of employee who works in the field of construction. There are three different types of construction such as civil, building and industrial construction. Civil or heavy construction involves adding infrastructure to local or national construction. For instance, construction of harbours, railroads, golf courses, dams, earthwork projects, bridges among others. Industrial construction is the construction of cement, chemical, production-process lines, manufacturing facilities, power, gas, oil and paper industries. On the other hand, building construction is the construction or renovation of building foundations, columns and walls, lintels, floors, roofs, lifts or stairs, finishing (painting and plastering), building services (sanitation, electrical works, drainage and water supply), and external works for instance external walls and or fencing (Gilani, 2008).

Building construction types are classified into commercial and residential. Commercial construction uses more metal and masonry components and more fire resistant materials.

Residential construction has a number of options, but the majority is wood-framed, built with walls formed of studs and plates (Haring, 2013). The researcher is interested in building construction as one of the kinds of construction in Gem sub-County, Kenya. While there are many participants in the construction industry, this study focuses on construction workers who build permanent houses in Gem sub-County, Kenya. Construction workers are responsible for implementing the entire building process. The workers lay the foundation, construct walls, and complete the building. Decorative elements such as brickwork and concrete are also done by them.

Messages or communication in construction sites are transmitted by the sender through a communication channel to a receiver or multiple receivers. The sender must encode the message for instance, the information being conveyed into a form that is appropriate to the communication channel, and the receiver(s) then decodes the message to understand its meaning and significance (Saatyaki, 2013). The main communication channel in construction sites is spoken or verbal communication which is a form of face to face communication. The participants in the communication process are mainly construction workers.

Residents in Gem sub-County live in permanent, semi-permanent and grass thatched houses. The researcher selected the construction of permanent houses since they take several days or months to build and require many workers. The long stay promotes the development of in-group language. Hence, it was easier to get construction workers repeatedly in such a site. Construction workers were identified for this study out of the many linguistic groups because they are distinct in terms of their unique speech styles that they create and use in construction sites.

Language becomes an important boundary marker. Howard (2005) defines an in-group as a social category or group with which one identifies strongly. An in-group language therefore refers to the language with which one identifies strongly. For instance, in this study, construction workers' language use with fellow construction workers in construction sites constitutes their in-group language. The study considers construction workers as the in-group for instance, builders, casual labourers, roofers and foreman since this study is based on linguistic features of construction workers only. A linguistic study on in-group language of this group was necessary to expose those linguistic strategies construction workers unconsciously use in communication thereby getting insight of shared knowledge of linguistic features regarding this language. It therefore emerged that the aspects of the gaps had not been studied in the context of construction workers. In view of this, characteristics of in-group language, linguistic intergroup bias and linguistic features are some of the aspects of the gaps that this study addresses.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Language is one of the most important signs of collective identity. Speaking the same language as someone else is a simple and effective way of indicating solidarity. Speaking a different language or variety of languages is an effective way of distinguishing oneself from other individuals or groups. The use of language by individuals can sometimes indicate identity in form of gender and membership in a certain socio-economic class. Construction workers apparently have a specific language for the in-group which is explicitly understood by themselves with a view to improving in-group social identity. The in-group language is replete with unique linguistic features which enhances communication efficiency among the workers.

This study therefore had set out to investigate the use of linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers in construction sites in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions guided this study:

i. What are the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya?

ii. What are the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya?

iii. Which linguistic features do construction workers adopt in their speech?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study had set out to investigate the use of linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya. The specific objectives were to:

i. Describe the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

ii. Determine the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya.

iii. Evaluate the linguistic features that construction workers adopt in their speech.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study focused on the linguistic features of in-group language among Dholuo speaking construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya. The aim was to study the unique linguistic features caused by site workers and their place in the theory. The main focus was on construction workers as a linguistic group and not the person. While there were many participants in the

construction industry in Gem sub-County, this study specifically focused on construction workers who build permanent houses only.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Heine and Nurse (2000) posit that many African languages still remain poorly studied or have not been studied at all. With regard to Dholuo, the existing literature such as Amuka (1992) has focused on the play of deconstruction in the speech of Africa: 'Pakruok' and 'Ngero' in telling culture in Dholuo. Ogone (2004) focused on group identity and communication breakdown between touts and passengers. Yakub (2012) addresses language maintenance. Therefore, it is imperative to study individual languages or language families in order to understand the linguistic features of the less studied language varieties with a view to filling this knowledge gap. Construction workers are examples of group identities with a unique style of language use in construction sites. In view of this, there is need to study their style of communication. The study may highlight the variables that control in-group language and specifically those that enhance effective communication among this group in line with Giles' Accommodation Theory (2005) and Theory of Politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987). The information gathered from this research may also add sociolinguistic knowledge to the in-group language thereby benefitting linguists, sociologists, psychologists and the linguistic community by creating awareness of the norms and rules in relation to the in-group language used by construction workers in construction sites.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

This section of the study outlines the conceptual framework used in the analysis of the study. This research investigates the linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers. Construction workers' language use is replete with unique linguistic features. The study adopts both Accommodation Theory by Giles (2005) and some of its developments and the Theory of Politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) in order to create awareness of this speech style.

1.7.1 Accommodation Theory

The theory is appropriate for examining interactants' communication goals, strategies, evaluations and linguistic behaviours. Accommodation Theory is a robust, social-psychological theory of interpersonal and intergroup processes. Accommodation Theory was first propounded by Giles (1973). The term "accommodation", introduced by Giles (ibid.), indicates the move to make one's way of communicating converge with that of one's interlocutors: one tries to meet them on their expressive grounds by consciously or unconsciously adopting features of their pronunciation, turn-taking practices, topic conventions among others. Accommodation Theory evolved from Speech Accommodation Theory, which was developed by Giles (2005) to demonstrate the value of social psychology concepts for a deeper understanding of the dynamics and modifications of speech during encounters.

According to Giles' (1973) Accommodation Theory, speakers may modify their speech in order to sound more like others they interact with to achieve greater social integration with them. However, Giles (2005) approach deals not only with convergence through accommodation, but also with divergence, where deliberate linguistic differences can be employed by a group as a

symbolic act for asserting or maintaining their distinct identity. Giles (2005) theory specifically focuses on non-verbal adjustments of rate, speech, pauses and accent. People accommodate their speech and behaviour more often around people who have higher attraction or hold similar beliefs and attitudes to the speaker. In communicative interactions, people use strategic behaviour, mainly based on language, to achieve a desired social distance between themselves and their interlocutors. That is to say, to maintain perceived separation or nearness with interlocutors (Giles, 1980).

Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982) make the useful distinction between the subjective and objective dimensions of accommodation, where the subjective dimension concerns the actual independently measured shift in the speakers' speech. A desire to converge is invariably connected with some concept of what it is that one is trying to discuss. The concept aimed for may not be on any linear axis in the direction of the true speech pattern of the interlocutor, in which case any interpretation of the speaker's intent is made even harder for the listener. On the other hand, part of the listener's speech pattern may be perceived and converged correctly by the speaker, but this is not in fact the part that is relevant for a particular situation. That part which is required as a goal for accommodation is not perceived by the speaker.

There are two distinct functions of accommodation: managing social distance and related identity concerns, and facilitating comprehension (Street & Giles, 1982). Within the first function, a number of more specific social effects of accommodation have been put forward, among them identifying with or appearing similar to others, maintaining personal relationship and maintaining interpersonal control as it relates to power or status differentials. Within the second

function, in turn, specific effects include the extent to which speakers are understood, and relatively, how language use is managed and directed. Two basic tenets in Speech Accommodation Theory are that during linguistic interactions, people tend to adjust their speech styles with respect to another as a means of expressing values, attitudes and intentions. Secondly, how people respond depends on how they perceive or interpret their interlocutors' speech.

The main strategies identifiable through Accommodation Theory include discourse patterns, interpretability, interpersonal control and approximation. The latter exists in convergence, divergence and maintenance strategies. Convergence and divergence are defined as strategies since they are deployed within the interactions as tendencies to accentuate similarities or differences between oneself and the interlocutor while maintenance is the neutral or the regular speech pattern (Shephard, Giles, & Le Poire, 2001).

Accommodation Theory has increasingly broadened the scope of analysis from Giles (1973) and now includes the observation of modifications not only in speech and discourse pattern, but also in the non-verbal behaviours during social interactions. Accommodation Theory states that people alter their communication to others for various reasons. One reason is to seek approval from the listener. Another is to maintain a positive social identity and have efficient communication.

Accommodation Theory (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005) posits that individuals bring their own attitudes to interactions, which shape the ways in which each interactant is likely to respond to the other. These attitudes are based on the socio-historical backgrounds, as well as individual histories comprised of previous experiences of similar interactions, and perceived social norms.

Initial orientation is also based on the larger social context, particularly the intergroup and interpersonal history. This orientation may be modified, however, by the sociolinguistic strategies and behavioural tactics employed by interactants in conversation, as well as by the specific features (social norms, level of formality, familiarity and uncertainty) on the social context. In this view, attitudes are both brought into the interaction and negotiated within. This dynamic in turn influences the ways in which behaviour is labeled and how it is attributed (for example, to personal violation, to ability or skill, to features of the context), and thence to the overall evaluation of (attitude toward) other interactants. Finally, evaluations determine the initial orientation in future interactions with the other person or the person's group (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005).

According to Giles (2005), people accommodate their speech and behaviour more often around people who have higher attraction or hold similar beliefs and attitudes to the speaker. He suggests that people use perception and evaluation in conversations, meaning they observe and interpret messages to determine their actions or attitudes in a conversation. Giles (2005) argues that norms and appropriateness conform human behaviour in communication in order for the speaker to reach expectations of the conversations. Construction workers' mode of interaction is replete with stylistic choices (metonyms, metaphors, similes and personification) and indirect utterances which increase effective communication among themselves since they are conversant with the norms and rules regarding their in-group language.

Giles (2005) further posits that Accommodation Theory has also moved in a more interdisciplinary direction than the previous Speech Accommodation Theory. The theory now

allows for dynamic analysis in a variety of contexts of how speakers increasingly accommodate or converge on the communicative patterns believed to be characteristic of their interactants, the more they wish to signal positive face or empathy and common social identities, or to elicit the other's approval, respect, trust, cooperation, and, still, to develop a closer relationship or defuse a potentially volatile situation. In turn, recipients perceive approbation, thus, both their own self-esteem and favourable images of the speakers' groups are enhanced.

Accommodation Theory principles of convergence and divergence were used in the interpretation of various stylistic choices and indirect utterances evident in construction workers' in-group language. Through this theory, a virtually unlimited variety of issues concerning human communicative interactions can now be investigated ranging from (verbal) communication across cultures and socio-cultural strata-both at intergroup and individual levels- to the expression and perception of emotions and the construal of identities (through discourse) both in interpersonal and institutional settings.

1.7.2 Theory of Politeness

The theory of politeness developed by Brown and Levinson (1987) was adopted in this study. Politeness is defined broadly in the theory to include both polite friendliness and polite formality and a universal model that outlines the principles underlying polite usages is constructed. It is noted that "societies everywhere, no matter what their degree of isolation or their socio-economic complexity, show the same politeness principles in their interaction" Brown and Levinson (1987). The theory seeks some underlying grammatical and social regularities which can account both for the variations in use and for the recurrent patterns. Brown and Levinson (1987) take their source data from situated conversational exchanges and make generalizations

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with reference to empirically testable universals of discourse and interaction. Fraser (1990) holds that the basic social role of politeness therefore lies in its ability to function as a way of controlling potential aggression.

1.7.2.1 Face and Politeness

For Brown and Levinson (1987), face is the public self-image the individual claims for the self. Human interaction is deemed as consisting of two specific kinds of desires or face-wants. Face wants are defined as a desire attributed by interactants to one another. Brown and Levinson (1987) "Face is made up of two dualistic wants hence negative face refers to the wants to be unimpeded in one's actions while positive face involves the desire to be approved and appreciated. The assumption is that "all competent adult members of a society have, and know each other to have face as well as certain rational capacities in particular; consistent modes of reasoning from ends to the means that will achieve those ends" Brown and Levinson (1987:58).

The notion of face is taken from Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties up with the notion of being embarrassed or humiliated or losing face. According to Brown and Levinson (1987:61), "face is something that is emotionally invested and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interaction." It is therefore in everybody's interests to maintain each other's face. The goal of protecting and managing face is accomplished by engaging in face work. Face work is conceptualized in the theory of politeness as the act of engaging in behaviours designed to create, support or challenge a particular line in an interaction (Goffman, 1971). Face work is considered as entailing firstly, avoidance strategies for instance making conscious efforts to avoid threatening topics or violating another's territory or calling attention to another's faults . Secondly, face work involves approach-based strategies

that include acts such as greetings, compliments and salutations aimed at affirming and supporting one's relationship with the interlocutor. The social order is said to be a result of face work and politeness can be viewed as the linguistic means by which face work is a complished.

1.7.2.2 Face Threatening Acts (F.T.As)

The term act refers to what a speaker has in mind or intends to do by a verbal or non-verbal communication. One or more speech acts can be assigned to an utterance. "An FTA implies that an act by participant 'A' may potentially trespass on participant 'B's interest, equanimity or personal preserve" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:16). Brown and Levinson (1987) note that verbal acts such as disagreements, refusals and criticisms threaten the speaker's positive face that is, the desire for closeness with others hence the need to choose strategies that can maintain the social order. Even requests and apologies are potentially face-threatening because they impede the addressee's autonomy and freedom of action (Beller, 2002). In Brown and Levinson's (1987) view, acts that do not achieve any face saving goals and that seriously undermine one's face constitute a form of impoliteness.

1.7.2.3 Strategies for doing FTAs

An FTA is "an act that intrinsically threatens face "(Brown & Levinson, 1987:60). According to Culpeper (1996), it should be in every speech participant's interest to act or speak in ways that do not humiliate or embarrass others or themselves. All parties must be aware that "certain speech acts are intrinsically face-threatening and require softening by means of politeness strategies" (Brown & Levinson, 1987:24). In the context of the mutual vulnerability of face, any rational agent or language user will seek to avoid these FTAs altogether or will employ certain strategies to minimize the threat by taking into consideration the weightings of three wants

namely: the want to commiunicate the content of any FTA, the want to be efficient or urgent and the want to maintain the hearer's face to any degree. The desirable strategy is for the speaker to minimize the threat of the FTA (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory adopts a rationalist model in which politeness is based on judgements of the need to preserve positive and negative face through mitigation pf potential face threats while impoliteness is equated with failing to do the politeness strategies by going bald on record without redressing the FTA's (Tracy, 2008). In every interaction, participants ought to be aware of one another's face and maintain it for the sake of social harmony and smooth communication (Holtgraves, 2005). The following are the options that speakers choose from to do FTAs:

a. On Record Strategies

A speaker goes on record in doing an act if it is clear to other participants what communicative intention led the actor to do it for instance, in the utterance 'We have to minimize the use of cement tomorrow to ensure there is no shortage,' the act of promising is performed explicitly without any hints at indirectness.

b. Doing an FTA Baldly i.e without redress

Bald on record strategy refers to "doing an FTA in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Normally, an FTA will be done in this way only if the speaker does not fear retribution from the addressee's face, that is, if the addressee for example in circumstances where there is minimal threat to the addressee's face, that is, if the degree of imposition or risk of causing face loss is small. It applies in contexts where the actors

are familiars mainly relatives, friends or colleagues. In these cases, the social distance is close and there is no power differential. It is acceptable to go on record baldly to offer, request and suggest things that are clearly in the hearer's interest (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

c. Doing an FTA by going off-record

Off-record strategies refer to a situation of polite usage whereby there is more than one attribute intended so that the actor is not held to have committed himself to one particular intent. Linguistic realizations of off record strategies include metaphor, irony, rhetorical questions , understatements and all sorts of hints as to what a speaker wants or means to communicate, without doing so directly, so that the meaning is to some degree negotiable (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

d. Doing an Act Baldly with Redressive Action

A speaker may also opt to act in a way that gives face to the addressee, that is, by attempting to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA through such modification or additions that indicate clearly that no FTA is intended or desired and that S in general recognizes H's face wants and wishes that they be achieved. Such redressive action takes two forms, depending on which aspect of face -positive or negative- is being stressed.

a. Positive Politeness Strategies that Redress Positive Face Wants

This strategy is oriented toward the positive face of the addressee, that is, the positive self-image that one claims for the self. It indicates that in some respects, the speaker provides for the addressee's wants. This involves treating the addressee as a member of an in-group, a friend, and a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked. By doing this, the speaker considers the addressee to be equally important, with in-group rights and duties and expectations

of reciprocacy. This strategy enables the speaker to exaggerate emphasis on closeness or solidarity with the addressee.

b. Negative Politeness Strategies that Redress Face Wants

These are strategies oriented mainly toward partially redressing the addressee's negative face or the basic want to maintain personal territory and self-determination. It is characterized by self-effacement, formality, and restraint, with attention to very restricted aspects of H's self-image, centering on his want to be unimpeded. Here, FTA's are redressed with apologies for transgressing, or linguistic or non-linguistic deference with hedges on the illocutionary force of the act, with impersonalizing mechanisms such as passives that distance S and H from the act. The theory considers politeness as a continuum ranging from least polite to most polite. The possible politeness strategies are summarized in figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Schema of possible Politeness Strategies
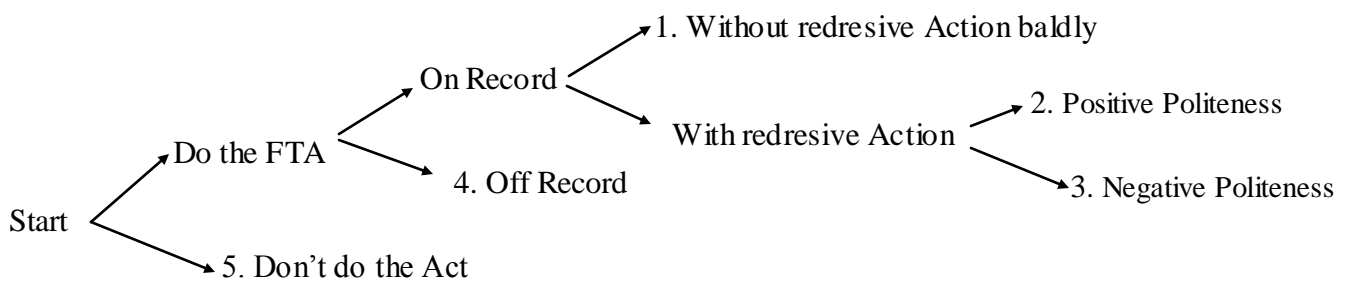
Adapted from: Brown and Levinson (1987:69)

1.7.3 Summary

This chapter elaborated on the background information regarding language and communication, dialectal variations and interaction patterns among construction workers. The chapter also states the problem, research questions, and objectives of the study, scope of the study, justification and conceptual framework with a view of highlighting on the aim of the study. The next chapter focuses on the literature review in relation to linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers with a view of exposing the gaps the study targets.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews works on the following variables: group identity; linguistic intergroup bias and linguistic features. Polit and Hungler (1995) posit that literature review can provide information about what has been accomplished earlier and help to identify research strategies. It aids in determining knowledge gaps and discover unanswered questions.

2.2 Characteristics of In-group Language

Howard (2005) defines a group as a collection of people who have a perception of shared characteristics, goals, history, or activity. Identity means the active negotiation of an individual's relationship with larger social constructs (Mendoza, 2002). These social constructs have been understood as comprising gender, ethnicity and social class. Group identity therefore is a feeling of sameness or togetherness whose primary symbol is language. Groups can only exist to the extent that people give them meaning. Identity involves our own self-identification. It is defined by our behaviour, value systems and self-concepts. This is reflected in the language we use, our word choices in identifying ourselves as well as in the words we choose not to use. The information guides the present study in describing the charecteristics of in-group language among construction workers.

