DECLARATIONS

This dissertation is my original work
and has never been submitted by anybody
for examination at any university.

Date

Kinyatti Lydia Murugi

This dissertation has been submitted for examination
with my approval as the candidate's supervisor.

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Abstract

A notable percentage of men in the society use language to marginalize abuse and demean women. This study is an attempt to study the role of English Kiswahili and Sheng languages in promoting and sustaining the above and to consider some of the socio linguistics factors that motivate this speech behaviour.

The main aim of the study was to collect and provide data that could assist in defining and evaluating this problem so that a lasting solution could be found. Socio linguistics was the theoretical orientation adapted in the study. Literature related to the topic of the research was critically revealed. The data used were derived from pieces taken natural ethnographic conversations among University students and matatu touts. Field notes were taken through participant observation, conversation analysis, eavesdropping, and informal interviews on graffiti taken from walls of matatus and the hall of residents of university students.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Language is a social tool and a speaker may decide to deliberately and consciously use language that reflects his attitude to his listener or reader in this case the women folk. These selections among other possibilities open to him reflect the existing relationship and indicate the relationship he wishes to create and his feelings towards the female species.

Studies done on abuse of women by use of language have been done in the United States of America, some parts of Europe and Asia but very few in Africa. The present study is interested in finding and exposing language abuse in Kenya, particularly in Nairobi.

1.1. Background and Rationale of the Study

Fromkin and Rodman (1993:306) quoted from the Balloon XXII (6), graduate school of management UCLA entitled ‘How to tell a Businessman from a Businesswoman. The quote stated that:

A businessman is aggressive; a businesswoman is pushy. A businessman is good on details; she is picky. He follows through; she doesn’t know when to quit. He stands firm; she’s hard. His judgements are her
prejudices. He isn’t afraid to say what’s on his mind; she’s mouthy. He exercises authority diligently; she’s power mad. He’s closemouthed; she’s secretive. He climbed the ladder; she slept her way to the top.

Language based on the above observations is sexually evaluative and places men on higher ranks or gives them good qualities as opposed to women. This is a kind of misuse of language that gives it sexual connotations.


The material for this research is composed of graffiti found inside and outside ‘matatus’ (a term used in Kenya to refer to public minibuses which carry people), actual utterances made by matatu operators and male university students. Most of these slogans use a sexist language and are derogatory and abusive to women.

This study aims to establish that matatu touts and university students manipulate their language to give sexual connotations to simple sentences. The research will also establish that these two groups whose language is under study identified female genitalia and used them against women who emerged as cheap
and inadequate sex objects. For example, *ass, gas or cash no one rides free* (a slogan popular in matatus) gives a woman three ways she can pay her fare in a matatu: she can sleep with the matatu operators (ass) or she can fuel the matatu (gas) or lastly she can pay with money (cash).

Findings from the study can be used to substantiate or refute criticisms against proper use of language. They can also be used to sensitise people to the current portrayal and its implications of women in minibuses and higher education institutions. They will add to the existing body of knowledge. We need to update our knowledge on the extent and types of stereotyped portrayals of women that exist around us.

The findings from this study can be used to sensitise matatu operators and students and the general public to the changing roles of women in today's modern society. They can equally be used to draw the attention of the women to how they are exploited, trivialised and sensationalised. The aim of doing this would be to prompt them and the society as a whole to do something positive about it., for instance, getting rid, at least to a certain degree, the stereotypes in English, Kiswahili and Sheng (This is a language that is found in Kenya but especially Nairobi and is a combination of the English language and Kiswahili).

The study will be useful to policy-makers and the Kenyan government because it will create some awareness about the implications of the negative
portrayal of women in public places. It is hoped that its findings will guide them to make some policies that will favour a more positive image of women. Additionally, the study will contribute to the cleaning of language and freeing it of dirty talk, at least to some extent, making it just and fair for all.

Hymes (1964:216) identifies 7 functions of speech events as being expressive and identification, directive and persuasive, contact, poetic, metalinguistic, referential and contextual or situational. Although the above is true, there is no indication or mention that as much as language can be used positively, it can also be abused or misused. This is a gap that the study hopes to fill and it is on the basis of this that the study is justified.