In certain intergroup encounters, members of opposing or competing groups may expect nothing less than some linguistic divergence (rather than convergence) if only to remind themselves that they indeed have a dispute or difference (Doise, Sinclair & Bourhis, 1976) and that is why this study views construction workers as the in-group. Failure to confirm these expectations might

indicate that something was wrong, that the intergroup situation had changed somehow without one party being aware of it. In line with this statement, a better understanding of characteristics of in-group language among construction workers might expose various linguistic strategies adopted by construction workers in their style of expression. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), mere categorization of individuals into distinct groups by speakers can be sufficient to cause intergroup discrimination. As construction workers interact, the desire for positive differentiation is likely to manifest itself linguistically. The aspect of speech convergence among construction workers in construction sites enhances communication efficiency among them. The study adopts convergence to describe the characteristics of in-group language in construction sites.

Group identity is understood to affect the nature of linguistic variation that occurs in intergroup encounters. Giles and Byrne (1982) point out that, as an out-group begins to learn the speech style of the in-group, in-group members will diverge linguistically so as to maintain linguistic distinctiveness. This study benefited from the point of view of Giles and Byrne (1982) because it emphasizes the key aspect of linguistic variation. Language spoken can be used as a tactic to maximize the difference between groups on a valued dimension in the search for positive distinctiveness when there is need to. Bourhis (1984) posits that out-group members' reaction to speech convergence depends upon the intent attributed to the speaker. Out-group members will react favourably if the act is construed as integration but react unfavourably to diverging speakers if the act is construed as dissociation. Inaccurate attributions might therefore lead to problems. But accurate predictions may be unlikely when extreme group solidarity is stressed. These findings were deemed relevant to the present study since they elaborate on the linguistic strategies. However, the main focus of this study was on in-groups but not out-groups as outlined

by Bourhis (1984). The study adopts these linguistic strategies to describe construction workers' in-group language.

It has been noted by Giles and Johnson (1987) that people tend to adopt positive linguistic distinctiveness strategies with members of the out-group when they identify with an in-group which considers its language important and when they make insecure comparisons with others. The present study concurs with Giles and Johnson (1987) because the said distinctiveness was understood to impede communicative efficiency between groups. However, the linguistic distinctiveness in this study is evident in utterances among construction workers. In this case, this study describes characteristics of in-group language in construction sites. Hogg and Abrahams (1988) claim that it is impossible for social groups which individuals feel to be part of to exist without having other contrasting groups to relate to. Social categories in which individuals place themselves are parts of a structured society and exist only in relation to other contrasting categories. The information is significant to this study since it highlights on social groups the same way this study focuses on construction workers as an example of a social group. Why construction workers are considered as a distinct group in a larger linguistic community is one of the concerns addressed by this study. One way of differentiating whether relationships are primarily interpersonal or intergroup is by examining the identities used to guide individual's behaviour (Gudykunst, 1995). If the behaviour is governed by individuals' personal identities, the relationship is considered interpersonal. If the relationship is governed by individuals' social identities, the relationship is considered intergroup. Similarly, this study views the kind of relationships in construction sites as an intergroup one since utterances determine relationships. This study therefore focuses on the construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

Identity forms, not in isolation but in relation to others (van Dijk, 1997). This implies that multiple identities exist within each person, with one or another identity coming to the fore depending on the situation and this identity is defined in terms of another and that is why the present study considers construction workers as the in-group. Multiple identities make individuals to communicate in a particular way. Bergvall (1999) also addresses identities. He argues that there are three aspects of identity: the innate, the achieved and the ascribed. That is, each person's identity is composed of traits they are born with, traits they have selected and traits imposed on them by others. These traits are part and parcel of one another and contribute to specific identity of an individual. An in-born characteristic plays a central part in determining individual's speech behaviour. As people interact they also adopt linguistic behaviour in relation to the environment where they live. The position taken by this study with regard to this notion is that these traits enable construction workers to adopt a common speech style. The researcher uses these traits to discuss factors that affect the choice of language and speech style of construction workers in construction sites.

Group identities act as a catalyst for bonding of a person into his or her social context. A group's identity is what makes it unique, what identifies it from other organizations in the community. Identity is evident both in how an organization understands itself and how it is understood by others (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). The study has benefited from this point of view because it revolves around group identity since this study considers construction workers as a distinct group identity. On the contrary, this study elaborates on why construction workers are considered as a distinct group identity in terms of their style of expression in the construction site. Howard (2000) focuses on role identities. He posits that role identities are hierarchically organized on the basis of their salience to the self and the degree to which in turn depends on the extent to which

these identities are premised on their ties to the most basic level. At the most basic level, the point is that people actively produce identity through their talk and if an individual identifies with a particular social category, he or she will talk in ways that will support their membership in the group. The adoption of a unique speech style among construction workers in the description of behaviour of in-groups is a way of expressing identity in construction sites. This study uses the observation to describe the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers.

According to Lane (2000), identity is located in the dynamics of interactions between individuals whose identities are reconstructed by daily experiences. These experiences are expressed through language use. The workers have myriad of experiences to discuss among themselves in the site most of which revolve around economic issues. Identification is based on recognition of a common origin or shared characteristics with another person, group, or ideal leading to solidarity and allegiance (Weaver, 2001). This study benefited from the point of view of Weaver (2001) since construction workers have shared characteristics in the sense that they have a common speech style. This factor distinguishes them from other linguistic groups in a larger linguistic community. Based on the above argument, identity is a collection of labels an individual adopts, based on perceived similarities in order to show adherence to someone or something. In view of this, the present study describes the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya. Language can be a critical determinant of whether someone views another as an authentic in-group member or an out-group imposter. An important characteristic of the in- and out-group dichotomy is that groups mark their identities communicatively by the distinctive language and speech styles they create and use. Language is one way through which people communicate their in-group status (Howard, 2005). The present study concurs with Howard's (2005) argument since it highlights on language use by groups. In

line with this argument, the present study describes characteristics of in-group language in construction sites.

In conclusion, a study on characteristics of in-group language provides further contribution of this area of linguistic features. From the above sources, it is evident that this study would fill a linguistic gap by studying certain aspects that the above studies have not dwelt on, especially in relation to characteristics of in-group language among construction workers. The literature also discusses the question of whether such language features tell us the classification of the language variety of construction workers. Their sociolect is a restricted code.

2.3 Linguistic Intergroup Bias

Maass, Ceccarelli and Rudin (1996) define linguistic intergroup bias as the tendency to describe positive in-group and negative out-group behaviours more abstractly than negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours. Positive in-group behaviours and negative out-group behaviours are expressed in relatively abstract language, for instance, honest versus dishonest whereas negative in-group behaviours and positive out-group behaviours are expressed in relatively concrete language for example the in-group member kept the wallet versus the out-group member returned the wallet. By using linguistic intergroup bias, people can embrace the positive social evaluations for in-group members and negative social evaluations for out-group members, as well as discount negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours. Linguistic intergroup bias is most likely to emerge when equal status groups are in social competition, and that people employ linguistic intergroup bias to protect or promote in-group status (Maass, Ceccarelli & Rudin, 1996). The researcher uses these aspects of linguistic intergroup bias to explain the kind

of bias in construction sites. Possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya is one of the concerns addressed by this study.

Social psychologists have investigated a wide range of processes in which in-group members are evaluated in a favourable light in comparison to members of the out-group (Brewer, 1979). The processes have been observed by various scholars in a variety of forms: overestimation of task performance (Sherif, 1967) which is mainly done by showing hostility towards out-group members while displaying favouritism towards in-group members or by inducing people to engage in activities of high level initial interest in order to obtain some extrinsic reward or to meet some extrinsic constraint. This typically undermines their intrinsic motivation and task performance; positive associations attached to in-group labels (Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Turner, 1978) which is mainly done to the existence of distinct groups as the out-groups are referred to with demeaning labels. The imposition of one label over another can have social and emotional consequences; and finally, group-serving attributions (Pettigrew, 1979). These linguistic and attributional biases contribute to the persistence of positive in-group and negative out-group impressions and decrease the stability of negative in-group and positive out-group impressions. The processes helped to determine how construction workers evaluate themselves in construction sites.

According to Howard and Rothbart (1980), beliefs in the superiority of in-groups over out-groups are remarkably persistent even in the face of disconfirming evidence. Contributing to this persistence is the expectation that in-groups will engage in more positive and fewer negative behaviours than out-groups. This expectation has significant implications for intergroup perception. First, expected behaviours are perceived to have more diagnostic value for inferring

underlying dispositions than unexpected behaviours. Second, perceivers require less evidence to accept an expected versus an unexpected conclusion. Consistent with beliefs in superiority of in-groups over out-groups, people also tend to hold differential expectancies about the behaviour of in-group members. They expect in-group members to display more desirable and less undesirable behaviour than out-group members (Howard & Rothbart, 1980). Furthermore, they are likely to infer negative dispositions from undesirable out-group behaviours than from undesirable in-group behaviours. This suggests that the evidence-to-inference or act-to-disposition link is much tighter when a behavioural episode confirms preconceived ideas about the actor. However, the scholars have addressed how people express this bias in general but this study specifically deals with how construction workers express this bias in construction sites. This study discusses various examples of linguistic intergroup bias evident in construction workers' speech.

A belief in the superiority of in-groups over out-groups is not as illogical as it may initially appear, considering that stereotypic expectations make probabilistic rather than deterministic predictions. In-groups do not expect members of the out-group to always socially behave in socially undesirable ways. Rather, they assume that, compared with the overall average rate of such behaviours members of the out-group have an above chance probability of engaging in undesirable behaviours and a below-chance probability of showing desirable behaviours. For instance, if John hits Paul, and if John is a member of an out-group and Paul is a member of an in-group, from an implicit causality of perspective, John's behaviour is likely to be described as if "John hurts Paul". Conversely, linguistic intergroup bias predicts that John's behaviour is likely to be described as if "John hates Paul" (Howard & Rothbart, 1980). According to Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985), expected behaviours are more likely to yield dispositional

inferences than unexpected behaviours. Perceivers may place greater trust in evidence suggesting in-group superiority than inferiority, and may draw corresponding inferences more readily. The information is relevant to this study since it revolves around bias the same way this study discusses bias evident in construction sites. Consequently, when members of the out-group do display desirable behaviours, there is no need to revise the general negative conception of out-group members because a probabilistic expectancy explicitly allows for a certain number of instances in which desirable behaviours will occur. Wilder (1986) posits linguistic intergroup bias cement in-group solidarity, promotes distance from out-group members and reinforces status divisions. The current study adopts these views in determining the kind of bias evident from utterances in construction sites.

Semin and Fielder (1988) have demonstrated that abstract statements as opposed to concrete statements are perceived as less verifiable; they also imply greater temporal stability and are perceived as revealing more about the person and less about the situation than are concrete statements. Furthermore, they are perceived more readily as giving rise to disagreement. Whereas positive in-group and negative out-group behaviours tend to be described in relatively broad language that implies dispositional stability, negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours tend to be described in rather narrow terms implying situational inconsistency (Hamilton et al., 1992). Thus, abstract communication tends to be persistent over time. Abstraction implies that in-group people are more consistently good and out-group people are more consistently bad. The present study adopts abstract statement in describing various forms of biases from utterances in construction sites. Maass (1999) also addresses linguistic intergroup bias. His study suggests that prejudicial beliefs and cultural stereotypes become socially acceptable linguistic features, communicated from person to another, from one generation to the

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next. Despite the fact that people may be unable to deliberately control certain linguistic features of speech, an attempt to uncover the mechanism through which covert biases are expressed is necessary. However, the scholar has not addressed how these covert biases are expressed in construction sites. An underlying goal of this research is therefore to identify various instances through which construction workers engage in abstract statements. This phenomenon can only be explained better by a thorough scrutiny of linguistic intergroup bias evident in construction workers speech in construction sites.

In conclusion, it is evident that linguistic intergroup bias is an important issue to address in a study of this nature. The kind of bias described by the above scholars is relevant to how construction workers describe their actions in the site. These views guide this study in determining the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites.

2.4 Linguistic Features

Language is a socialization tool. We use language to maintain close relationships between individuals as one initiates conversations to establish a rapport with another individual. In this essence, one is able to talk about various issues affecting one's health, religion or family life so as to strengthen interpersonal relationships. Malinowski (1923) coined the term "phatic communication" to refer to the social function of language, which emerges as a result of the basic need to signal friendship. Communication is a shared meaning (James, 1995). This suggests that in order for people to communicate, they must agree on the definitions of terms they are using and that communication involves people, symbols, gestures, sounds, letters and numbers. Words can only represent or approximate the ideas that they are meant to communicate.

It has been noted by Giles (1977) that language and speech behaviour are considered not only as an instrument for communication, but also as a way to regulate social contacts and to mark group memberships or personal identity. This is because people will often define themselves and their own identity by means of their relationships to others and their own inclusion or exclusion from a group through language. The information is significant to this study since the present study views language as a unifying factor among construction workers. The current study therefore focuses on the unique features of this language. Giles and Clair (1979) note that language is not a homogenous, static system. Language is multi-channeled, multi-variable and capable of vast modifications from the context to context by the speaker, slight differences of which are often detected by listeners and accorded social significance. Individuals should, consciously or unconsciously, among other things, seek identification with others through language. Accommodating to others' speech may prove beneficial or detrimental, in the long run. The present study concurs with Giles and Clair (1979) since the contruction workers adopt linguistic features in their utterances to modify the context of their speech. The present study therefore evaluates linguistic features of in-group language in construction sites by exposing linguistic homogeneity aspect in their interactions.

People's communication episodes can be defined by varying degrees of interpersonal salience. The extreme of this would be an interaction influenced only by participant's moods and personalities and one where their social identities were virtually irrelevant (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This happens because language has a great influence on both shaping an individual's identity and communicating of that identity. This study incorporates this idea since without language, it would be difficult to decode an individual's identity. However, communication gaps

are likely to emerge from an interaction that is influenced by participant's moods and personalities. Language use has often been involved in social categorization and identity process (Gumperz, 1982). Social categorization and identity refer to social meanings of the features in the context. This process also concerns the perceived characteristic of the participants in the situation, which will determine the perceived salience of inter-category memberships and the dimensions of social identification involved. These findings were deemed significant to this study since they highlight on the aspect of social categorization and identity process. We categorize people in the same way. We see the group to which we belong (in-group) as being different from the others (the out-group), and members of the same group as being more similar than they are. Social categorization is one explanation for prejudice attitudes which leads to in-groups and out-groups. In line with Gumperz (1982) argument, this study focuses on the unique features of this sociolect caused by site workers.

Accommodation theory (Giles et al., 1987) basically emphasizes the strategies of convergence, divergence and maintenance. Convergence refers to the process whereby two or more individuals alter or shift their speech to resemble that of those they are interacting with. Divergence on the other hand, refers to ways in which speakers accentuate their verbal and non-verbal differences in order to distinguish themselves from others while maintenance is defined as a self-directed strategy aimed at preserving one's own linguistic style, without accommodative adjustments, even to the point of ignoring the accommodative attempts made by the interlocutor (Gnisci, 2005). The current study adopts these strategies to evaluate the linguistic features that construction workers adopt in their speech.

According to Thornborrow (2004) social groups and communities use language as a means of identifying their members, leading to the creation of in-groups and out-groups, thus including

members and excluding outsiders. This arises because the linguistic choices an individual makes shape others' views regarding their identity and their inclusion in various social groups. The identity individuals wish to portray to others will affect the linguistic choices they make and therefore the out-groups decoding of in-group members identity signals. However, Thornborrow's (2004) study focused on the broader approach of language by social groups and communities. The present study therefore addresses linguistic features evident in construction workers' speech. Yakub (2012) study was an ethnolinguistic analysis of Kinubi maintenance in Kibera, Kenya. Kinubi is used both at home and at the workplace. Kinubi acts as a unifying force for the speakers of the language and the dynamics of the multilingual society leads the Nubian community to maintain their mother-tongue. The information is significant to this study since it focuses on language among a particular group the same way this study focuses on language among construction workers as a social group. In view of this, the current study evaluates linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1974), intergroup social comparisons occur on dimensions important to speakers such as personal attributes, abilities and material possessions. Peng (1974) argues that speakers, through their choice of words, expressions and forms of address in an encounter, can either create an atmosphere of closeness (converge) or one of remoteness (diverge or maintain speech style). These linguistic choices are significant to this study since divergence and maintenance create a gap in communication between in-groups and out-groups. Through divergence, for example, a speaker can accentuate or emphasize the differences between themselves and others. In divergence, a speaker modifies his speech away from his interlocutor to sound least like him. The study adopts these strategies to evaluate the linguistic features of in-group language in construction sites.

According to Bond and Yang (1982), divergence is a function of the speaker's desire for contrastive self-image, to dissociate from the recipient, and to define the encounter in intergroup terms. In contrast to the above studies, this study adopts convergence and divergence strategies to evaluate in-group language in construction sites. Accommodation Theory (Giles et al., 1987) basically emphasizes the strategies of convergence, maintenance and divergence but without any attempt to link these non-convergence strategies to the unique style of speech in construction sites. The present study adopts these strategies to evaluate objective three of this study.

Speech divergence and or speech maintenance can be used to assert a positive group identity (Bourhis & Giles, 1977), yet such linguistic variations may also be used in explaining communicative gaps that are established by groups if they choose to. This study adopts these strategies to evaluate linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya. Accommodation is to be seen as a multi-organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a controversial partner, reciprocally and dynamically (Giles & Coupland, 1991). It is in fact very rare that people communicate truly or solely as individuals, most of this communication is influenced at either a subtle or more obvious level by the groups to which people belong. An individual can react favourably or unfavourably depending on the linguistic strategy adopted by the speaker. Consequently, a research on the linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers would provide a new perspective in the study of language.

Amuka (1992) addresses *ngero* 'proverbs', and 'riddles'. He argues that friends address one another as *Ondiek marach*; 'the terrible hyena'. A politician calls himself *gogni* 'clods of earth'

flooding his constituents with money to win votes. Clods of earth stand for the sacks full of money his dusty opponent did not have. Such codes conceal the nature of their interactions with the public. In view of this, the current study focuses on the linguistc features of in-group language among construction workers. Owino Misiani has been described as a leading intellectual by Amuka (1992). Misiani praises himself in a song as *Owino gari ochayo thim* 'Owino the train defies the most dangerous forest'. The literal meaning remains that trains always negotiate some dangerous physical terrain in parts of Kenya. Misiani does not mention the names of real people: he presents them as cats, monkeys, leopards or baboons. For instance, in one song, he remarked that the cat had turned against the chickens with which he was sharing accommodation and actually smashed their skulls, Owino was alluding to Idi Amin's state terrorism in Uganda and Amin was only symbolic of other such deeds elsewhere in Africa. The information is significant to this study since it foces on coded language the same way the present study views construction workers' in-group language as unique. The present study therefore evaluates linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers.

When individuals initially interact with members of other groups, their communication tends to be based on their social identities (Gudykunst, 1995). Social identity is one's sense of self as a member of a social group. When we belong to a group we are likely to derive our sense of identity, at least in part, from that group. It has further been noted by Ogone (2004) that majority of touts use taboo and ambiguous words more freely and passengers tend to be less ambiguous in their use of such words and avoid taboo words which form the basis for biased attitudes that block possibilities for effective communication. This study investigates linguistic features evident in construction workers in-group language. Touts and passengers intensively and extensively use intergroup stereotypes in their interactions. For this reason, this study addresses

the convergence, divergence strategies evident from utterances in construction sites and how they increase communication efficiency among construction workers of Gem sub-County. Ogone (2004) recommends that the ministry of transport, in conjunction with the ministry of local government, needs to organize a training exercise for touts. Their training should lay special emphasis on courtesy or language use, passenger-tout conflict management, and basic psychology of language in intergroup interactions.

In conclusion, linguistic features play a central role in the formation of in-groups as a linguistic group. The foregoing studies reveal that the use of language can place an individual geographically; it can also indicate gender and membership in a certain socio-economic class. These views form a basis for this study in the analysis and interpretation of data.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the research design, study area, study population, sample size and sampling procedures, data collection methods, data analysis, ethical considerations and a brief summary.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is used to structure the research, to show how all of the major parts of the research work together to address the objectives to be achieved (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). In this study, a descriptive research design was used. The selected design is essentially a fact finding approach related largely to the present and abstracting generalizations by the cross-sectional study of the current study (Saravanavel, 1992). The descriptive research design is within the qualitative research paradigm. This research paradigm was appropriate because it is a generic term for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field or participant observer. For the purpose of this study, it can be stated that this approach enabled a holistic analysis of linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers as set in the objectives. This position is supported by Denzin and Lincoln (1994) who stated that qualitative research is multi-method in focus involving an interpretive naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense or interpret phenomena in terms of meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves studied use and collection of a variety of

empirical materials-case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, and problematic moments and meaning in individual's lives (p.2).

The descriptive research chosen involved the use of primary data collection methods as the most suitable tool for the attainment of the study objectives. Participant observation and interviews have been primarily used to collect data. Use of more than one method as tools has been convenient to access data, and has also contributed in enhancing the credibility and transparency of the study (House, 2004).

3.3 Study Area

The study was conducted in Gem sub-County, Kenya since construction workers share specific set of norms for language use through living and interacting together. They share both particular sets of vocabulary and grammatical conventions, as well as speech styles and genres, and also norms on how and when to speak in particular ways. This makes them a more linguistically homogenous society. There are two divisions, nine locations, thirty-nine sub-locations, six wards, one hundred and seventy nine villages and several house holds in Gem sub-County. Gem sub-County experiences both warm and cold climate as the area receives both long and short rains. Gem sub-County area is approximately 353.20 square kilometres (KNBS, 2009).

3.4 Study Population

The study population comprised one hundred and ten (110) construction workers (KNBS, 2009) of Gem sub-County, Kenya. One hundered and ten (110) construction workers, eleven (11) sites and one hundred and seventy six (176) utterances formed the target population. The unit of analysis was the utterance.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Procedures

The study adopted purposive sampling technique in selecting the appropriate samples for the study. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), purposive sampling is a technique that allows a researcher to use cases that have the objectives of the study in question and that cases selected possess the required characteristics. One (1) construction site out of eleven (11) construction sites was selected using inclusion/exclusion criteria. This site was unique since it had the highest number of construction workers and the building was large enough to promote the long duration of the construction project. The workers were building a permanent house in a shopping centre. The site was within Wesa village, which is situated in Ndere sub-location, Gem sub-County, Kenya. The study considered one construction site ideal since the use of in-group language is common in all the sites. The identified site presented utterances that characterized unique linguistic features for instance, stylistic choices in the in-group language of construction workers. Grundy (2000) defines an utterance as a sentence used by the speaker for some purpose. The researcher contended with only eighty seven (87) utterances as Milroy (1987) argues that sampling techniques work well for small samples as broad-based samples are difficult to administer. Out of one hundred and ten (110) construction workers, ten construction workers (2 builders, 5 casual labourers, 2 roofers, and 1 foreman) who were purposively sampled formed the sample size since Milroy and Gordon (2003) posit that linguistic studies tend to be based on much smaller samples of informants than large ones. Ten construction workers were arrived at since this was the accessible population at Wesa construction site and also because the sampling method for this study is purposive.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

Data was collected through both participant observation and interviews. According to Cohen (1980), one way of obtaining information is to observe directly selected aspects of its development and implementation as they occur. Observation method was guided by the observation schedule attached here as Appendix 1. The observation checklist provided information on linguistic behaviour of construction workers. In participant observation method, the researcher audio-recorded the workers' conversations, took notes of their utterances and interacted together with the subjects during data collection process since there was need to become part of this linguistic group. This enabled a deep understanding of this group since the unique utterances they adopt was to be put in perspective. This made it possible for the researcher to characterize the construction workers linguistically. The researcher, at this time, had a well-known role as an outsider and also had developed links with the workers. This role and relationship was crucial in the interpretation of data. Audio-recording involved capturing construction workers' conversations during joint sessions. For instance, during 10.00 o'clock tea and lunch time. The notes taken comprised unique linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers. The researcher used these notes to get the implied meaning of indirect utterances and stylistic choices by inferring from the context. The researcher then confirmed the meaning of the unique features with key informants to ensure that the correct interpretations were given to the unique linguistic features. Construction workers were interviewed on various variables outlined in Appendix II. The procedure began with general questioning and ended in a relatively structured interrogation. The researcher took notes of the responses. Interview as an instrument of data collection was chosen because it has a distinct advantage of enabling the researcher to establish rapport with potential participants and therefore

gain their cooperation (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). The researcher visited the site when the building was at the lintel stage. The site was visited for one month from September to October 2014 since the researcher had to get conversant with the stylistic choices and indirect utterances in the in-group language of construction workers for effective interpretation of data.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

The two research tools of data collection namely the observation and interview schedules were pre-tested through pilot study one month before the main field work. The pre-test was done on nine (9) construction workers in a site within Mulare village in Ndere sub-location, Gem sub-County, Kenya. The workers were constructing a classroom at Mulare Primary school. During the pre-test, in-group language of construction workers portrayed unique linguistic features. The pre-test allowed for corrections and adjustments to be made on items that appeared irrelevant and confusing to respondents. During the pre-test, the interview schedule was found to be inadequate in terms of variables that constituted the objectives. The researcher decided to expand the scope of the interview schedule by incorporating all the key variables outlined under objectives of the study. The observation schedule was found adequate and suited to free expression, self-correction and elaboration by the respondent where necessary. The pre-test was done until it reached a point of saturation.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

Data was transcribed and analyzed qualitatively into themes. The procedure entailed organizing, interpreting and identifying linguistic features of in-group language among the construction workers. Accommodation Theory's (Giles, 2005) strategies of convergence, divergence and maintenance and the Theory of Politeness by Brown and Levinson (1987) were used to analyze

the linguistic features construction workers adopt in their speech. Data was categorized in terms of emerging themes and patterns. The findings of the study were presented in a written report in prose form.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained clearance from Maseno University Ethical Review Committee and the head of public works in Gem sub-County office which facilitated visits to the construction site without any suspicion and or intimidation by the locals and the respondents. The researcher maintained confidentiality and anonymity throughout the data collection and analysis stages in order to protect all the informants' identities. The researcher explained and assured the respondents that the main objective of this study was purely for academic purpose. They were also informed of the audio-recording process of their conversations. The interview session was allocated enough time and these enabled respondents ask questions about the study and cleared any doubts they had. Besides, the respondents were informed of their liberty to withdraw at any time of data collection. The respondents were then asked to sign consent forms formally for participation in the study attached here as Appendix V.

3.10 Summary

This chapter has provided a description of the methodology the investigation adopted, providing the necessary details about the research design, study area, sample size and sampling procedures, data collection, validity and reliability, data analysis and ethical considerations. The next chapter focuses on data presentation, analysis and discussion.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to investigate linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers. This chapter entails data presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings. The three sections incorporated in this chapter include characteristics of in-group language, causes of linguistic intergroup bias and linguistic features. The analysis conforms with the objectives outlined in chapter one. Construction workers' interactions among themselves were freer and spontaneous because they were communicating in Dholuo which is their mother tongue. Through data sets numbered 1-34, the characteristics of in-group language observed in construction workers' utterances are described. The translations of utterances are based on contextual basis.

4.2 Characteristics of In-group Language among Construction workers

The characteristics of in-group language among construction workers at Wesa construction site are discussed in terms of indirect utterances, semantic opacity, unique vocabulary choices, impoliteness and taboo words since they were evident in construction workers' utterances. This section addresses objective one of this study which requires the researcher to describe the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.

4.2.1 Indirect Utterances

An indirect utterance is the meaning the utterance may have other than what it expresses literally (Carter & McCarthy, 2006). The use of indirect utterances was evident in the following examples:

1. A. *Kawuono bende anochikre e ofuka?*

   'Will it jump in my pocket today?'

   B. *Ageno ma kik bare.*

   'I am optimistic, hopefully, it won't fail.'

2. A. *To bwana ing'eni kawuono chieng' rieny e ofuka!*

   'My friend, do you know that the sun is shining in my pocket today!'

   B. *Ka ok otimo kamano to nyaka waparne.*

   'We shall keep reminding him lest he forget.'

3. A. *Bwana kawuono lieth eluedo kose?*

   'My friend, is it hot in the hand today?'

   B. *Ang'o ma omiyo ipenjo gima ong'ere?*

   'Why do you ask the obvious?'

4. A. *Kawuono to ofuka podi en swamp.*

   'For today, my pocket is still swampy.'

   B. *Pognae moko.*

   'Issue me with some.'

In item 1A-3A construction workers pose the question between or among themselves trying to inquire if they will be paid. Payment of wages (money) has been named indirectly. This is evident from the words 'jump', 'shine' and 'hot'. These are instances of indirect utterances. The

utterances usually act as speech convergence among the workers. From the subsequent utterances, it is clear that the workers are expecting something from the foreman as evident in items 1B *Ageno ma kik bare* 'I am optimistic, hopefully, it won't fail', 2B *Ka ok otimo kamano to nyaka waparne* 'We shall keep reminding him lest he forget'and 3B *Ang'o ma omiyo ipenjo gima ong'ere?* 'Why do you ask the obvious?'. This kind of speech convergence and divergence is deemed to maintain their in-group identity in construction sites. Similarly, Giles' (2005) Accommodation Theory emphasizes on speech divergence where deliberate linguistic differences can be employed by a group as a symbolic act for asserting or maintaining their distinct identity.

Example 4A *Kawuono to ofuka podi en swamp* 'For today, my pocket is still swampy' is uttered by a construction worker to suggest that his pocket is still endowed with money and expects the foreman to postpone the payment. From the response in 4B *Pognae moko* 'Issue me with some', it is evident that the worker still has some money. The utterance is usually uttered by a particular construction worker at the time that payment is being made but he is still reluctant to go and queue for his share since he still has some money left. Nomally, a swamp is a very wet place filled with water. The pocket has been described as swampy since there is still a lot of money inside it. This is an instance of indirect utterance. The utterance may act as speech divergence to non-construction workers. In view of this point, Bond and Yang (1982) argue that divergence is a function of the speaker's desire for contrastive self-image, to dissociate from the recipient, and to define the encounter in intergroup terms.

5A. *Msumba jakech.*

'A bachelor is never sure of when he is going to eat.'

B. *Mano ng'ama oluoro goyo budget*.

'That is an irresponsible person.'

6A. *Ok inyal yudo jagorude ka kawuono.*

'You cannot find the highly connected worker in the site today.'

B. *Pesa ok romega*.

'He is never contented with money.'

The interpretation for utterance 5A stands for a construction worker who is never sure of when he is going to eat because he is a bachelor hence when food is brought in the site, they want to have a big share which can even take care of their evening meal. This shows its unique use in the site. In a normal way, *msumba* 'bachelor' is a man who is not married. In Luo community, a household chore like cooking is supposed to be done by women. It is therefore believed that any bachelor is ever hungry since they do not have wives to cook for them. The data set 6A represents a worker who performs duties in many sites at a given time. Such a worker does not stick to one site. He keeps on changing work stations. For instance, if today he works in a particular site, the following day he will move to a different site. He has no patience to work in one site until the task is accomplished. His purpose of working in various sites has been mentioned in the subsequent utterance in 6B *Pesa ok romega* 'He is never contented with money'. This kind of interaction among the workers acts as speech convergence among them in the site. In line with this arguement, Peng (1974) observes that speakers, through their choice of words, expressions and forms of address in an encounter, can either create an atmosphere of closeness (converge) or one of remoteness (diverge or maintain speech style).

7A. *Kawuono wago gi rungu.*

   'Today, we were so lucky.'

 B. *Onego bed ga kama pile.*

   'I wish it could be always like this.'

8A. *Kawuono wariembo rombe.*

   'For today, we chased the sheep.'

 B. *Kiny koro nyaka watind smit mondo shortage kik nen.*

   'We have to minimize the use of cement tomorrow to ensure there is no shortage.'

The interpretation for indirect utterance 7A stands for a particular day when workers have left the site with extra money which is not part of their wages. In a normal way, it means luck. However, it is unique in the construction site since what construction workers consider as luck is earned through dubious means. For instance, earning money through the sale of some materials from the site. Construction workers adopt item 8A when they have stolen bags of cement from the construction site. This interpretation is in light of the subsequent utterance in 8B. Literally, when you chase a sheep; it implies that you do not expect it to come back. Similarly, once cement has been sold by the workers, it will be upon the client to account for the shortage since no worker will allow himself to be held responsible for it. The use of indirect utterances is only understood by the workers to the exclusion of non-workers. In line with this argument, Brubaker and Cooper (2000) maintain that group identities act as bonding of person into his or her social context. A group's identity is what makes it unique, what identifies it from other organizations in the community. Identity is evident both in how an organization understands itself and how it is understood by others.

9A. *Kawuono en mo amoya.*

   'Today, everything is okay.'

B. *Jatelo kawuono ochiew maber.*

   'Today, the foreman woke up in good mood.'

10A. *Opuk pek no otenga.*

   'The tortoise is heavier for the eagle.'

B. *I ode be ji ok wuo ga?*

   'Do people not talk in his house?'

Example 9A represents an occasion when construction workers have been assigned little work load by the constructor in charge but still he has managed to pay them. This is because the foreman was in a good mood as shown in the subsequent utterance in 9B. This is its unique use in the site. In a normal situation, utterance 9A suggests that everything is okay. The interpretation for utterance 10A stands for a foreman who is boastful and does not tolerate noise in the site. This interpretation is based on the subsequent utterance in 10B. It also indicates that the foreman views himself as more superior to the workers in the site resulting to social distance between them. They freely utter these utterances with a view of maintaining positive group identity. This happens because Hogg and Abrahams (1988) observe that it is impossible for social groups which individuals feel to be part of to exist without having other contrasting groups to relate to. The present study therefore reveals that an indirect utterance is one of the characteristics of in-group language in construction sites.

4.2.2 Semantic Opacity

Semantic opacity in this study refers to the ability, or not, to understand what has been observed. This arises when the syntax and semantics of grammar interact to create a situation where semantic parts carried by syntactic parts fail to compose and compute into an expected sum of meaning carried by the syntactic sum. This lack of semantic transparency is the interplay between the syntax and semantics of grammatical interaction. From the observation data, the researcher had the intuition that, somehow, utterances at Wesa construction site are opaque. This was brought about by phrases in which each word defied literal meaning. However, some fixed phrases and sentences contained elements used in their literal sense. The key words, phrases and sentences in bold below have elements of semantic opacity. This is evident in the following utterances.

11A**.** Ouma *tinde olal kanye?*

'Where has Ouma disappeared to nowadays?*'*

B. Ouma *tinde **go niro**.*

'Ouma nowadays plasters.*'*

C. *Odak mana ni iye lude sate*.

'He normally complains of a running stomach.*'*

12A. *Aah! Liet.*

      'Hey! it is hot.'

    B. *A sechako winjo kech.*

      'I was already hungry.'

Utterance 11B Ouma *tinde go niro* 'Ouma nowadays plasters' stands for Ouma is suffering from diarrhoea and is very ill. The reason behind Ouma's absence from the site has not been named directly. Thus, the convergence between *go niro* 'plastering' and diarrhoea shows the consistency of occurance in both the activities. The phrase *go niro* 'plastering' therefore has elements of semantic opacity because it has defied literal meaning. The subsequent utterance in 11C *Odak mana ni iye lude sate* 'He normally complains of a running stomach' suggests that Ouma is suffering from diarrhoea since he complains of a running stomach. This is an instance of speech convergence among construction workers in the site. Construction workers adopt utterance 12A when they have seen a cook carrying a kettle emerging from the kitchen. It then becomes obvious to them that they will be taking tea in a short while. The utterance has elements of semantic opacity since tea is not named directly but by the word *liet* 'hot'. In a normal situation, the utterance can refer to any kind of food but in this instance, whatever was carried by the cook was tea. In addition to that, tea is usually served in a kettle in most rural areas. From the subsequent utterance in 12B, it is clear that whatever has been carried by the cook is something edible. In view of this point, Accommodation Theory (Gallois, Ogay & Giles, 2005) posits that individuals bring their own attitudes to interactions, which shape the ways in which each interactant is likely to respond to the other.

13A. *Paka ok gue*.

    'A cat does not bark.'

  B. *Ka imodho pi to oloyo ma*.

    'You would rather drink water than this.'

Data set 13A is uttered by the workers when they are taking 'black' tea in the construction site. They claim that the tea is so black that even the cat cannot drink. Normally, cats like milk. From the response in 13B, the indirect utterance indicates that the workers are only taking the tea although water is much better. Utterance 13A has elements of semantic opacity since its opaque. From this example, it is evident that workers converge among themselves linguistically in order to elicit approval. According to Gnisci (2005), convergence refers to the process whereby two or more individuals alter or shift their speech to resemble that of those they are interacting with. Divergence on the other hand, refers to ways in which speakers accentuate their verbal and non-verbal differences in order to distinguish themselves from others while maintenance is defined as a self-directed strategy aimed at preserving one's own linguistic style, without accommodative adjustments, even to the point of ignoring the accommodative attempts made by the interlocutor. Maintenance is considered psychologically close to divergence strategies.

14A. *Gweno jatugo e buru*.

    'A fowl plays in dusty ground.'

  B. D*ende no ok ilega*?

    'Does his body not itch?'

The interpretation for example 14A stands for a construction worker who does not take a shower after a long day's work in the site. Usually, fowls like playing on dusty areas since they eat sand

and even some insects that they find there. At the end of the day, they become dusty. In the same way, workers appear dirty after working in the site. However, this particular worker does not take a shower. The subsequent utterance in 14B D*ende no ok ilega*? 'Does his body not itch?' also indicates that the worker in question does not like bathing since one's body is likely to itch in case he fails to bathe. Utterance 14A in this section defies literal understanding hence is opaque. These utterances act as speech convergence to construction workers. In view of this issue, Howard (2000) posits that people actively produce identity through their talk and if an individual identifies with a particular social category, he or she will talk in ways that will support their membership in the group.

15A. ***Paka chando wa***.

   'We are being disturbed by the cat.'

  B. *Kawuono oritwa maber*.

   'As for today, we have been well taken care of.'

16A. ***Paka chendo***.

   'The cat is disturbing.'

  B. *Ngama podi oyieng' to odhi mbele gi tich*.

   'Whoever is still satisfied can carry on with the work.'

17A. ***Gweno chando wa***.

   'We are being disturbed by the chicken.'

  B. *Kose* e*ma omiyo kawuono ji ok mor?*

   'Could it be the cause of unhappiness?'