Another reason justifying the study is based on the observation that though extensive research has been done on gender issues, very few indeed take language use as responsible for women subordination and social inhibition. A study of this nature aims to highlight and elaborate on how language is used as a tool by especially men to marginalize women.

1.2 Statement of the Problem, Objectives and Hypothesis of the Study

Since some male speakers resort to sexist language use for many reasons which may be psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic. This study is specifically an investigation of sociolinguistic reasons that motivate the use of sexist language by some male university students and matatu touts.
This study is an attempt to identify the role of language used by matatu operators and university students in strengthening social action, which is socially unfair to women.

Therefore, the specific objectives of this research work are:

1) To expose negative attitudes towards women by the two selected groups of people who use language to marginalize women and expose the fact that language indeed is a medium of discrimination against women.

2) To show how some language use in form of written text or spoken utterances play a major role in social interaction manifest social oppression and domination of women.

3) To make a case for language use that is sensitive to gender relations by making available the necessary data upon which positive steps can be taken to eliminate unjust elements in language.

To accomplish the above objectives, this study's general orientation will hinge on the premise that sexist language use is not very different from general or normal language in terms of usage. All varieties of language including sexist language, accomplish the same communicative functions in almost the same way sociolinguistically.
The hypotheses for this study include:

1. Male university students and touts use sexist language to achieve identity and acceptance in their institutions. Use of this language is a medium through which a member or members of a group fit into that group.

2. Sexist language is used by male university students and touts to convey particular meanings, information and experiences that they are exposed to.

3. Use of a sexist language by male university students and touts is a feature of male dominated culture in institutions where females are regarded as second to males and consequently as sex objects.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This study draws upon a socio-linguistic theory adapted from Hymes (1964), Firth (1957), Berger and Berger (1972) and Hayakawa (1965). This version focuses on interaction between language use, culture, and society. It is this assumption that has value to the study of language as a tool of abuse against women. According to the assumption, language spoken by matatu touts and university students is shaped and sanctioned by cultural conventions and social structures of the institutions and the environment in which they live. Some university students and matatu touts use sexist language in order to be functionally appropriate to their daily and routinized activities. This is a guiding assumption for the theoretical framework of this study. As language is put into
practice by these groups, it both consciously and unconsciously acquires sexually prejudiced meanings against women. The culture of the two social groups plays a critical role in conditioning and giving meaning to their language.

Sociolinguists study verbal behaviour in terms of the relations between the setting, participants, topic, and functions of the interactions, form and values held by participants about each of these. This values form the basis for the use of sexist language by some male university students and matatu touts.

Fishman (1968:5) contents that language is part and parcel of social life. In addition, to this observation, he adds that language and society reveal various kinds and degrees of patterned co-variation.

Firth (1957:69) argues that:

A great deal of conversation or discussions may be in preparation for concerted or socially determined action. It must be noted that most of the give-and-take of conversations in our everyday, is stereotyped and very narrowly conditioned by our particular type of culture. It is a sort of roughly prescribed social ritual, in which you say generally what other fellows expect you, one way or the other, to say.

According to Firth, a social person says what he expects members of his social group to say because he wants to fit in and be accepted or risk being an
outcast. This might be the reason touts or male students use language that demeans women particularly when they are in the company of their peers.

Socialising individuals in institutions requires them to obey the functions of that particular institution and abide to rules, which are stipulated in the language as a socialising tool. Hayakawa (1965:106) observes that society is a vast network of mutual agreements. For these agreements to be respected, institutional rules are needed. These rules are unconsciously absorbed by university students and matatu touts and thereby become nasty in their speech to women simply because societal rules allow them to do so.

He argues however, that during the early stages of culture, the principal means of imposing patterns of behaviour was physical coercion. But such control, which can also be exercised as human beings must have discovered it extremely early in history by words – that is by directive language.

Fodor et al (1974:513), argues that

*Human beings are largely self-determining systems whose actions are typically calculated responses rather than conditioned reflexes. People act out of their construal of the situations in which they find themselves, and such construals are normally the consequences of very complicated perceptual and cognitive integrations. This is also the case with sexist language as used by matatu touts and university students.*
The interaction of language used by both matatu touts and university students have strong aspects of culture practiced by their peers and can also be reflected in the language of the wider society because no part of language of a particular group can adequately be studied without reference to the culture of the language group.