The interpretation for utterance 15A *Paka chando wa* 'We are being disturbed by the cat' stands for having meat as a meal at a particular lunch time at the construction site. In light of the subsequent utterance in 15B *Kawuono oritwa maber* 'As for today, we have been well taken care of' it is clear that they are eating a delicious meal. Utterance 15A has elements of semantic opacity since it does not provide the listener with the clue of the meaning. Construction workers speak of *Paka chandowa* 'We are being disturbed by the cat' to mean having meat as a meal. In most cases, cats like meat and are likely to be a nuisance during a meal of meat, but not vegetables. The utterance in item 16A *Paka chendo* 'The cat is disturbing' is used to inform construction workers that food is ready so they are expected to go and eat. Cats often disturb people who are eating. The utterance defies literal meaning hence is opaque. The subsequent utterance in 16B indicates that food is within site. The interpretation in 17A stands for having *githeri* as lunch in the construction site. The utterance has elements of semantic opacity because it has been used to stand for having *githeri* as lunch in the construction site. Chicken would easily cause disturbance during a meal of 'githeri' since they like maize. From the response in 17B, one gets to learn that whatever is being eaten is not delicious. In line with this observation, Clark and Schaefer (1989) observe that in conversation, speakers design their utterances to be understood against the common ground they share with their addressees. For instance, their common experience, expertise, dialect and culture. Addressees have an additional advantage as they propose, because they have understood what is said, whereas overhearers cannot. Addressees are participants in conversation at the moment for instance, construction workers. Speakers are responsible for making themselves be understood to the other participants, but not overhearers. They may therefore try to disclose, conceal or disguise what they say. Semantic opacity is therefore a characteristic of in-group language among construction workers.

4.2.3 Unique Vocabulary choices

From the ensuing data, it is evident that construction workers and members of the out-group at Wesa construction site preferred to communicate in Dholuo since it is their mother tongue. However, there were a few instances when they adopted code-mixing in their style of expression. Construction workers adopt unique vocabulary choices which consist of ordinary words but assign them special meaning in order to portray a certain version of their identity in construction sites. This is evident in section 4.2.1, 4.2.2 and 4.4 respectively. Since construction workers' vocabulary choices are unique, it was important to study their in-group language. One way was by studying the characteristics of their in-group language, causes of linguistic intergroup bias and linguistic features that they adopt in their speech. Another way was by subjecting them to interviews guided by Appendix II.

One respondent was asked which languages they adopt at the site and the response was as follows: "in most cases, we communicate in Dholuo but at times we do mix it with Kiswahili or English a bit. Another interviewee was asked whether he was a resident of Gem and the response was that "I am a resident born and bred in Gem". The conclusion that can be drawn from that interview session is that construction workers at Wesa construction site are drawn from the locality and could be multilingual but are largely native Luo speakers.

4.2.4 Code-Mixing

Holmes (1992) considers a code as a language/a variety or style of a language. Code-mixing is a change of language choice within a single utterance. Code-mixing suggests that the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps because of incompetency. Code-mixing emphasizes on hybridization. This was evident in some of the workers' utterances. The basic committing

factors of code choice are the speaker's linguistic repertoire and the addressee's linguistic repertoire. Social factors like who you are talking to, the social context of the talk, the function and topic of the discussion are important in accounting for language choice. In this case, we look at typical interaction which involves this factor. They are referred to as domains of language use (Fishman, 1971).

Muysken (2000) differentiates between three patterns of code-mixing: 'insertion', 'alternation' and 'congruent'. Insertion, on one hand, is the most attested type of code-mixing in construction workers' utterances. It refers to the use of "material language" (Muysken, 2000:3). Insertion occurs at specific points in the utterance, not randomly. Muysken (2000) adds that there is also variation in what can be inserted "and this differs according to the languages used and in some languages, this consists mostly of noun combinations" (p.5).

Alternation on the other hand, is a "strategy of mixing, in which the two languages present in the clause remain relatively separate" (Muysken, 2000:96). However, insertion pattern of code-mixing was the most noticeable of features in construction worker's utterances. In the researcher's observed data, there were categories of utterances where the subjects inserted words from English and Kiswahili in the course of speaking in Dholuo. Examples of such instances are given in the following utterances:

18. *Pesa to ok di omed.*

    'Yet he cannot even increase the wages.'

19. Olonje, *tinde ilokri fundi?*

    'Olonje, have you become a skilled worker nowadays?'

20. *Shida mag ot ng'eny.*

   'There are numerous issues in the house.'

21. *Daktari ne okwere ni kik pi odhi edende.*

   'The doctor advised him against taking a shower.'

22. *Del ok ger gi block.*

   'The body is not built with blocks.'

23. *Diet nyaka lok bwana.*

   'My friend, you ought to balance the diet.'

24. *Mano ng'ama oluoro goyo budget.*

   'That is an irresponsible person.'

25. *'Kiny koro nyaka watind smit mondo shortage kik nen.*

   'We have to minimize the use of cement tomorrow to ensure there is no shortage.'

From items 18-21 above, *pesa* 'money', *shida* 'problem', *fundi* 'worker' and *daktari* 'doctor' are Kiswahili words. The workers' inserted Kiswahili words in Dholuo during interactions in the site. Other cases of insertion can be noted in utterances 22-25 where English words have been inserted in Dholuo. The inclusion of 'block', 'diet', 'budget' and 'shortage' is an indication of the foreign concept of western school which necessitates the borrowing of a word to conceptualize a non existent notion in Dholuo. The workers' who employed the insertion of both English and Kiswahili words in their utterances exhibited a confirmation of their bilinguality and the ease with which they use kiswahi and Dholuo verses Englisn and Dholuo. It simply attested that they had knowledge of the Kiswahili and English languages. This study therefore concludes that code-mixing is one of the characteristics evident in the in-group language of construction workers.

4.2.5 Impoliteness

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness is the expression of the speaker's intention to make severe face threats carried by certain Face- Threatening Acts (FTA) toward another. Face-Threatening Acts are behaviour of someone else that goes against what you want to put forward. Face refers to the respect that an individual has for himself or herself, and maintaining that 'self-esteem' in public or in private situations. Usually one tries to avoid embarrassing the other person, or making them feel uncomfortable. Impoliteness therefore refers to rude or insulting remarks that may upset and or embarrass the listener thereby making them feel uncomfortable. Tracy (2008) argues that impoliteness is equated with failing to do the politeness strategies by going bald on record without redressing the FTA's. From the observation data, it was evident that construction workers' utterances were replete with impolite remarks. In the utterance below, the passer-by happened to interact with the workers and his interaction at this stage contributed to adoption of impolite remarks by the workers. This was evident in the conversation below in the construction site:

26A. *Adwa ni uger na ot mar gorofa, mar lum kata mar mabati.*

'I want you to build for me a storey house, grass thatched and iron-roofed house.'

B. *Ka simba ema otami gero mago to dinyal?*

'If you are not able to build 'simba' "the first house Luo men build before marriage" Can you afford the ones you have mentioned?'

A. *Kata ubende magu otamo u gero, matiende ni warom.*

'You are also unable to build yours, so we are at par.'

B. *Were uru kode mano ofuwo, wiye omoko, dhiang'.*

'Leave him alone, he is stupid, he does not reason, he is a cow.'

From the passer-by's response in 26A *Kata ubende magu otamo u gero, matiende ni warom* 'You are also unable to build yours, so we are at par', it is clear that he is trying to tell construction workers the reality about them that they do not usually have "good" houses. There are Luo sayings to this effect. For example, *Ja chwe agulu chiemo e thago* 'A potter eats from a broken piece'; which means that those who make pots have none in their houses and *Ja twang' wuoche wuotho ma onge wuoche* 'A cobbler walks bare footed'. This indicates that those who make shoes do not have proper shoes to wear. On the contrary, the worker's abuse is a sign of defence mechanism. This is evident from the sentence, w*ere uru kode mano ofuwo, wiye omoko, dhiang'* 'Leave him alone, he is stupid, he does not reason, he is a cow'. The words 'stupid', 'he does not reason' and 'cow' as used by the construction workers suggest that there are certain instances in construction sites where some members are referred with impolite remarks. In line with this argument, Brown and Levinson (1987:24) posit that all parties must be aware that "certain speech acts are intrinsically face-threatening and require softening by means of politeness strategies".

27A. *Mamani kara idak nadi?*

'Woman, what is your lifestyle?'

B. *Eyo mane*?

'In which way?'

A. *Ma e kaka uidoga*?

'Is this how you bewitch people?'

B. *En ang'o ma ok irie wach tir ni*?

'What is it that you can not make your point clearer?'

A. (shows a fellow construction worker food with foreign particles in it then

asks)

Bwana ma to ang'o?

'What's this my friend?'

C. (laughs) *mama gimoro nitie e chiemb bwana ni.*

'Mother, there's a foreign particle in his food.'

B.*Mos ok a ng'eyo.*

'Sorry, I didn't know.'

In data set 27A-C, the participants of the conversation are construction workers and a female trader who had visited the site with an intension of selling food. Her presence in the site influenced the development of this in-group language. The phrase *mamani kara idak nadi?* 'Woman, what is your lifestyle?' in utterance 27A would lead to a negative response had it been that this trader had been paid for the food. It is also a way of suggesting indirectly that food is not worth being paid for. The trader's apology in 27B *mos ok a ng'eyo* 'sorry, I didn't know' is not sincere because she has not named the wrong in question in the utterance. She is forced to apologize since she needs money. Moreover, Beller (2002) observers that even requests and apologies are potentially face-threatening because they impede the addressee's autonomy and freedom of action. The phrase *ma e kaka uidoga* 'is this how you bewitch people' sounds impolite to the recipient.

28A. *Iye okuot koro dhi.*

'The big bellied man is now leaving.'

B. *Mano nyiso dak maber.*

'That attests to healthy living.'

In example 28, the client had visited the site to check on the on-going construction. His presence at the site made the workers to adopt this kind of speech style. Utterance 28A was used by a construction worker to describe a client who had visited the site. The phrase would sound impolite to the client in case he knew about the remark. Moreover, Brown and Levinson (1987) note that verbal acts such as disagreements, refusals and criticisms threaten the speaker's positive face that is, the desire for closeness with others hence the need to choose strategies that can maintain the social order. The utterance is an instance of criticism on the client.

29A. *Ne guogcha.*

'Look at that dog.'

B. *Owuoyo kata kende ka owuotho.*

'Walking and talking to himself at the same time.'

C. *Shida mag ot ng'eny.*

'Domestic problems are many.'

30A. *Ne uru opugcha.*

'Look at that tortoise.'

B. *Mano chuech nyasaye.*

'That is God's creation.'

The participants in utterances 29-30 are construction workers. The passer-by influenced their interaction in utterance 30. Construction workers adopt utterance 29A to refer to a harsh or cruel foreman who is fond of abusing workers. The foreman has been boldly talked of as if he is actually a dog. The trait of cruelty has been described in utterance 29B. It is believed that dogs are fierce and can easily bite. Example 30A indicates an instance when a construction worker

adopted the utterance to refer to a passer-by who was short in height. The subsequent utterance in 30B indicates that the construction worker was trying to describe a creature. This suggested that the passer-by had similar qualities to the tortoise. Therefore, the convergence between *opugcha* 'that tortoise' and the height of the passer-by indicates that the man was very short. The impolite remarks uttered by the construction workers in example 29 and 30 forms the basis of insecure comparisons as the people they represent may react unfavourably in case they learnt that such utterances were directed to them. This is an instance of impoliteness. Moreover, in Brown and Levinson's (1987) view, acts that do not achieve any face saving goals and that seriously undermine one's face constitute a form of impoliteness.

In utterance 31 and 32, the presence of a visitor to the client and a trader in the site contributed to the development of impolite remarks as shown in the data sets below:

31A. *Ne uru tiga biro.*

   'Look! There comes the giraffe.'

 B. *Oparo ni nitie gik mabeyo malo.*

   'He believes there are good things above the skies.'

32A. *Liech kelo rabolo.*

   'Elephant is bringing banana fruits.'

 B. *To ang'o ma ochamo ma mon moko to ok cham!*

   'Surely, what does she feed on that other women do not!'

Through utterance 31A, a construction worker was referring to a tall man who had visited a client in the site. The interpretation is in light of the subsequent utterance in 31B as sky is found

very high above the ground. Normally, giraffes are tall animals. The utterance would sound impolite to the person it was directed to. Data set 32A was used to describe a trader who had brought bananas for sale in the construction site. Elephants are generally huge animals. The trader who was selling bananas was very fat. The utterance was indirect since it stands for a fat woman. Literally, elephants cannot sell any property. The interpretation is based on the response in utterance 32B which suggests that this particular woman could be eating a special diet. Through data sets numbered 29-32, the study reveals that language is used in construction sites for self-definition and for the definition of others. In this case, others represent the foreman, passer-by, visitor and the trader evident in the examples discussed. In line with this argument, Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory adopts a rationalist model in which politeness is based on judgements of the need to preserve positive and negative face through mitigation pf potential face threats while impoliteness is equated with failing to do the politeness strategies by going bald on record without redressing the FTAs. This study reveals that language use at Wesa construction site is replete with impolite remarks. The workers' use the names of animals in the description of others.

When asked whether they cherished this job, the response was that "they do not like it because the work is tedious with meager wages. I am here because of low academic qualifications". Therefore, impoliteness is also one of the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers

4.2.6 Taboo Words

The word taboo comes from the Polynesian word 'tabu' or 'tapu' which literally means "under prohibition" (Radcliffe-Brown, 1939). Heartherington (1980) gives an ideal description of taboo

arguing that whatever a society fears will be labeled a taboo. In view of this, that action which is threatening and that which is literally forbidden can be regarded as a taboo. The researcher observed that construction workers at Wesa construction site adopt taboo words in their mode of interactions.

The term 'taboo' words refers to 'offensive language' for which a 'ban or inhibition resulting from social custom or aversion' exists (Jay, 2009). A factor that is likely to modulate the predicted in-group bias in 'taboo' word expressions is the language medium upon which speakers rely to convey such expressions. Evidence exists that 'taboo' words in one's primary language elicit, or are perceived as eliciting stronger emotional responses than 'taboo' words in one's secondary language (Aycicegi & Harris, 2004), and that the choice of language for 'taboo' expressions is usually one's primary language (Dewaele, 2004). The present study considers Dholuo as the primary language and official languages as secondary languages. The adoption of taboo words in construction workers' utterances is evident from the following conversation unit:

33A**.** *Ogayo papati biro.*

'Ogayo papati is coming.'

B. *Obiro omo kubot dane?*

'Is she coming to pick her grandmother's private part?'

The word *kubot* 'private part' as uttered by the second worker in item 33B is a taboo word and suggests something unpleasant to the ear. The utterance is also impolite. Therefore, Culpeper (1996) points out that it should be in every speech participant's interest to act or speak in ways that do not humiliate or embarrass others or themselves.

34A. *Owadwa moro okendo dhako ma piere ng'ielre ka obuoch oruka.*

'One of my brothers has married a woman whose buttocks roll like the white

mushroom.'

B. *Ba ang'o?*

'What?'

C. *Piere ng'ielre ka ang'o?*

In 34A, the object, buttock has been directly compared with the white mushroom which is something familiar so that the listener can get a mental impression. The responses, *Ba ang'o?* 'What?' and *Piere ng'ielre ka ang'o* 'What does the buttock roll like?' accentuate the statement mainly in 34A to add emphasis to the description of the buttocks. Construction workers aim to getting an answer which largely confirms it is the buttocks that they wish repeated. They probably already heard but they want it repeated for emphasis and attention. The word *pier* 'buttock' is considered as a taboo word with regard to Trans-Yala dialect since some of the workers at the site were residents from Alego and Ugenya. Hence, a gentle or mild word like *sianda* (Kisumu South Nyanza dialect) is a substitute for pier 'buttock'. Holtgraves (2005) argues that in every interaction, participants ought to be aware of one another's face and maintain it for the sake of social harmony and smooth communication.

When asked why they adopt utterances which are embarrassing, the response was that "the work is tedious and such utterances make them happy hence speeds up the work". Another respondent was asked whether they adopt taboo words at home and the response was that "they do not adopt such utterances at home since they are family men who have kids". The present study therefore suggests that construction workers use taboo words freely in their mode of interaction in

construction sites. In view of this observation, another characteristic of in-group language among construction workers is the adoption of taboo words in their style of expressions.

4.3 Causes of Linguistic Intergroup Bias among Construction Workers

According to Maass, Ceccarelli and Rudin (1996), linguistic intergroup bias is the tendency to describe positive in-group and negative out-group behaviours more abstractly than negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours. Positive in-group behaviours and negative out-group behaviours are expressed in relatively abstract language whereas negative in-group behaviours and positive out-group behaviours are expressed in relatively concrete language. By using linguistic intergroup bias, people can embrace the social evaluations for in-group members and negative social evaluations for out-group members, as well as discount negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours. From the observation data, the researcher came up with the following possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya. This forms objective 2 of this study.

4.3.1 Abstract Statements

Abstract statements are used in this study to refer to instances where construction workers view their actions as consistently good and non workers' actions as consistently bad hence an element of linguistic intergroup bias is evident in their style of expression. In the example below, the client had visited the site to check on the construction process and his presence influenced the following interaction in the construction site:

35A**.** *Bwana kabiro onge e wang'i?*

  'My friend, does your eye not have a plumb bob?' (A corner within the building is

  slanting.)

  B. *Opore ne.*

  'It is not intentional.'

  C. *Mano luedo era.*

  'That is an error of the   hand.'

A plumb bob is a piece of string with a small heavy object tied to one end, used for checking whether a wall is built exactly upright. In example 35A, the client who is a non-construction worker, comments negatively on the structure of the building and casual labourers in 35B and 35C who are in-group members, give a positive comment to defend their fellow worker. In view of this, Hamilton et al. (1992) point out that whereas positive in-group and negative out-group behaviour tend to be described in relatively broad language that implies dispositional stability, negative in-group and positive out-group behaviour tends to be described in rather narrow terms implying situational inconsistency. In dispositional stability, the positive description of behaviour decreases the stability of negative in-group behaviour. Inconsistent behaviour is more likely to be attributed to situational factors. Thus, abstract communication tends to be persistent over time. Abstraction implies that in-group people are more consistently good and out-group people are more consistently bad. This is evident in the above data.

36A. *Ma ng'ama ogero mang'ethe mang'ethe ni?*

      'Who has built this Mang'ethe meng'ethe?'

B**.** *Tich ema ng'eny.*

      'There was a lot of work.'

C**.** *Koso e ng'eyo.*

      'When you err, you know it better.'

The phrase uttered by the client in item 36A suggests that a particular worker has built an ugly structure. From the data set above, the client has come up with a negative description of the building while the two workers in 36B and 36C have come up with positive comments to defend their fellow construction worker. The workers seem to agree that the work is bad but blame it on a lot of work and being erroneous. This is an instance of linguistic intergroup bias. Similarly, Maass, Ceccarelli and Rudin (1996) observe that by using linguistic intergroup bias, people can embrace the social evaluations for in-group members and negative social evaluations for out-group members, as well as discount negative in-group and positive out-group behaviours. Linguistic intergroup bias is most likely to emerge when equal status groups are in social competition, and that people employ the linguistic intergroup bias to protect or promote in-group status.

37A. *Jo pandara ni e iyi?*

'Are there road constructors in your stomach?'

B. *We ng'ano ochiem tich ma otiyo ng'eny.*

'Let that man eat, he does a lot of work.'

C. *Bwana no chiemo gi pesane.*

'The person has spent his own money on food.'

In example 37, abstract communication was evident among the workers themselves. The utterance made by the roofer in utterance 37A is used when a particular casual labourer tends to eat large amounts of food. It sounds rather hostile to the person it has been directed to. The casual labourers in item 37B and 37C respectively defends their fellow worker by giving positive comments. Anybody might wonder what a road constructor would do in a building construction site or inside a human being's stomach. In line with this arguement, Sherif (1967) observes that this process where in-group members are evaluated in a favourable light in comparison to members of the out-group is mainly done by showing hostility towards out-group members while displaying favouritism towards in-group members. This is evident in the above example.

38A. *Nyo inindo ka kangara?*

'Did you spend at the local brewer?'

B. *Kuoyo no ema ng'eny.*

'There is a lot of sand inside there.'

C. *Yo ema ok kalre.*

'The path is impassable.'

Kangara is a type of alcohol in Luo community. The utterance made by the foreman in item 38A is used when a particular casual labourer pushes the wheelbarrow at a slow pace. Whereas the

foreman comments negatively at the rate in which the worker is pushing the wheelbarrow, the fellow workers defend him by giving positive excuses as shown in items 38B and 38C. Therefore, Hamilton et al. (1992) maintains that abstraction implies that in-group members are more consistently good and out-group members are more consistently bad.

39A. *Bwana kabiro o lal?*

'My friend, was the plumb bob lost?'

B. *Plasta biro duoke e lain.*

'Plastering will straighten it.'

The indirect utterance by the foreman in item 39A is uttered when a corner within a building is slanting. It also suggests that the plumb bob was not used by the workers. Therefore, the foreman has come up with a negative statement and the casual labourer with a positive one. This is an instance of abstract communication which results into linguistic intergroup bias.

40A. *Ang'o ma omiyo ichiemo mang'eny?*

'Why are you over eating?'

B. *Del ok ger gi block.*

'The body is not built with blocks.'

C. *Bang' tich matek nyaka igoni dendi erokamano.*

'After hard work, you have to compensate for the energy which has been lost for the purpose of body building.'

Item 40 is an instance of linguistic intergroup bias. The client in item 40A represents a non-worker while the two workers in utterance 40B and 40C represent in-group members. While the client is not contented with the workers' habit of over-eating, the fellow workers defend him by

uttering positive statements. The utterances made by the two workers are instances of abstract statements. In line with this argument, Semin and Fielder (1988) have demonstrated that abstract statements as opposed to concrete statements are perceived as less verifiable; they also imply greater temporal stability and are perceived as revealing more about the person and less about the situation than are concrete statements. Furthermore, they are perceived more readily as giving rise to disagreement. Abstract statements are therefore possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites.

4.3.2 Superiority Complex

From the researcher's observation data, superiority complex was evident in construction workers' utterances. Superiority complex is used in this study to refer to instances where members of the in-group describe their issues positively and the third party's issues negatively. The in-groups view themselves more important than the third party members. Superiority complex addresses objective 2 of this study which is based on possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites. This is shown in the utterances below:

> 41A. *Bwana iliso* kabiro.
>
> 'My friend, you have used the plumb bob appropriately' "The corner is very straight."
>
> B. *Orie kuro.*
>
> 'It is almost.'

The participants in this example are a construction worker and a client. With regard to this example, the worker is an in-group member while the client is a third party. From the above communicative act, it is clear that the in-group member in example 41A has come up with a positive description and the third party in example 41B with a negative one resulting into

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linguistic intergroup bias. Similarly, Howard and Rothbart (1980) posit that beliefs in the superiority of in-groups over out-groups are remarkably persistent even in the face of disconfirming evidence. Contributing to this persistence is the expectation that in-groups will engage in more positive and fewer negative behaviours than out-groups. This is evident in the example above.

42A. *Omondi to wang'e otho.*

'Omondi suffers blurred vision.'

B. *Ng'ama ne opuonje tich*?

'Who trained him?'

43A. Olonje, *tinde ilokri fundi?*

'Olonje, have you become a skilled worker nowadays?'

B. *Chieng' ma amondo be wuoyo gaye.*

'You should also be commenting on my arrival on a day that I have arrived at the site early.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 42A to describe a fellow worker who cannot do perfect work in the site yet such a worker poses as a skilled worker. Once an individual suffers blurred vision, they can hardly perform certain duties perfectly, for instance, tasks in relation to building construction. The question in 42B also indicates that the worker in question was not properly trained hence he is semi-skilled. The word 'olonje', in 43A, is a nickname for non-performing workers in terms of activities in building construction site. This kind of worker is only invited in the site when there is shortage of workers. The utterance suggests that a particular worker has reported to work late. This is in light of subsequent utterance in 43B. Such kinds of workers are expected to arrive at the site ahead of other workers. The issue of lateness has not been named

directly but by the above phrase. This is an indication that certain workers are looked down upon by construction workers and are treated as a separate group from them. In-groups do not expect members of the out-group to always socially behave in socially undesirable ways. Rather, they assume that, compared with the overall average rate of such behaviours members of the out-group have an above chance probability of engaging in undesirable behaviours and a below-chance probability of showing desirable behaviours. According to Bodenhausen and Wyer (1985) consistent with the biases, expected behaviours are more likely to yield dispositional inferences than unexpected behaviours. Perceivers may place greater trust in evidence suggesting in-group superiority than inferiority.

4.3.3 Group Memberships and Social Distance

The need to show different group belongings and social distance are also possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias. In utterance 35A, 35B and 35C, it is clear that the client and casual labourers are members of different groups since the client has come up with a negative description of the building in item 35A and the casual labourers with a positive one in data set 35B and 35C to defend their colleague. This is also evident in data set 36A where the client who is a non-construction worker has come up with a negative description on the ugly structure of the building while the two construction workers who are members of the in-group have come up with a positive comment to defend their fellow construction worker in utterance 36B and 36C. This is clearly an instance of linguistic intergroup bias. It is an indication that there is a social distance between them.

Through example 37A, the roofer has commented negatively on the eating habit of the casual labourer. The casual labourers defend their colleague in item 37B and 37C in order to show different group belongings by giving a positive comment. In utterance 38A, the foreman

comments negatively at the rate in which the wheelbarrow is being pushed by the worker. The construction workers on the contrary gave positive excuses. These comments are deemed to indicate that they are members of different groups. Such utterances also narrows the social distance between the in-groups and the out-groups. In line with the subject of discussion, Pettigrew (1979) observes that these linguistic and attributional biases contribute to the persistence of positive in-group and negative out-group impressions and decrease the stability of negative in-group and positive out-group impressions.

When asked what kind of work casual labourers do at the site, the response was as follows: "these are the workers who have to arrive at the site early, they ensure building materials for the day are in place, avail bricks to brick layers, iron sheets to roofers among other menial duties". This is an indication that casual labourers are the ones who do the bulk of work at the site and this is an element of superiority complex among some workers at the site to the exclusion of casual labourers. The present study therefore finds that abstract statements, a feeling of superiority complex, the need to show different group belongings and social distance between construction workers and the out-groups are the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites.

4.4 Linguistic Features of In-group Language among Construction Workers

This section looks at a collection of samples of utterances collected through participant observation and interview at Wesa construction site. The linguistic features are analyzed at utterance levels of stylistic choices (metonyms, metaphors, similes and personification) with a view to addressing objective three which is concerned with evaluating the linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers.

4.4.1 Stylistic choices

In this study, stylistic choices are used to refer to the use of a variety of techniques to give an auxiliary meaning, idea, or feeling. Sometimes a word diverges from its normal meaning, or a phrase has a specialized meaning not based on the literal meaning of the words in it. It often provides emphasis, freshness of expression, or clarity. Stylistics attempts to establish principles capable of explaining the particular choices made by individuals and social groups in their use of language. These stylistic choices are discussed and interpreted in regard to their linguistic style .The stylistic choices analysed in this section are: metonyms, metaphors, similes and personification.

4.4.1.1 Metonymy

According to Fan (2006), metonymy is a cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is understood in terms of another experiential domain included in the same common experiential domain. It is an object, person or thing not named directly but by some associated thing or by naming some attribute or quality associated with it. Examples 44-63 represent indirect utterances where construction workers tend not to name objects, things or people directly. Instead they refer or allude to some associated thing or they name some attribute or quality associated with it. This characteristic of in-group language at Wesa construction site was evident in the following utterances:

44A. *Aah! Bwana lieth chikre.*

'Hey! My friend it is popping hot.'

B. *Bwana we ng'iyo ji ma kalo?*

'My friend, stop looking at the passers-by.'

45A. *Roya obuodho.*

'The calf has bolted.'

B. *Gi reto manadi?*

'Why are they walking hurriedly?'

46A. *Kaka pile.*

'As usual.'

B. *Nyaka gi kal ga ka?*

'Must they pass by this site?'

C. *We wuondori ni ikia gima omiyo nyaka gi kal ka.*

'Do not pretend that you do not know their purpose for passing here.'

Item 44A is adopted by the workers when they have seen girls passing nearby the construction site. The workers' feelings have not been named directly but by the phrase *lieth chikre* 'popping hot'. Utterance 44B indicates that there is a group of people passing nearby the site. From utterance 44A, it is conclusive that the girls have attracted the attention of the workers. This is an instance of linguistic convergence among these workers in the construction site since the workers seem to be talking among themselves and they understand one another perfectly well. Similarly, Giles (2005) observes that in communicative interactions, people use strategic behaviour to maintain perceived nearness with interlocutors.

Example 45A *Roya obuodho* 'The calf has bolted' is also uttered when girls are passing nearby the site. The response in 45B *Gi reto manadi*? 'Why are they walking hurriedly?' suggests that girls are hurrying to a particular place for some mission. Most parents bar their daughters from roaming about in the village because there are dangers against such movements. When a calf bolts from the homestead, it may disappear since it cannot trace its way back home due to the fact that it has not familiarized itself with the surrounding. Similarly, girls are bound to be deceived by men when found loitering in the village and can even elope with them since they are still not mature enough to make concrete decisions. That is why they are restricted by their parents against walking anyhow in the village. On the contrary, girls resort to sneaking without the knowledge of their parents the same way calves bolt from home without the knowledge of the herdsmen. This is an instance of metonymy brought about by linguistic divergence as the workers have accentuated their verbal and non-verbal differences in order to distinguish themselves from others (Giles, 1987).

The interpretation for utterance 46A *Kaka pile* 'As usual' implies the daily routine of girls passing nearby the site. From the subsequent utterance in 46B *Nyaka gi kal ga ka?* 'Must they pass by this site?', it is clear that most girls like passing near the site probably to attract the attention of the workers and engage them in other issues which are contrary to the activities in the site. It is also clear from the utterance that a particular group of girls are familiar to some workers in the site. The daily routine of girls passing nearby the site has not been named directly but by the item in 46A. This qualifies the utterance to be termed as metonymy. In line with this arguement, Accommodation Theory (Giles, 2005) presupposes that people act through their beliefs and behaviour to enhance the power and status of their in-groups to the exclusion of out-groups.

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47A. *Oromo saa adi gi Bambuchwani*?

'What is the time according to our Bamburi?'

B. *Eka mama apima to kawuono ok obiro.*

'Unfortunately, the trader has not turned up.'

48A. *In nadi kono gi suk*?

'How far are you with the job?'

B. *Tim tich achiel eka ipenj moro.*

'Finish up with one work at a time.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 47A when they are hungry but there is no food within sight. The utterance is indirect since their state of hunger has not been named directly but by the mention of the above utterance. This stylistic choice is termed as metonymy. Utterance 47B indicates that they were hungry yet the trader had not turned up on that day. It is apparent that construction workers "count time" in terms of the number of bags of cement they use since cement is the main material they use in construction sites. The phrase could be borrowed from the FM radio ways of presenting time with advertisements. For instance, "The time is 10.00 o'clock brought to you by Airtel". Data set 48A is uttered by construction workers when trying to find out where there is a job. The word *suk* suggests any job according to their in-group language but is not named directly in the utterance. This is an instance of metonymy. The response in 48B shows that the worker is trying to find out where there is a job.These utterances are communicated freely and spontaneously among construction workers. In this case, Howard (2005) argues that language can be a critical determinant of whether someone views the other as an authentic in-group member or an out-group imposter. An important characteristic of the in-

and out-group dichotomy is that groups mark their identities by the distinctive language and speech styles they create and use.

    49A. *Kawuono amoko.*

       'I am stuck today.'

    B. *Pesa to ok di omed.*

       'Yet he cannot even increase the wages.'

Construction workers adopt item 49A when they have been allocated a large work load to complete within a specific time at the site by the constructor in charge. The convergence between *Kawuono amoko* 'I am stuck today' and a large workload indicates that it will take the construction worker quite a lot of time to complete the work the same way it takes a lot of time to remove something which has been stuck. The large work load has not been named directly but by the mention of utterance 49A hence qualifies the utterance to be termed as metonymy. From the kind of response in 49B, one concludes that the work load is heavy, although, it is not commensurate with payments. The amount of work load has not been named directly, but by the mention of the above utterance hence qualifies the phrase to be referred as metonymy. As construction workers engage in the above utterances, they portray a certain in-group identity which is expressed through language since language does not exist in a vacuum. This is in line with Lane (2000) who notes that identity is located in the dynamics of interactions between individuals whose identities are reconstructed by daily experiences.

50A. *Kawuono a wa a olonje.*

'Today, we left empty handed.'

B. *Dak agomb dok kuro kiny.*

'I won't like going back there tomorrow.'

51A. *Bwana kawuono asota.*

'My friend, today I am broke.'

B. *Ofuko dak bed maber pile.*

'A pocket cannot be endowed with cash always.'

Item 50A suggests that the workers left the site for home without any food or money. In this example, *olonje* stands for 'without any payment'. Normally, people believe that after they have done some form of work, they expect to get food or money. The utterance in 50B shows clearly that nothing good can come from that site in terms of food or money. This is an instance of metonymy since the financial state of the workers at the time of departure from the site has been named by the phrase *Kawuono a wa a olonje* 'Today, we left empty handed'. The interpretation for utterance 51A stands for an instance where a particular worker has no money in the site. *Asota* is a state of being broke. The financial position of the workers has not been named directly, but by the phrase *kawuono asota* 'today I am broke'. This stylistic choice is termed as metonymy. Similarly, Fan (2006) posits that metonymy is a cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is understood in terms of another experiential domain included in the same common experiential domain. This is evident in utterance 50A and 51A.

52A. *Bwana dhiang' ok guar ga.*

'My friend, a cow does not prick.'

B. *Kawuono to wanyalo kata po ni ose a.*

'Today, we would be surprised that he has already left.'

Construction workers adopt item 52A when referring to a foreman who does not pay his workers promptly. If for instance, the workers are to be paid weekly, he postpones such payments or sometimes pays them in bits. As much as the workers may be in need of money, they cannot complain since they believe that such behaviour may ruin their rapport with the foreman who may fail to invite them for a job in another site. The response in 52B indicates that on such a day, the foreman would leave the site unnoticed to avoid paying the workers. The habit of the foreman of not paying the workers promptly has not been named directly but by the utterance *Bwana dhiang' ok guar ga* 'My friend, a cow does not prick'. This is an instance of metonymy. Construction workers have to communicate using a language variety that elicits approval. The mode of interaction act as speech divergence to other linguistic groups since Giles (2005) argue that divergence is communicatively non-accommodating or distancing from each others' interests or needs in the encounter to exclude the other.

53A. Aduera *kawuono anochand.*

'Today, the butcher will be stubborn.'

B. *Diet nyaka lok bwana.*

'My friend, diet must be changed.'

54A. *Okaw okapu.*

'The basket has been taken.'

B. *Koro ti uru matek weche beyo.*

'You need to work hard, things are okay.'

Data set 53A is always uttered by the workers when Aduera, who is a butcher, brings meat for sale in his butchery. In the utterance, Aduera is a name of the butcher. In light of the subsequent utterance in 53B, it is clear that these workers are talking about a particular type of food. People will be disturbed because sometimes they want to buy meat yet they do not have the money. The utterance is an instance of metonymy since the presence of meat in the butchery has not been named directly but by the phrase Aduera *kawuono anochand* 'Today, the butcher will be stubborn. The interpretation for utterance 54A stands for an instance where a particular family member of the client has left the compound with a basket. It then becomes obvious to the construction workers that shopping will be brought in the site in a short while and they will be served with tea. The action of shopping has not been named directly but by some associated thing evident from the phrase *Okaw okapu* 'The basket has been taken'. This stylistic choice is termed as metonymy. The utterance is usually uttered in the morning when they are expecting some breakfast. This is also an indication that some of these workers either leave their homes for work without taking breakfast or are just food minded. Normally, baskets are used for carrying

food stuffs. The researcher realized that the workers uttered this phrase excitedly. The stylistic choices suggest that language use in construction sites is governed by the domains of language use. Moreover, Imberti (2007) posits that language is the key to a person's identity as it enables the person to express emotions, share feelings, tell stories, and convey complex messages and knowledge.

55A. *Kawuono* kohima *opong'.*

'Today, the lorry is fully loaded.'

B. *Tich iye ber.*

'The work is good.'

56A. *Di ogony?*

'Is he capable of paying?'

B. *Ok apar, kawuono oger.*

'I don't think so, he appears paranoid.'

57A. *Pap rach.*

'The ground is not conducive.'

B. *Wega chamo te ka iyudo.*

'Don't be a spend thrift.'

Utterance 55A is adopted when *kohima (*a name of a lorry) has brought a lot of building materials in the site. The subsequent utterance in 55B describes the positive side of the work in the site. The utterance then means that there would be a lot of work load in the site hence they would spend several days there. The more they stay in the site, the more gain in terms of payment of wages. The action of the lorry bringing a lot of building materials has not been

named directly but by the utterance *Kawuono* kohima *opong* 'Today, the lorry is fully loaded.' This is an instance of metonymy. Construction workers adopt item 56A *Di ogony?* 'Is he capable of paying?' when trying to find out from themselves if they would be paid. The foreman's state of mind in the subsequent utterance may be a sign that there would be no payment on that day. Utterance 57A *Pap rach* 'The ground is not conducive' represents a particular day when no payment is made to the workers since majority of workers are paid on daily basis. From the response in 57B *Wega chamo te ka iyudo* 'Don't be a spend thrift', it is clear that on this particular day, there was no payment hence one ought to save and use the money wisely. Failure to pay the workers has not been named directly but by the description of the state of the site. This stylistic choice is termed as metonymy. In line with this argument, Giles (2005) maintains that convergence is an associative strategy whereby individuals adapt their communicative behaviour to become more similar to their interlocutor.

    58A. *Wembe!*

        'Concealing!'

   B. *Ka ok ugeng'o kanyo to kawuono urome.*

        'If you fail to block the anomaly from being noticed, you will be in for it.'

    59A. *Ketaring pek.*

        'Food is adequetly plentiful.'

    B. *Mama apima kawuono anone marach.*

        'Today, the trader will not be amused.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 58A when part of the wall is slanting. In light of subsequent utterance 58B, it is clear that there is a problem within part of the building which is

supposed to be blocked by some workers. By the mention of the utterance, they either decide to crowd that area or engage the foreman with a lot of stories to prevent him from inspecting the building. Utterance 58A has elements of metonymy since it is uttered when part of the wall is slanting. Convergence is evident in this utterance as the workers have decided to move their speech closer to the fellow workers for the sake of communication efficiency. A non-construction worker might also be surprised why the workers would talk of a razor blade in the site as it is not a tool used in building construction.

In example 59A *Ketaring pek* 'Food is adequetly plentiful', construction workers adopted the utterance when on a particular day; food was prepared in plenty for them in the site. They were finally happy since they would eat without accounting for it. Mostly, they buy food from *mama apima* 'a trader', but on that day, the client organized for both their 10.00 o'clock tea and lunch to be prepared in the site. This meant that they would not purchase any food from the trader as stated in utterance 59B *Mama apima kawuono anone marach* 'Today, the trader will not be amused'. The actual cooking has not been named directly from the utterance, but by the above phrase. This qualifies the utterance to be termed as a metonymy. The use of this stylistic choice makes their mode of interaction unique from other linguistic groups.