1.4 Literature Review

Although abounding complaints exist on discrimination and subordination in most spheres of life and therefore a lot of literature and gender issues as part of the women liberation campaign, to date, there has been very little written on the role of language by the use of slogans in women subordination and derogation. However some relevant literature touching directly to the topic at hand was found.

Fromkin and Rodman are very specific about the role of language in reinforcing speech habits and events that reflect sexism. They argue that words for women with abusive and sexual overtones exist in language and are used both consciously and unconsciously. They conclude that:

Just as some words reflect society’s view of sex, natural bodily function or religion so also some words and statements reflect racist, chauvinist or sexist attitudes in-society. The language itself is not racist or sexist but its use reflects these views. Such terms however, may perpetuate and
reinforce biased views and be demeaning and insulting to those addressed (1993:289).

They further give examples of words for women all with abusive or sexual overtones, *dish, tomato, and piece of ass*, *chick piece of tail*, *bunny, pussy, pussycat, bitch, doll, slut and cow*. However, they acknowledge that "language itself is not sexist just as it is not obscene, but it can connote sexist attitudes about social taboos or racism" (ibid.306). They purport that the analysis of the language used by men in reference to women often has derogatory or sexual connotations. They add that such language and terms go far back into history and sometimes enter the language with no pejorative implications but gradually gain them. They conclude that far fewer such pejorative terms exist for men.

Wardhaugh (1998:305) argued that

One of the consequences of investigating gender and language is that there is now a greater awareness in some parts of the community that subtle and sometimes not subtle distinction are made in the very choice used to describe men and women.

Wardhaugh further notes that women do not employ profanities and obscenities men use or if they do use them in different circumstances, they are judged differently for using them (ibid.309). He recognises the social shortcomings of language as far as the genders are concerned and he therefore
observes that language behaviour reflects the social dominance of men over women. He attributes the difference in language use to the different ways boys and girls are brought up and men and women fill different roles in society. Moreover, men and women know this and react to it in different ways (Ibid: 312).

Threadgold (1988:172) contents that language expresses race and gender ideologies glorifying men as heroes. In his words:

Such are the social realities, the visible; the audible and corporal effects perpetuated in 1900 by discursively and behaviourally transmitted ideologies of race and gender. Thus texts do construct contexts. But in these constructed contexts, the reality becomes the content for further texts in different narratives of race and gender...they are men's stories and men are their heroes. If the voice of a woman is heard, it is heard as a projection of men's ideas and believes and desires enunciated by men, thought by men, quoted by men.

Lang (1978:48) posits that male reporters on the campaign trail with a woman have on occasion used all their journalistic skills to report selectively all those personal foibles and idiosyncrasies, those little touches that take on meaning and bear out the still prevailing negative stereotypes of women. This bears directly on how male students view their female counterparts as sex objects and unintelligent beings. This view is also reflected by touts on their female passengers.
Rojo and Gallego (1995) argue that English discourse is significantly sexist, in that it is directed towards generating and sustaining a situation of inequality between genders, rather than contributing to its amelioration.

In Kenya some people among them journalists, both male and female have started raising eyebrows against the negative portrayal of women by the society's use of language at all levels in the media both print and electronic in public places and in public transport. For instance, in her article "Art of silent suffering" in the East African Standard Newspaper (of 19 August 1991:13) Ombeke said that

It is really unfortunate that the African man's concept of a woman's role and position in society has never favoured women as equals to men. Despite what women do, all they can find are definitions by language more as child-bearings being and sexual objects.

Language expresses and embodies cultural reality. The kind of culture we are talking of is that culture that sets different rules for women. This culture reflects the fact that men and women are expected to play different parts and roles, converse differently and react in different ways to others. Women are not expected to operate with the same kind of rules as men do.
In many languages (and for the sake of this study, English, Kiswahili and Sheng), more words associated with women have sexual connotations than have words associated with men. This reflects a negative attitude in today's lives since even small boys swear and use sexist forms of speech especially geared towards hurting women. Miller & Swift (1976:128) argue that:

The behaviour of boys for better or worse is at least tolerated, if not condoned as appropriate. They are trying to be like men as people say. Similarly when men “pepper” their conversations with expletives they are excused on the ground that boys will be boys.