60A. Ochieng' *breg wiye ochot.*

'Ochieng's head has gone nuts.'

B. *Ka owinji, to ibiro yie.*

'Let him not hear of it or else you will regret.'

61A. *Wiyini tinde okwero makas?*

'Does your head forbid a pair of scissors nowadays?'

B. *Makas podi iliedo ga go?*

'Surely, is a pair of scissors still in use?'

Utterance 60A suggests that Ochieng', who is a construction worker, utters meaningless utterances at the construction site. Normally, a machine whose nuts are loose cannot perform tasks appropriately. Ochieng's mode of interaction has not been named directly but by the phrase *breg wiye ochot* 'the head has gone nuts' hence qualifies the utterance to be termed as a metonymy. Item 61A is uttered by construction workers to refer to a worker whose hair is shaggy. The state of the hair has not been named directly but by the mention of *okwero makas* 'forbids a pair of scissors'. Similarly, Doise, Sinclaire and Bourhis (1976) established that speakers may not only wish to maintain their group identity through the strategy of speech maintenance, but may also emphasize it using speech divergence, which involves the modification of speech away from the interlocutor. Non-convergence strategies may be used as a result of the speakers desire to dissociate themselves from the listeners real or apparent attributes and may also reflect speakers' desires to assert their group identity in intergroup encounters.

62A. *Bwana kelna ojikono.*

'My friend, get for me the spoon.'

B. *Ojiko iyudo kanye ka?*

'Where does one get a spoon here?'

A. *To kara bi ituomna gigo gi dhogi.*

'Then come and scoop the mixture with your mouth.'

The researcher noted in data set 62A that even newcomers find a problem in communication in construction sites. This was witnessed when a regular construction worker sent a newcomer to bring *ojiko* 'a spoon', and wondered where he could find one in the construction site. The newcomer was expected to bring a trowel since according to construction workers' in-group language, *ojiko* 'a spoon' stands for a trowel. This is an instance of metonymy. Similarly, Gumperz (1982) observes that people often define themselves and their own identity by means of their own inclusion or exclusion from a group through communication.

4.4.1.2 Metaphor

According to Ole and Okumba (1990), a metaphor is an image in which the association of one thing with another is made as if the two were actually the same. Leech (1969) posits that metaphor violates the usage recorded in a dictionary by creating unorthodox or figurative sense of a word or expression. In a metaphor, one thing is not merely compared to another as in a simile, but is boldly spoken of as if it actually were the other. Metaphor transfers a quality possessed by one thing to another and equates them as if they are one and the same. From the observation data, the researcher realized that construction workers talk about one thing or

activity as if it is one and the same thing. This is evident in utterances 64-72 observed in the construction site:

63A. *Bwana cha winyo.*

'That person is a bird.'

B. *Ka opogu kode tich kamoro achiel to iwang'.*

'If paired to work with him, you will regret it.'

64A. *Ogayo papati biro.*

'Ogayo papati is coming.'

B. *Kawuono idwa chamo adi?*

'How many would you want to eat today?'

65A. *Apuoyo biro.*

'There comes the hare.'

B. *Piny koro dwa diny nwa sani.*

'It is going to be very tight for us.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 63A to refer to fellow workers who are sly. This interpretation is in light of the subsequent utterance in 63B. The quality of the man is equated to the bird since birds eat what other people have planted rather than working hard for it. *Bwana* 'That person' has been spoken of as if he was actually the bird in the above utterance. This stylistic choice is termed as a metaphor. Item 64A is adopted by construction workers when they have seen a woman selling 'chapatis' approaching the site. *Ogayo papati* is spoken of as if it actually were 'a chapati'seller. From the utterance in 64B, it is clear that the kind of food the woman is carrying is countable. Data set 65A is used to describe the foreman when he is

approaching the construction site. This interpretation is in light of the subsequent utterance in 65B *Piny koro dwa diny nwa sani* 'It is going to be very tight for us' since the foreman is the one who hires and fires them. The hare is usually a very clever animal. The foreman has been referred to as the hare since he is capable of identifying hidden mistakes made by the workers regarding construction very fast. In line with this arguement, Howard (2005) observes that language becomes an important boundary marker as it marks and confirms the boundary between in- and out-groups.

66A. *Madhe kawuono okelo ng'ad inyuand.*

'Today, mother has brought cut and mix.'

B. *Gi tindo bwana, inyiewo adi eka romi*?

'My friend they are very tiny, how many would you buy to be enough for you?'

67A. *Kawuono en nyanam.*

'Today, it is daughter of the lake shore.'

B. *Kato oritwa maber.*

'As for this place, we are well taken care of.'

In the data set 66A, the phrase *ng'ad inyuand* 'cut and mix' stands for mixed 'chapatis' and 'beans'. Therefore, the utterance suggests that the trader has brought 'chapatis' and beans at the site for sale. Normally, in a meal of 'chapatis' and beans, one cuts 'chapatis' first, then mixes it with beans. By uttering example 67A, the interpretation stands for having a meal of fish in the site. Fish live in the lake, pond, sea, stream, ocean or river. From the word *nam* 'lake', it is apparent that the workers are talking about fish since it is the main source of food for Luos from the lake. The subsequent utterance in 67B also indicates that they are feeding on a very special

meal. In view of this, Giles and Clair (1979) note that language is not a homogenous, static system. Language is multi-channeled, multi-variable and capable of vast modifications from the context to context by the speaker, slight differences of which are often detected by listeners and accorded social significance. Individuals should, consciously or unconsciously, among other things, seek identification with others through language. It is selflessness that accommodating to others speech may prove beneficial or detrimental, in the long run. In this case, it would be beneficial to the trader to know how the workers refer to her goods.

68A. *Kawuono wachamo ahero*.

'Today, we are eating rice.'

B. *Anto magi ok yieng'a ga*.

'Personally, I don't get satisfied when I feed on these.'

69A. *Kawuono wachamo winyo*.

'Today, we are consuming a bird.'

B. *Ma ka achopo eot, to ok anyal keto gimoro edhoga*.

'I will not feed on anything when I reach home.'

The stylistic choice in item 68A is used to refer to an instance whereby at a particular meal time, workers are having rice as lunch in the construction site. In Luo Nyanza, rice is grown in Ahero. Ahero has been talked of as if it is actually a type of food yet it is a place where rice is grown. Therefore, the convergence between Ahero and rice shows clearly the type of food being eaten by the workers. Construction workers' adopt data set 69A when eating chicken during meal time in the construction site. Normally, chicken lay eggs and are covered with feathers. Therefore, the association of the bird and the chicken has been made as if the two were actually the same. The

present study suggests that the use of this sociolect among construction workers in construction sites act as a unifying force among them. Similarly, Yakub (2012) argues that Kinubi acts as a unifying force among the Nubians.

70A. *To bwana nyoro nyo ilal kanye*?

'Where were you yesterday my friend?'

B. *Nyoro nyo adhi nyiewo Apol Apol nyatunge boyo.*

'Yesterday, I went to buy the long horned Apol Apol.'

71A. *Kwach bade dongo kawuono ok bi?*

'Is the big armed leopard not reporting to work today?'

B. *Jatelo ema nyalo ng'eyo.*

'It is only the foreman who can tell.'

In example 70B, the phrase *Apol Apol nyatunge boyo* 'the long horned Apol Apol' stands for a bull huge enough for ploughing. Otieno was absent from the site because he had gone to buy a bull. Apol Apol has been mentioned in place of the bull in the construction site. Otieno has converged his utterance to his fellow worker since he may not wish the employer to know that he has accumulated enough money to buy a bull. The employer knowing he went to buy a bull may cause jealousy and even dismissal from work. Otieno may even be accused of stealing and selling construction materials, hence the use of this sociolect.

The phrase *kwach bade dongo* 'the big armed leopard' in utterance 71A stands for a construction worker who is strong, hot tempered and can easily fight his fellow workers in case of any misunderstanding. Mostly, the leopard is regarded as a very dangerous animal. The quality of the leopard has been directly transferred to the worker and has been equated as if the

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two are one and the same thing. This qualifies the utterance to be termed as a metaphor. Literally, one does not expect a leopard to report for work in a construction site. The response in 71B *Jatelo ema nyalo ng'eyo* 'It is only the foreman who can tell' also indicates that it is only the foreman in the site who may have the knowledge of those workers who fail to report to the site for work. Worker A has converged his speech style to worker B for the purpose of maintaining positive in-group identity. Construction workers adopt utterances 71B and 72A in construction sites since they are conversant with this unique style of expression. Moreover, Giles (2005) believes in norms and appropriateness to conform human behaviour in communication in order for the speaker to reach expectations of the conversation. This is what is evident in the above utterances. Utterances discussed under metaphors are linguistic features since they elaborate on the sociolinguistic and semantic aspects of the language of construction workers.

4.4.1.3 Similes

Ole and Okumba (1990) define a simile as an image that compares two things using words; 'like', 'as' or 'than'. A simile makes comparisons, pointing out similarities between things otherwise unlike. What is presented is compared with a more familiar thing so that the reader gets a mental impression. This was evident in the workers utterances in construction sites. The following similes are analyzed with a view of pin pointing the linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers which forms objective three of this study.

72A. *Gwaro ka mapera.*

'It pricks like a guava.'

B. *Ng'ato ema kik penja gima omiyo atiyo mos.*

'Let nobody ask me why I am slow.'

73A. Otieno *to wiye duong' ga ka wi dhiang'.*

'Otieno's head is as big as a cow.'

B. *Ka ok onyal to ok ong'i yo machielo*!

'If it is impossible, he should look for an alternative.'

74A. *Ang'o ma omiyo kawuono igueyo ka guok?*

'Why are you barking like a dog today?'

B. *Awuoyo mana gi dhoga.*

'I am talking using my mouth.'

The interpretation for utterance 72A stands for tools which are sub-standard yet workers have no option but to use them in construction sites. A tool and a guava are things which are unlike. The tool which has been presented has been compared with a more familiar thing which is a guava. This stylistic choice is referred to as a simile. From utterance 72B, it is clear that the tools are not in very good condition. Item 73A refers to a trainee in the site who is slow in following instructions pertaining to his training. Most construction workers train their fellow employees at a time when there is an ongoing construction in the site. Otieno's head has been compared with the cow's head which is a more familiar thing so that the reader can get a mental impression. This stylistic choice is termed as a simile. The response in 73B shows that he is not capable of performing certain duties in the site. Example 74A stands for a construction worker who talks too much in the site. In most cases, dogs bark for a long duration. The subsequent utterance in

74B *Awuoyo mana gi dhoga* 'I am talking using my mouth' indicates that the worker likes talking. According to Giles (2005), speakers therefore increasingly converge or accommodate on the communicative patterns believed to be characteristic of their interactants, the more they wish to signal positive face or empathy and common social identities, or to elicit the other's approval, respect, trust, cooperation, and, still, to develop a closer relationship or defuse a potentially volatile situation.

75A. *Bwana kawuono ikwiny ka guok ma manyur.*

'My friend, today you are harsh like a dog which has given birth.'

B. *Kik chandi.*

'Do not bother about it.'

76A. *I il il ka a apuoyo.*

'You are as agile as a hare.'

B. *Del nyaka rie*.

'Body must be straightened.'

In example 75A, the workers' mood in the construction site has been compared with something familiar *guok ma manyur* 'a dog which has given birth' so that the reader can also get a mental impression. Data set 76A refers to a construction worker who moves quickly and easily at every corner of the site attracting the attention of workers the same way the hare moves swiftly and easily. This interpretation is in light of the subsequent utterance in 76B where the worker believes that such movement is a form of exercising the body. In this case, Weaver (2001) argues that generally, identification is based on recognition of a common origin or shared characteristics with another person, group, or ideal leading to solidarity and allegiance.

77A. *Chiemb mamani rach mana ka manyasi.*

'This mother's food is as bad as the traditional concoction.'

B. *Ma to en mana ketho pesa.*

'This is a waste of money.'

78A. *Imulo ka opuk yaye.*

'You are as slow as a tortoise.'

B. *Nga'ato ka ng'ato opogni kare, rang mana tiji.*

'Everybody has been allocated his portion, just mind your work.'

79A. *Bwana cha dende chalo sing'enge.*

'That person's body is like a barbed wire.'

B. *Daktari ne okwere ni kik pi odhi edende.*

'The doctor advised him against taking a shower.'

In example 77A, the trader's food has been compared with something familiar, *manyasi* 'the traditional concoction'. From the cultural background, Luos drink *manyasi* 'the traditional concoction' mainly for cleansing after engaging in an activity which is considered as a taboo by the norms of the society. The comparison of food with this concoction and utterance 77B suggests that the food was not properly cooked. Utterance 78A suggests that the worker in question spends a lot of time in accomplishing a task. Normally, the tortoise moves slowly due to the heavy load on its back. The interpretation for utterance 79A stands for a person whose body is rough as a result of working in an environment which has a lot of cement. The nature of the body has been compared with something familiar. The response in 79B indicates that this particular worker does not take a bath even despite working in this kind of area. In view of the

above examples, Giles (2005) maintains that people use perception and evaluation in conversations, meaning they observe and interpret messages to determine their actions or attitudes in a conversation.

80A. *Bwana kawuono iringo mana ka gueno mathuon.*

'My friend, today you are running up and down like a cockerel.'

B. *Ang'o ma gi omo edier chuo?*

'What do they do among men?'

81A. *Ibuyo ka dhiang' ma thuon.*

'You are bellowing like a bull.'

B. *Kik chandi bwana.*

'Do not trouble yourself.'

Construction workers adopt item 80A when referring to a fellow worker who likes talking to women who sell food in the site with some ill intentions. Cockerels usually run after hens to capture them for mating. Therefore, any man who likes being in the company of women yet they are not sharing the same interest suits the above description. From the worker's response in 80B, it is clear that the issue of discussion is about a member of the opposite sex in the company of women. In data set 81A, the interpretation stands for a construction worker who often reacts in a loud deep sound in case he has been annoyed in the site. Such a worker usually does not want his mistakes to be mentioned. His reaction to anger has been compared with the sound that bulls make for the reader to get a mental impression. A non-worker might think that such a worker bellows literally due to lack of knowledge of convergence speech style of construction workers. The kind of response in 81B from the worker in question also portrays him as an arrogant

worker. The use of this language variety in these examples is deemed to conceal the nature of their interactions since Amuka (1992) argues that people address one another with codes that conceal the nature of their interactions with the public.

82A. *Ikiherehere ka guok ma oneno chogo.*

'You are as agile as a dog which has seen a bone.'

B. *An adwaro mana konyi tich.*

'All I want is to assist you in your job.'

83A. *Itang' ka aidha.*

'You are as cautious as a squirrel.'

B. *Eka di dag epiny ni.*

'Only then would you live longer in this world.'

84A. *Bwana we muomri ka jowi.*

'My friend, do not rush into places like the buffalo.'

B. *Ahero ga wacho pacha.*

'I like speaking my mind.'

The interpretation for utterance 82A stands for a worker who always portrays himself as a perfect worker and may even want to relieve fellow workers of their duties in order to get extra payment. This interpretation is based on the subsequent utterance in 82B. By and large, dogs move swiftly when they have seen bones. Their intention is usually to get it and run away with it-survival for the fittest-fearing that other creatures might reach the spot ahead of them and take them away. Item 83A is adopted by the workers to describe a certain construction worker in the site who is an introvert. Such a worker does not share his issues with fellow workers for fear of

exposing his problems the same way squirrels behave for fear of being hunted since they are wild animals. The utterance in 83B *Eka di dag epiny ni* 'Only then would you live longer in this world' explains further why he has to behave in that manner. Example 84A *Bwana we muomri ka jowi* 'My friend, do not rush into places like the buffalo' refers to a construction worker who likes tongue-lashing other workers without any wrong doing. This mode of interaction is mostly adopted by construction workers in construction sites because according to Accommodation Theory (Giles, 2005), individuals may initially orient themselves to each other based on group membership for instance, professional role.

85A. *Bwana ijawuoro ka ong'er.*

'My friend, you are as selfish as a monkey.'

B. *Ong'e ng'ama osindi bedo jawuoro.*

'Nobody has barred you from being selfish.'

86A. *Bwana itek ka muok.*

'My friend, you are as strong as an ant-bear.'

B. *An ok aketh ga chiemo.*

'I don't waste food.'

Utterance 85A describes a foreman who does not pay his workers easily. The foreman has been described as selfish since there is always a struggle between him and the workers at the time of payments. Normally, monkeys cause a great destruction to people's crops in case they invade any plantation. They are capable of even clearing the whole plantation of maize at the expense of the owner hence are selfish animals. Example 86A is adopted to refer to a very hardworking construction worker who can accomplish a heavy work load within a very short time. The ant-

bear is also capable of boring holes on hard surfaces since it has a lot of energy. A non-worker might think they are labeled as either the monkey or an ant-bear and may react unfavourably. This is in line with Harwood, Giles and Palomares (2005) argument that misunderstandings in intergroup communication stem from not knowing the norms and rules guiding communication of people from different groups. Similes in this section are effective in the study of in-group language in construction sites since they reveal much on the relationship between language and construction workers.

4.4.1.4 Personification

Ole and Okumba, (1990) define personification as a literary style by which human qualities like speech, reasoning, cooking among others are ascribed to inanimate objects, animals and other non-humans. It emerges from the utterances collected that construction workers give non-human beings or abstract things or ideas qualities of human beings. The stylistic choice is termed as personification. This is evident in the following utterance:

87A. Otieno *to wang'e okolo kudho.*

'Otieno is disrespectful.'

B. *Pinyni nyaka itang' ji kuomi.*

'At times, it is in order to keep people at bay.'

The stylistic choice in data set 87A suggests that a particular worker does not care and or is irresponsible. The eye in this example has been given the quality of human beings of removing thorns. This stylistic choice is called personification. In this case, Omondi's attitude is arrogant, care-free that is compared with eyes plucking a thorn. This is literally impossible as thorns cannot be removed using eyes. Yet this comparison is possible because of his unimaginable

attitude. This is his tactic of keeping people at bay as uttered in 87B *Pinyni nyaka itang' ji kuomi* 'At times, it is in order to keep people at bay'. Similarly, Giles and Byrne (1982) point out that, as an out-group begins to learn the speech style of the in-group, in-group members will diverge linguistically so as to maintain linguistic distinctiveness.

Based on the stylistic choices discussed in this section, this study concludes that in-group language in construction sites is a sociolect. This is a variety of language (dialect) used by people belonging to a particular social class. The speakers of a sociolect usually share a similar socioeconomic and or educational background. A sociolect is therefore the language 'footprint' of a particular in-group to contrast them from those outside the group. Construction workers use a particular sociolect when interacting with fellow workers in the site. Therefore, the stylistic choices (metonyms, metaphors, similes and personification) are some of the linguistic features evident in construction workers' in-group language. Construction workers sociolect is therefore a kind of restricted code.

Bernstein (1971) observes that in the case of restricted code, the speech is refracted through a common cultural identity which reduces the need to verbalize intent so that it becomes explicit. The speech in these social relations is likely to be fast and fluent and articulatory clues are reduced; some meanings are likely to be dislocated, condensed and local. There will be a low level of vocabulary and syntactic selection; the unique meaning of the individual is likely to be implicit. A restricted code contains a vast potential of meanings. It is a form of speech which symbolizes a communally based culture (ibid). It carries its own aesthetic.