1.5. Methodology

Various methods will be used to collect, record, present and analyse data as outlined by researchers such as Samarin (1967), Peil (1995) on fieldwork and Wamahiu and Karagu (1995) on the qualitative research paradigm and participant observation. Respondents for the research were male university students of Nairobi and Matatu touts on route numbers 58, 23, 15, 8 and 2.

One of the methods used to collect data entailed eavesdropping where I listened to the speech of the two categories of respondents. I sat next to 6 male students and listened to their talk. Care was taken when writing down the utterance since it was important to observe the students in the natural setting without their knowledge. The utterances collected from eavesdropping took
longer because they were made as students talked about other subjects and only resorted to sexist language when a female student passed by. Eavesdropping also took some extra efforts because decoding some utterances had to be done later with the help of other students (the researcher had identified three third year students who helped in decoding utterances.

Participant observation and recording was adopted as another method of the data collection. It involved the researcher interacting with five 3rd year students, listening and taking part in their conversation. The objective for participant observation was to collect data from these students in a more acceptable manner by finding a common ground and being identified with the group under study.

During the interaction, direct questions and indirect questions pertaining to the topic were asked. Direct questions such as "what are the terms you use in your day-today conversation that are sexist or prejudiced against women?" Indirect questions were asked such as "what do you think of women in general?" Students were generous in providing data. They made comments about female students as they passed by and interpreted those comments to the researcher as many had a hidden code.

Informal interviews and participation were critical to the collection of data from the matatu touts. The collection of data from the matatu crew was done in
their natural contexts and required me to travel in the matatus while recording the slogans in a notebook. It was necessary to establish common ground with the interviewee at the beginning of the interview; for example, the researcher would make a positive remark about the matatu in which there was a tout. This method is also called elicitation. After that, it would be easy to point out certain slogans and ask touts for the meanings of slogans. Interviews with matatu crew were done mainly during the day in off-peak hours since they were less busy during this time.

1.6. Scope and Structure of the Study

This study focused on negative and socially destructive written and spoken sexism in language use that trivializes and abuses women. Specific focus was on negative or socially destructive verbal and written sexism in English, Kiswahili and sheng usage. That is language sexism that is derogative and technically male defensive to women and which therefore manifests absolute rejection of gender equality in language. Also analyzed were verbal and written slogans with hidden meaning that only one group could understand, and simple grammatical constructions and lexicon that was manipulated to acquire sexist overtones. The social implications of sexism in the said languages are also investigated.

The study site has been in Nairobi where over 50 linguistic groups are represented. Due to limitations of time, money and personnel in the form of
research assistants, the study was carried out only in the more popular matatu route numbers 58 and 23 to plying Buruburu, 15 plying Langata, 8 plying Kibera, and 2 plying Dagorreti. The students under investigation were from the University of Nairobi, Main Campus. Male students from the university and matatu touts were chosen specifically because of their regular use of sexist language.

This study is structured as follows:

Chapter one gives the study background reviewing some relevant literature, rationalizing the study as it states the problem, objectives and hypothesis of the study. Also, it expounds the theory relevant to the understanding of the study topic, details the method used in carrying out the study and outlines the scope of the study. All these form this paper's introduction.

Presentation and analysis of data is done in chapter 2. Chapter three gives manifestation of sexist on matatu walls and on the walls of rooms of the university students and some of the apparent linguistic constraints. Chapter four gives the general conclusion to this investigation.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 SOCIOLINGUISTIC TECHNIQUES AND ATTITUDES USED IN SEXIST LANGUAGE

2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses sociolinguistic techniques and attitudes exploited by some male university students and matatu touts as they use sexist language. The verbal abuse of female students and passengers is sometimes subtle and indeed, some of them do not even recognize that they are being verbally abused. Sometimes, however, the abuse is blunt and direct. Women in the context of study are seen to be reproductive objects and that they are only good for their reproductive organs/ability and sex. This is too typical and much too reprehensible.