According to Littlejohn (2002), a code refers to a set of organizing principles behind the language employed by means of a social group. According to Bernstein (1971), "Forms of spoken language in the process of their learning initiates, generalize and reinforce special types of relationship with the environment and thus create for the individual particular forms of significance". That is to say that the way language is used within a particular social class affects the way people assign significance and meaning to the things about which they are speaking and this is evident in the stylistic choices construction workers adopt in their mode of interactions. Littlejohn (2002) agrees and states, "People learn their place in the world by virtue of the language codes they employ". The code that a person uses indeed symbolizes their social identity (Bernstein, 1971).

When asked whether they adopt this kind of communication at home, the response was that "they do not since there are no construction workers at home". Another respondent was asked whether newcomers understand their mode of communication at the site and the response was that "they do not but with time they learn".

4.5 Summary

This chapter has dealt with data presentation, analysis and discussion with a view to highlighting the linguistic features of the in-group language adopted by construction workers in construction sites. In the first objective, the researcher has described the characteristics of in-group language. This entailed a description of language use by construction workers. In the second objective, the researcher arrived at the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers from the examples of utterances in construction sites. Finally, with regard to the third objective, the in-group language has been evaluated with a view to exposing the linguistic features of

construction workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya. The next chapter focuses on the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher highlights the summary, conclusions, and recommendations and gives suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary

The present study was designed to investigate linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers. The research was guided by three objectives. The first one was to describe the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers. The study revealed that indirect utterances, semantic opacity, unique vocabulary choices, code-mixing, impolite remarks and taboo words are some of the characteristics of in-group language in construction sites. The workers' use the names of animals in the description of others. This is an instance of impoliteness. The study found that construction workers at Wesa construction site are drawn from the locality and could be multilingual but are largely Luo speakers. Taboo words they adopt are not meant to embarrass the listener. It arouses their interest and this makes them speed up the work. These taboo words are adopted at the site only since out of the site, they have to be morally upright because they are family men.

The second objective of the study was to determine the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya. The study found that abstract statements, a feeling of superiority complex, the need to have different group memberships, and

social distance were the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites. The study also revealed that casual labourers are the ones who do the bulk of work at the site.

The third objective was to evaluate the linguistic features that construction workers adopt in their speech. The three strategies of Accommodation Theory for instance: convergence, divergence and speech maintenance and the Theory of Politeness were exploited. The study revealed that the in-group language in construction sites is replete with stylistic choices. Construction workers tend not to name objects, things or people directly. Instead they refer or allude to some associated thing or they name some attribute or quality associated with it (metonymy). The workers also talk about one thing or activity in terms of another (metaphor). Construction workers make comparisons, pointing out similarities between things that are unlike in their mode of interactions (simile). Finally, construction workers give non-human beings or abstract things or ideas qualities of human beings. This stylistic choice is termed as personification. The study also revealed that the stylisic choices are never adopted outside the site and that newcomers find a problem of communication at the site but with time they get to learn.

5.3 Conclusions

The first objective in this study was to describe the characteristics of in-group language among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya. The workers use unique vocabulary choices instead of ordinary words but assign them special meanings so that it can elicit approval. The in-group language comprised: indirect utterances, semantic opacity, unique vocabulary choices, code-mixing, impolite remarks and taboo words. The workers also interacted freely and spontaneously. The study also concluded that construction workers earn meagre wages. Construction work is perceived by the society as a low class job with low income and is

dominated by people of low academic qualifications. The work is considered tedious with work done not being commensurate with payments. This is a major factor that makes them adopt impolite remarks.

The second objective was to determine the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias among construction workers of Gem sub-County, Kenya. The conclusion is that abstract statements, a feeling of superiority complex, the need to have different group memberships and social distance were the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias. The study also concluded that casual labourers are the ones who do the bulk of work at the site. This is an indication that they are perceived by the workers as an inferior group. This widens social distance between them and other workers. This is an instance of bias at the site.

The third objective was to evaluate the linguistic features that construction workers adopt in their speech. Language use in construction sites is explicitly understood by construction workers with a view to maintaining in-group social identity. Based on the stylistic choices discussed in this objective, this study concludes that in-group language in construction sites is a sociolect. This sociolect is a restricted coded language. It was evident in the discussion that the use of a sociolect is deemed to enhance communicative efficiency among the workers in construction sites. This study concluded that language use in construction sites is replete with stylistic choices (metonymy, metaphors, similes and personification). It is concluded that construction workers use a particular sociolect when interacting with fellow workers with a view to maintaining positive in-group identity. The sociolect generated the bulk of stylistic choices which was used frequently in the formation of linguistic features to render hidden meanings of

utterances. This is an indication that stylistic choices dictate the language usage in construction sites and construction workers determine the choice of language at the site.

5.4 Recommendations

The recommendation on objective one is that construction workers should always strive to avoid the use of taboo words and impolite remarks for the sake of social harmony and smooth communication.

To address objective two, description of behaviour at the construction site should reveal much about the situation than the person. This will help eradicate an exclusive use of abstract statements among a particular group thereby reducing instances of linguistic intergroup bias.

The recommendation that addresses objective three is that construction workers should curtail the use of an exclusive sociolect in interactions at the site. This will eradicate the use of linguistic features like stylistic choices evident in construction workers' speech.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The current study is based on linguistic features of in-group language among construction workers. Further research may be conducted on the following areas: the non-official idioms of professional construction workers for instance, engineers and architects with an aim to ascertain the differences that may exist between such studies and the communicative patterns from this study.

Secondly, there is need to study the in-group language of construction workers in urban centres to ascertain whether linguistic features they adopt in their mode of interaction differ from the ones observed in the rural setting in this study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

1. Linguistic features of in-group language among Dholuo speaking construction workers…………………………………………………………………………

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2. Examples of linguistic intergroup bias in their mode of expression.

A……………………………………………..

B……………………………………………..

C……………………………………………..

D……………………………………………..

3. Possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias.

………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Reasons for social categorization of construction workers as a distinct group.

………………………………………………………………………..

5. Factors that affect the choice of language and speech style of construction workers in construction sites.

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APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

GENDER:…………………………………………………………………………………

AGE…………………………………………………………………………………....

CONSTRUCTION SITE…………………………………………………………..……

1. Which language do you speak in the site?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

2. What is the level of your education?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………..

3. What is your area of specialization in the site?

   ………………………………………………………………………………………….

4. Do you adopt this language outside construction sites?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Discuss the significance of this in-group language in construction sites?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

6. What are the possible causes of linguistic intergroup bias in construction sites?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

7. Do new comers find understand your mode of communication in the site? (Answer yes or no)

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

8. If yes, why?

   …………………………………………………………………………………………

APPENDIX: 111 TRANSCRIPTIONS OF SAMPLE INTERVIEWS WITH RESPONDENTS

Interview Session One

Interviewer: *Nyingi ng'a*?

    'What is your name?'

Respondent: Nyinga en David Ouma.

    'My name is David Ouma.'

Interviewer: *I wacho dhok mage*?

    'Which languages do you speak?

Respondent: *A wacho Dholuo, Kiswahili gi English matin.*

    'I speak Dholuo, Kiswahili and a bit of English.'

Interviewer: *In ja Gem ka?*

    'Are you a resident of Gem sub-County?'

Respondent: *A jagem ma onyuol Gem, ma odak Gem*.

    'I am a resident, born and bred here in Gem.'

Interviewer: *Dhok mage ma u wacho ga e tich ka*?

    'Which languages do you frequently adopt at the site?'

Respondent: Ng'eny ne *wa wuoyo ga gi Dholuo ni kech wan jo Luo, to saa moro wariwo gi*

    Kiswahili kata English matin.

  'In most cases, we communicate in Dholuo but at times we do mix it with Kiswahili or

  English a bit.'

Interviewer: *Erokamano*.

    'Thank you.'

Respondent: *Machiegni.*

'Welcome.'

Interview Session 2

Interviewer: *I dhi nadi*?

'How are you doing?'

Respondent: *A dhi maber.*

'I am fine, thank you.'

Interviewer: *Ere kaka ne i yudo tijni.*

'How did you secure this job?'

Respondent: *Osiepna moro ka ema ne oluonga.*

'I got it through a friend who also works here.'

Interviewer: *Be I hero tijini*?

'Do you cherish this job?'

Respondent: *Ok a here*?

'I don't like it.'

Interviewer: Nang'o?

'Why?'

Respondent: *En tich matek to chudo bende tin, ema omiyo ineno ka ji yenyo ka mang'eny, somba ema tin ema omiyo an ka.*

'The work is tedious with meagre wages and that is why there are a lot of impolite remarks from most of us. I am here because of low academic qualifications.'

Interviewer: *Tiende ni ng'eny jo tich ma nitie ka ok osomo maber.'*

'That attests that most of the workers here are semi-illiterate.'

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Respondent: *Ng'enywa ne ok otieko.*

'Most of us are school drop-outs.'

Interviewer : *Erokamano.*

'Thank you.'

Respondent: *Machiegni.*

'Welcome.'

Interview session 3

Interviewer: *Dhok mane ma diher wacho e dala.*

'Which language would you like to use at home?'

Respondent: Daher *wacho Dholuo e dala.*

'In my home, I would like to communicate in Dholuo.'

Interviewer: *Ang'o ma omiyo weche u kuodo wich?*

'Why do you adopt utterances which are embarrassing?'

Respondent: *Tijni tek, weche go miyo wa mor to tich dhi piyo.*

'This work is tedious and such utterances make us happy hence speeds up the

Work.'

Interviewer: *Weche ma oduanyoregi be u wacho gi e dala?*

'Do you adopt these taboo words at home?'

Respondent: *Ok wa wach gi e dala nikech ng'enywa ni gi nyithindo. Magi weche madong'*

Mana ka.

'We don't adopt these utterances at home since most of us are family men who

have kids.'

Interviewer: *Erokamano.*

'Thank you.'

Interview Session 4

Interviewer: *Itiyo tich mane e mjengo ka?*

'What is your area of specialization at the site?'

Respondent: *An jaluedo.*

'I am a casual labourer.'

Interviewer: *Jo luedo to tiyo tije mage?*

'What kind of work do they do?

Respondent: *Gin ema nyaka gimond e tich motelo ni funde moko, nyaka gi gam gik tich,*

Gemo ne funde matafari ka gedo, gemo mabati ne funde e tado gi tije matindo

Mamoko.

'These are the workers who have to arrive at the site early,

They ensure building materials for the day are in place, a vail bricks to brick

Layers, iron sheets to roofers among other menial duties.'

Interviewer: *I paro ni gi tiyo kodu maber*?

'Do you think they give you a fair treatment?'

Respondent: Aa a.

'No.'

Interviewer: *Erokamano.*

'Thank you.'

Respondent: *Machiegni.*

'Welcome.'

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Interview Session 5

Interviewer: *Nyingi ng'a?*

'What is your name?

Respondent: Joseph Ochieng'.

Interviewer: *Ise bedo fundi maromo nadi*?

'How long have you been a construction worker?

Respondent: *Kuom higni a dek*.

'For three years.'

Interviewer: *In fundi mar ang'o ka*?

'What is your area of speacialization at this construction site?'

Respondent: *An ja go tado.*

'I am a roofer.'

Interviewer: *Kaka u wuoyo kani e kaka u wuoyo e dala?*

'Do you adopt this kind of communication at home?'

Respondent: *Ok wa wuo kama e dala nikech funde onge e dala.*

'No, we don't since there are no construction workers at home.'

Interviewer: *Be funde ma koro eka chako tich winjo gik ma u wacho*?

'Do newcomers understand your mode of communication in the site?

Respondent: *Ok gi winj, to ka gi se budho to ging'eyo.*

'No, they don't, but with time they learn.'

Interviewer: *Kama e kaka u wuoyo kata oko mar tich?*

'Do you adopt this kind of language outside the site?

Respondent:*Aa a.*

    'No.'

Interviewer: *Ayah.*

    'Okay.'

APPENDIX IV: DATA COLLECTED FROM CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' UTTERANCES

1A. *Kawuono bende anochikre e ofuka*?

'Will it jump in my pocket today?'

  B. *Ageno ma kik bare*.

'I am optimistic, hopefully, it won't fail'

2A. *To bwana ing'eni kawuono chieng' rieny e ofuka!*

'My friend, do you know that the sun is shining in my pocket today!'

  B. *Ka ok otimo kamano to nyaka waparne*.

'We shall keep reminding him lest he forget.'

3A. *Bwana kawuono lieth eluedo kose?*

'My friend, is it hot in the hand today?'

  B. *Ang'o ma omiyo ipenjo gima ong'ere?*

'Why do you ask the obvious?'

In item 1A-3A, construction workers pose the question between or among themselves trying to inquire if they will be paid.

4A. *Kawuono to ofuka podi en swamp*.

'For today, my pocket is still swampy.'

  B. *Pognae moko*.

'Issue me with some.'

Example 4A is uttered by a construction worker to suggest that his pocket is still endowed with money and expects the foreman to postpone the payment.

5A. *Msumba jakech.*

'A bachelor is never sure of when he is going to eat.'

B. *Mano ng'ama oluoro goyo budget.*

'That is an irresponsible person.'

The interpretation for utterance 5A stands for a construction worker who is never sure of when he is going to eat because he is a bachelor.

6A. *Ok inyal yudo jagorude ka kawuono.*

'You cannot find the highly connected worker in the site today.'

B. *Pesa ok romega.*

'He is never contented with money.'

The data set 6A represents a worker who performs duties in many sites at a given time.

7A. *Kawuono wago gi rungu.*

'Today, we were so lucky.'

B. *Onego bed ga kama pile.*

'I wish it could be always like this.'

The interpretation for indirect utterance 7A stands for a particular day when workers have left the site with extra money which is not part of their wages.

8A. *Kawuono wariembo rombe.*

'For today, we chased the sheep.'

B. *Kiny koro nyaka watind smit mondo shortage kik nen.*

'We have to minimize the use of cement tomorrow to ensure there is no shortage.'

Construction workers adopt item 8A when they have stolen bags of cement from the construction site.

9A. *Kawuono en mo amoya.*

'Today, everything is okay.'

B. *Jatelo kawuono ochiew maber.*

'Today, the foreman woke up in good mood.'

Example 9A represents an occasion when construction workers have been assigned little work load by the constructor in charge but still he has managed to pay them.

10A. *Opuk pek no otenga.*

'The tortoise is heavier for the eagle.'

B. *Iode be ji ok wuo ga?*

'Do people not talk in his house?'

The interpretation for utterance 10A stands for a foreman who is boastful and does not tolerate noise in the site.

11A. Ouma *tinde olal kanye?*

'Where has Ouma disappeared to nowadays?'

B. Ouma *tinde go niro.*

'Ouma nowadays plasters.'

Utterance 11B stands for Ouma is suffering from diarrhoea and is very ill.

12A. *Aah! Lieth.*

'Hey! it is hot.'

B. *A sechako winjo kech.*

'I was already hungry.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 12A when they have seen a cook carrying a kettle emerging from the kitchen.

13A. *Paka ok gue.*

'A cat does not bark.'

B. *Ka imodho pi to oloyo ma.*

'You would rather drink water than this.'

In data set 13A, construction workers utter *Paka ok gue* 'A cat does not bark' when they are taking 'black' tea in the construction site.

14A. *Gweno jatugo e buru.*

'A fowl plays in dusty ground.'

B. D*ende no ok ilega*?

'Does his body not itch?'

The interpretation for example 14A stands for a construction worker who does not take a shower after along days' work in the site.

15A. *Paka chandowa.*

'We are being disturbed by the cat.'

B. *Kawuono oritwa maber.*

'As for today, we have been well taken care of.'

The interpretation for utterance 15A stands for having meat as a meal at a particular lunch time at the construction site.

16A. *Paka chando.*

'The cat is disturbing.'

B. *Ngama podi oyieng' to odhi mbele gi tich.*

'Whoever is still satisfied can carry on with the work.'

The utterance in item 16A is used to inform construction workers that food is ready so they are expected to go and eat.

17A. *Gweno chandowa.*

'We are being disturbed by the chicken.'

B. *Kose* e*ma omiyo kawuono ji ok mor?*

'Could it be the cause of unhappiness?'

The interpretation in 17A stands for having *githeri* as lunch in the construction site. The utterance has elements of semantic opacity since it has been used to stand for having *githeri* as lunch in the construction site.

18. *Pesa to ok di omed.*

'Yet he cannot even increase the wages.'

19. Olonje*, tinde ilokri fundi?*

'Olonje, have you become a skilled worker nowadays?'

20. *Shida mag ot ng'eny.*

'There are numerous issues in the house.'

21. *Daktari ne okwere ni kik pi odhi edende.*

'The doctor advised him against taking a shower.'

22. *Del ok ger gi block.*

'The body is not built with blocks.'

23. *Diet nyaka lok bwana.*

'My friend, you ought to balance the diet.'

24. *Mano ng'ama oluoro goyo budget.*

'That is an irresponsible person.'

25. *'Kiny koro nyaka watind smit mondo shortage kik nen.*

'We have to minimize the use of cement tomorrow to ensure there is no shortage.'

Utterances 18-25 are instances of code-mixing.

26A**.** A *dwa ni uger na ot mar gorofa, mar lum kata mar mabati.*

'I want you to build for me a storey house, grass thatched and iron-roofed house.'

B. *Ka simba ema otami gero mago to dinyal?*

'If you are not able to build 'simba' "the first house Luo men build before marriage"

Can you afford the ones you have mentioned?'

A. *Kata ubende magu otamo u gero, matiende ni warom.*

'You are also unable to build yours, so we are at par.'

B. *Were uru kode mano ofuwo, wiye omoko, dhiang'.*

'Leave him alone, he is stupid, he does not reason, he is a cow.'

The words 'stupid', 'he does not reason' and 'cow' as used by the construction workers on the passer-by suggest that there are certain instances in construction sites where out-group members are referred with impolite remarks.

27A. *Mamani kara idak nadi?*

Woman, what is your lifestyle?'

B.*Eyo mane*?

'In which way?'

A. *Ma e kaka uidoga*?

'Is this how you bewitch people?'

B .*En ang'o ma ok irie wach tir ni*?

'What is it that you can not make your point clearer?'

A. (shows a fellow construction worker food with foreign particles in it then asks)

   Bwana ma to ang'o?

   'What's this my friend?'

C. (laughs) *mama gimoro nitie e chiemb bwana ni.*

   'Mother, there's a foreign particle in his food.'

B .*Mos ok a ng'eyo.*

   'Sorry, I didn't know.'

The phrase *ma e kaka uidoga* 'is this how you bewitch people' sounds impolite to the recipient.

28A. *Iye okuot koro dhi.*

   '   'The big bellied man is now leaving.'

   B. *Mano nyiso dak maber.*

   'That attests to healthy living.'

Utterance 28A was used by a construction worker to describe a client who had visited the site. The phrase would sound impolite to the client in case he knew about the remark.

29A. *Ne guogcha.*

   'Look at that dog.'

   B. *Owuoyo kata kende ka owuotho.*

   'Walking and talking to himself at the same time.'

C. *Shida mag ot ng'eny.*

   'Domestic problems are many.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 29A to refer to a harsh or cruel foreman who is fond of abusing workers.

30A. *Ne uru opugcha.*

'Look at that tortoise.'

B. *Mano chuech nyasaye.*

'That is God's creation.'

Example 30A indicates an instance when a construction worker adopted the utterance to refer to a passer-by who was short in height.

31A. *Ne uru tiga biro.*

'Look! There comes the giraffe.'

B. *Oparo ni nitie gik mabeyo malo.*

'He believes there are good things above the skies.'

Through utterance 31A, a construction worker was referring to a tall man who had visited a client in the site.

32A. *Liech kelo rabolo.*

'Elephant is bringing banana fruits.'

B. *To ang'o ma ochamo ma mon moko to ok cham!*

'Surely, what does she feed on that other women do not!'

Data set 32A was used to describe a trader who had brought bananas for sale in the construction site.

33A**.** *Ogayo papati biro.*

'Ogayo papati is coming.'

B. *Obiro omo kubot dane?*

'Is she coming to pick her grandmother's private part?'

The word *kubot* 'private part' as uttered by the second worker in item 21B is a taboo word and suggests something unpleasant to the ear.

34A. *Owadwa moro okendo dhako ma piere ng'ielre ka obuoch oruka.*

'One of my brothers has married a woman whose buttocks roll like the white mushroom.'

B. *Ba ang'o?*

'What?'

C. *Piere ng'ielre ka ang'o?*

In 34A, the word *pier* 'buttock' is considered as a taboo word with regard to Trans-Yala dialect

35A. *Bwana kabiro onge e wang'i?*

'My friend, does your eye not have a plumb bob?' (A corner within the building is slanting.)

B. *Opore ne.*

'It is not intentional.'

C. *Mano luedo era.*

'That is an error of the hand.'

36A. *Ma ng'ama ogero mang'ethe mang'ethe ni?*

'Who has built this ugly structure?'

B. *Tich ema ng'eny.*

'It is work that is a lot.'

C. *Koso e ng'eyo.*

'When you err, you know it better.'

The phrase uttered by the client in item 36A suggests that a particular worker has built an ugly structure.

> 37A. *Jo pandara ni e iyi*?
>
> 'Are there road constructors in your stomach?'
>
> B. *We ng'ano ochiem tich ma otiyo ng'eny.*
>
> 'Let that man eat, he does a lot of work.'
>
> C. *Bwana no chiemo gi pesane.*
>
> 'The person has spent his own money on food.'

The utterance made by the construction worker in utterance 37A is used when a particular worker tends to eat large amounts of food.

> 38A. *Nyo inindo ka kangara*?
>
> 'Did you spend at the local brewer?'
>
> B. *Kuoyo no ema ng'eny.*
>
> 'There is a lot of sand inside there.'
>
> C. *Yo ema ok kalre.*
>
> 'The path is impassable.'

The utterance made by the client in item 38A is used when a particular construction worker pushes the wheelbarrow at a slow pace.

> 39A. *Bwana kabiro o lal?*
>
> 'My friend, was the plumb bob lost?'
>
> B. *Plasta biro duoke e lain.*
>
> 'Plastering will straighten it.'

The indirect utterance by the client is uttered when a corner within a building is slanting. It also suggests that the plumb bob was not used by the workers.

40A. *Ang'o ma omiyo ichiemo mang'eny?*

   'Why are you over eating?'

   B. *Del ok ger gi block.*

   'The body is not built with blocks.'

   C. *Bang' tich matek nyaka igoni dendi erokamano.*

   'After hard work, you have to compensate for the energy which has been lost for the purpose of body building.'

41A. *Bwana iliso* kabiro.

   'My friend, you have used the plumb bob appropriately' "The corner is very straight."

   B. *Orie kuro.*

   'It is almost.'

42A. *Omondi to wang'e otho.*

   'Omondi suffers blurred vision.'

   B. *Ng'ama ne opuonje tich*?

   'Who trained him?'

Construction workers adopt utterance 42A to describe a fellow worker who cannot do perfect work in the site yet such a worker poses as a skilled worker.

43A. Olonje, *tinde ilokri fundi?*

   'Olonje, have you become a skilled worker nowadays?'

B . *Chieng' ma amondo be wuoyo gaye.*

'You should also be commenting on my arrival on a day that I have

arrived at the site early.'

The word 'olonje', in 43A, is a nickname for non-performing workers in terms of activities in building construction site. The utterance suggests that a particular worker has reported to work late.

44A. *Aah! Bwana lieth chikre.*

'Hey! My friend it is popping hot.'

B. *Bwana we ng'iyo ji ma kalo?*

'My friend, stop looking at the passers-by.'

Item 44A is adopted by the workers when they have seen girls passing nearby the construction site.

45A. *Roya obuodho.*

'The calf has bolted.'

B. *Gi reto manadi?*

'Why are they walking hurriedly?'

Example 45A is also uttered when girls are passing nearby the site.

46A. *Kaka pile.*

'As usual.'

B. *Nyaka gi kal ga ka?*

'Must they pass by this site?'

C. *We wuondori ni ikia gima omiyo nyaka gi kal ka.*

'Do not pretend that you do not know their purpose for passing here.'

The interpretation for utterance 46A implies the daily routine of girls passing nearby the site.

> 47A. *Oromo sadi gi Bambuchwani*?
>
> 'What is the time according to our Bamburi?'
>
> B. *Eka mama apima to kawuono ok obiro.*
>
> 'Unfortunately, the trader has not turned up.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 47A when they are hungry but there is no food within sight.

> 48A. *In nadi kono gi suk*?
>
> 'How far are you with the job?'
>
> B. *Tim tich achiel eka ipenj moro.*
>
> 'Finish up with one work at a time.'

Data set 48A is uttered by construction workers when trying to find out where there is a job.

> 49A. *Kawuono amoko.*
>
> 'I am stuck today.'
>
> B. *Pesa to ok di omed.*
>
> 'Yet he cannot even increase the wages.'

Construction workers adopt item 49A when they have been allocated a large work load to complete within a specific time at the site by the constructor in charge.

> 50A. *Kawuono a wa a olonje.*
>
> 'Today, we left empty handed.'
>
> B. *Dak agomb dok kuro kiny.*
>
> 'I won't like going back there tomorrow.'

Item 50A suggests that the workers left the site for home without any food or money. In this example, *olonje* stands for 'without any payment'.

>51A. *Bwana kawuono asota.*
>
>'My friend, today I am broke.'
>
>B. *Ofuko dak bed maber pile.*
>
>'A pocket cannot be endowed with cash always.'

The interpretation for utterance 51A stands for an instance where a particular worker has no money in the site.

>52A. *Bwana dhiang' ok guar ga.*
>
>'My friend, a cow does not prick.'
>
>B. *Kawuono to wanyalo kata po ni ose a.*
>
>'Today, we would be surprised that he has already left.'

Construction workers adopt item 52A when referring to a foreman who does not pay his workers promptly.

>53A. Aduera *kawuono anochand.*
>
>'Today, the butcher will be sturbon.'
>
>B. *Diet nyaka lok bwana.*
>
>'My friend, diet must be changed.'

Data set 53A is always uttered by the workers when Aduera, who is a butcher, brings meat for sale in his butchery.

>54A. *Okaw okapu.*
>
>'The basket has been taken.'

B. *Koro ti uru matek weche beyo*.

'You need to work hard, things are okay.'

The interpretation for utterance 54A stands for an instance where a particular family member of the client has left the compound with a basket. It then becomes obvious to the construction workers that shopping will be brought in the site in a short while and they will be served with tea.

55A. *Kawuono* kohima *opong'*.

'Today, the lorry is fully loaded.'

B. *Tich iye ber*.

'The work is good.'

Utterance 55A is adopted when *kohima (*a name of a lorry) has brought a lot of building materials in the site.

56A. *Di ogony?*

'Is he capable of paying?'

B. *Ok apar, kawuono oger*.

'I don't think so, he appears paranoid.'

Construction workers adopt item 56 when trying to find out from themselves if they would be paid.

57A. *Pap rach.*

'The ground is not conducive.'

B. *Wega chamo te ka iyudo*.

'Don't be a spend thrift.'

Utterance 57A represents a particular day when no payment is made to the workers since majority of workers are paid on daily basis.

58A. *Wembe!*

'Destructing attention!'

B. *Ka ok ugeng'o kanyo to kawuono urome.*

'If you fail to block the anomaly from being noticed, you will be in for it.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 58A when part of the wall is slanting.

59A. *Ketaring pek.*

'Food is adequetly plentiful.'

B. *Mama apima kawuono anone marach.*

'Today, the trader will not be amused.'

In example 59A, construction workers adopted the utterance when on a particular day; food was prepared in plenty for them in the site.

60A. Ochieng*' breg wiye ochot.*

'Ochieng's head has gone nuts.'

B. *Ka owinji, to ibiro yie.*

'Let him not hear of it or else you will regret.'

Utterance 60A suggests that Ochieng', who is a construction worker, utters meaningless utterances at the construction site.

61A. *Wiyini tinde okwero makas?*

'Does your head forbid a pair of scissors nowadays?'

B. *Makas podi iliedo ga go?*

'Surely, is a pair of scissors still in use?'

Item 61A is uttered by construction workers to refer to a worker whose hair is shaggy.

62A. *Bwana kelna ojikono.*

'My friend, get for me the spoon.'

B. *Ojiko iyudo kanye ka?*

'Where does one get a spoon here?'

A. *To kara bi ituomna gigo gi dhogi.*

'Then come and scoop the mixture with your mouth.'

According to construction workers' in-group language, *ojiko* 'a spoon' in utterance 62A stands for a trowel.

63A. *Bwana cha winyo.*

'That person is a bird.'

B. *Ka opogu kode tich kamoro achiel to iwang'.*

'If paired to work with him, you will regret it.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 63A to refer to fellow workers who are sly.

64A. *Ogayo papati biro.*

'Ogayo papati is coming.'

B. *Kawuono idwa chamo adi?*

'How many would you want to eat today?'

Item 64A is adopted by construction workers when they have seen a woman selling 'chapatis' approaching the site.

65A. *Apuoyo biro.*

'There comes the hare.'

B. *Piny koro dwa diny nwa sani.*

'It is going to be very tight for us.'

Data set 65A is used to describe the foreman when he is approaching the construction site.

66A. *Madhe kawuono okelo ng'ad inyuand.*

'Today, mother has brought cut and mix.'

B. *Gi tindo bwana, inyiewo adi eka romi?*

'My friend they are very tiny, how many would you buy to be enough for you?'

In the data set 66A, the phrase *ng'ad inyuand* 'cut and mix' stands for mixed 'chapatis' and 'beans'. Therefore, the utterance suggests that the trader has brought 'chapatis' and beans at the site for sale.

67A. *Kawuono en nyanam.*

'Today, it is daughter of the lake shore.'

B. *Kato oritwa maber.*

'As for this place, we are well taken care of.'

By uttering example 67A, the interpretation stands for having a meal of fish in the site.

68A. *Kawuono wachamo ahero.*

'Today, we are eating rice.'

B. *Anto magi ok yieng'a ga.*

'Personally, I don't get satisfied when I feed on these.'

The stylistic choice in item 68A is used to refer to an instance whereby at a particular meal time, workers are having rice as lunch in the construction site.

69A. *Kawuono wachamo winyo.*

'Today, we are consuming a bird.'

B. *Ma ka achopo eot, to ok anyal keto gimoro edhoga.*

'I will not feed on anything when I reach home.'

Construction workers' adopt data set 69A when eating chicken during meal time in the construction site.

70A. *To bwana nyoro nyo ilal kanye?*

'Where were you yesterday my friend?'

B . *Nyoro nyo adhi nyiewo Apol Apol nyatunge boyo.*

'Yesterday, I went to buy the long horned Apol Apol.'

In example 70B, the phrase *Apol Apol nyatunge boyo* 'the long horned Apol Apol' stands for a bull huge enough for ploughing. Otieno was absent from the site because he had gone to buy a bull.

71A. *Kwach bade dongo kawuono ok bi?*

'Is the big armed leopard not reporting to work today?'

B. *Jatelo ema nyalo ng'eyo.*

'It is only the foreman who can tell.'

The phrase *kwach bade dongo* 'the big armed leopard' in utterance 71A stands for a construction worker who is hot tempered and can easily fight his fellow workers in case of any misunderstanding.

72A. *Gwaro ka mapera.*

'It pricks like a guava.'

B. *Ng'ato ema kik penja gima omiyo atiyo mos.*

'Let nobody ask me why I am slow.'

The interpretation for utterance 72A stands for tools which are sub-standard yet workers have no option but to use them in construction sites.

73A. Otieno *to wiye duong' ga ka wi dhiang'.*

'Otieno's head is as big as a cow.'

B. *Ka ok onyal to ok ong'i yo machielo*!

'If it is impossible, he should look for an alternative.'

Item 73A refers to a trainee in the site who is slow in following instructions pertaining to his training.

74A. *Ang'o ma omiyo kawuono igueyo ka guok*?

'Why are you barking like a dog today?'

B. *Awuoyo mana gi dhoga.*

'I am talking using my mouth.'

Example 74A stands for a construction worker who talks too much in the site. In most cases, dogs bark for a long duration.

75A. *Bwana kawuono ikwiny ka guok ma manyur.*

'My friend, today you are harsh like a dog which has given birth.'

B. *Kik chandi.*

'Do not bother about it.'

In example 75A, the workers' mood in the construction site has been compared with something familiar *guok ma manyur* 'a dog which has given birth' so that the reader can also get a mental impression.

76A. *I il il ka a apuoyo.*

'You are as agile as a hare.'

B. *Del nyaka rie.*

'Body must be straightened.'

Data set 76A refers to a construction worker who moves quickly and easily at every corner of the site attracting the attention of workers the same way the hare moves swiftly and easily.

77A. *Chiemb mamani rach mana ka manyasi.*

'This mother's food is as bad as the traditional concoction.'

B. *Ma to en mana ketho pesa.*

'This is a waste of money.'

In example 77A, the trader's food has been compared with something familiar, *manyasi* 'the traditional concoction'.

78A. *Imulo ka opuk yaye.*

'You are as slow as a tortoise.'

B. *Nga'ato ka ng'ato opogni kare, rang mana tiji.*

'Everybody has been allocated his portion, just mind your work.'

Utterance 78A suggests that the worker in question spends a lot of time in accomplishing a task.

79A. *Bwana cha dende chalo sing'enge.*

'That person's body is like a barbed wire.'

B. *Daktari ne okwere ni kik pi odhi edende.*

'The doctor advised him against taking a shower.'

The interpretation for utterance 79A stands for a person whose body is rough as a result of working in an environment which has a lot of cement.

80A. *Bwana kawuono iringo mana ka gueno mathuon.*

    'My friend, today you are running up and down like a cockerel.'

B. *Ang'o ma gi omo edier chuo?*

    'What do they do among men?'

Construction workers adopt item 80A when referring to a fellow worker who likes talking to women who sell food in the site with some ill intentions.

81A. *Ibuyo ka dhiang' ma thuon.*

    'You are bellowing like a bull.'

B. *Kik chandi bwana.*

    'Do not trouble yourself.'

In data set 81A, the interpretation stands for a construction worker who often reacts in a loud deep sound in case he has been annoyed in the site.

82A. *Ikiherehere ka guok ma oneno chogo.*

    'You are as agile as a dog which has seen a bone.'

B. *An adwaro mana konyi tich.*

    'All I want is to assist you in your job.'

The interpretation for utterance 82A stands for a worker who always portrays himself as a perfect worker and may even want to relieve fellow workers of their duties in order to get extra payment.

83A. *Itang' ka aidha.*

    'You are as cautious as a squirrel.'

B. *Eka di dag epiny ni.*

    'Only then would you live longer in this world.'

Item 83A is adopted by the workers to describe a certain construction worker in the site who is an introvert.

84A. *Bwana we muomri ka jowi.*

'My friend, do not rush into places like the buffalo.'

B. *Ahero ga wacho pacha.*

'I like speaking my mind.'

Example 84A refers to a construction worker who likes tongue-lashing other workers without any wrong doing.

85A. *Bwana ijawuoro ka ong'er.*

'My friend, you are as selfish as a monkey.'

B. *Ong'e ng'ama osindi bedo jawuoro.*

'Nobody has barred you from being selfish.'

Utterance 85A describes a foreman who does not pay his workers easily.

86A. *Bwana itek ka muok.*

'My friend, you are as strong as an ant-bear.'

B. *An ok aketh ga chiemo.*

'I don't waste food.'

Example 86A is adopted to refer to a very hardworking construction worker who can accomplish a heavy work load within a very short time.

87A. Otieno *to wang'e okolo kudho.*

'Otieno is disrespectful.'

B. *Pinyni nyaka itang' ji kuomi.*

'At times, it is in order to keep people at bay.'

Construction workers adopt utterance 87A when referring to a worker who does not give a damn.

The stylistic choice suggests that a particular worker does not care and or is irresponsible.

APPENDIX V: CONSENT FORM

Date September-November, 2014

Statement of Voluntary Consent: **To participate as a participant in the study described below**:

Name of Study: **Linguistic Features of In-group Language among Construction Workers in Gem sub-County, Kenya.**

Justification of the Study: **To add sociolinguistic knowledge to the in-group language thereby benefitting linguists, sociologists, psychologists and the larger linguistic community.**

Primary Researcher: Apondi Sarah Odhiambo

Contact Information: Phone No: 0721698024. Email: apodisarah@yahoo.com

As a volunteer participant in the above mentioned research, I understand that I will be interviewed on issues in relation to language use in construction sites. I also understand that I may consider some of the questions personal in nature but that the information I provide will be used exclusively for this study and will in no way be associated with my name, address, or any other identifiable information. I am also aware that the researcher will be audio-recording our utterances during data collection process. As a participant in this study, I am aware that the questions on the interview schedule may cause anxiety or stress depending on my personal situation. As a participant, I am aware that the responses I provide may assist in creating awareness on utterances in construction sites.

By signing below, I state that I have read this consent form in its entirety and that all of my questions have been answered. I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time and that my participation or lack of participation will in no way affect my status as a construction worker.

Participant Signature……………………………………..Date…………………………….
Witness Signature…………………………………………...Date……………………………

MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 622 Ext: 3050
Fax: +254 057 351 221

Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya
Email: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke

FROM: Secretary - MUERC

DATE: 9th April, 2015

TO: Sarah Apondi Odhiambo,
PG/MA/0010/2012
Department of Linguistics
School of Arts and Social Sciences
P. O. Box, Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

REF:MSU/DRPI/MUERC/000134/15

RE: Linguistic Features of in-group Language among Dholuo Speaking Construction Workers in Gem Sub-County, Kenya. Proposal Reference Number MSU/DRPI/MUERC/000134/15

This is to inform you that the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) determined that the ethics issues raised at the initial review were adequately addressed in the revised proposal. Consequently, the study is granted approval for implementation effective this 9th day of April, 2015 for a period of one (1) year.

Please note that authorization to conduct this study will automatically expire on 8th April, 2016. If you plan to continue with the study beyond this date, please submit an application for continuation approval to the MUERC Secretariat by 18th March, 2016.

Approval for continuation of the study will be subject to successful submission of an annual progress report that is to reach the MUERC Secretariat by 18th March, 2016.

Please note that any unanticipated problems resulting from the conduct of this study must be reported to MUERC. You are required to submit any proposed changes to this study to MUERC for review and approval prior to initiation. Please advice MUERC when the study is completed or discontinued.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Bonuke Anyona,
Secretary,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

Cc: Chairman,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

MASENO UNIVERSITY IS ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS

Ref No: MPW/GEM/GC/1/25

DISTRICT WORKS OFFICER
MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS
P.O. BOX 141-40600
SIAYA

TO
APONDI SARAH ODHIAMBO
P.O. BOX 540- 40610
YALA

1ST SEPTEMBER, 2014

RE: AUTHORITY TO COLLECT DATA:PG/MA/00010/2012

Your request has been authorized to collect data from Dholuo speaking construction works from a private construction site within Wesa Village, Ndere sub-location in Gem Sub-County based on the topic: Linguistic features of in-group language among Dholuo speaking construction works in Gem Sub-County Siaya County.

Kindly comply.

[signature] 1/09/2014
ANDREW O. OMOLLO
DISTRICT WORKS OFFICER/ GEM

DISTRICT WORKS OFFICER
M. O. P. W
GEM DISTRICT
P. O. Box 141 - 40600 SIAYA

CC
- File