As it relates to sociolinguistic techniques, successive generations of male university students and matatu touts unconsciously absorb sexist language. This is because their speech community has prescriptions that demand for a structured way of constructing grammatical sentences and giving value on the use of sexist language. It has now become increasingly important to study sociolinguistic features that link gender with language use.
2.2 Sociolinguistic Techniques

2.2.1 Paradigmatic Classification

There is a dualistic classification of meaning by the two groups in the use of sexist language. In the conversations and graffiti, there is evidence of dividing humanity into groups or classes based on sexual meanings. Dividing involved establishing categories, which will forever be opposed, for example men versus women, malaya versus boss/chief, male students versus female students, Spring chicken/boxers versus cockroaches .and so on

Paradigmatic classification also entailed a process of identification of individuals in two institutions by means of lexicalization and conceptualization through semantic features of reference which assigns specific sexist roles to women as opposed to men in the two institutions. The meanings derived from this process were meant to belittle women.

Observe utterances below:

University Students

Student 1: Most of these women in positions of responsibility and even these boxers (female students) are either divorced, single, married, prostitutes, concubines, or mistresses to men with money.

Student 2: Yule dame anaweza kuwa good housewife
(that female student can be a good housewife).

Student 3: Maboxers ni weak sana. Wait and see. Only a bunch watamaliza Engineering. Us guys will have kidogo drop outs in comparison

(These female students are very weak. Wait and see. Only a bunch will complete their Engineering course. Us guys will have a few dropouts in comparison)

Student 4: Sasa haw a machicks walienda gender confrence kudo? They should stay at home and take care of us guys, hata kama ni magraduates.

(Now why did these female students go for the gender conference? They should stay at home and take care of us. It doesn’t matter if they are graduates)

Matatu Touts

Tout 1: Mamanzi wanatisha sometimes. I hate wakijifanya wanaweza kudandia dinga ikimove. Hiyo sio kazi yao. Hiyo ni kazi ya machali
(Female passengers pretend to be tough sometimes. I hate when they can pretend that they can jump onto a moving matatu. That is not their work. That is the work of guys)
Tout 2: uliona yule dere wa boo dame. Haki why lie nilimuadmire. Lakini yenyewe anakaa very funny behind the wheel. Sio kawaida kaa chali (did you see that female bus driver .I must admit I admired her but she looks very funny behind the wheel. its not as usual as a male driver)

Tout 3: karanja aliachwa na dame yake yule alimeet kwa ile mat ingine. Nilikwambia aje? Mamanze wote ni Malaya. Dogging should be left for men. (Karanja was left by his girlfriend; the one he met in the previous matatu. what did I tell you all women are prostitutes)

Tout 4: alikuwa ananiambia eti mimi ndio nilimdanganya. Huo si ni ulevi? Hawa madame wanabehave kaa watoi. Lakini pia machali hukuwanga very clever and cunning. (She told me that it was me who lied to her.She is behaving like she is drunk. These women behave like children. but all the same men are usually very clever and cunning)

Dividing people into male and female, and then categorizing women and sexist conceptualization of their social roles, produced a particular organization of perceptions of, and judgments about womankind. The purpose for doing this was to isolate women and set the scenes of vulnerability to all kinds of social injustices.
2.2.2 Transferring Meaning

Matatu touts and university students use similes and metaphors to colour and consequently transfer meaning in sexist language. Some graffiti compare women to other objects particularly through the use similes and metaphors.

Consider examples below:

Matatu Touts

*Women are like maize cobs, any man with teeth can bite from it.*

As long as a man is able to have sex, he can have any woman of his choice at any time. it is a technique used to indicate that women are weak and can be treated as property that can be acquired cheaply and owned at any time.

*Women are like matatus, if you miss one, you can always get another.*

This statement demonstrates that women are many and available at any time. The word “availability” is coloured with meaning of satisfying sexual desires of men. It also has implied meaning that women can be used and dumped at any time simply because there are others that matatu touts can easily get them for sexual gratification.

*Unlike women, men are like gold, if you miss your chance once, you miss it forever.*
The information in the slogan reflects the worthlessness of women as compared to men who are compared to ‘gold’.

University Students

Observe the following conversations were taken first from students and then from two matatu touts.

Student 1  Maze, Cheki yule dame
(Pal, look at/check out that girl)

Student 2  :Ni spring chicken videadly sana!
(She is really a spring chicken (young and tender)

Student 1  :Jo, wa kishua. Anakuja to a bedroom near mine (men, she is fine. She is coming to a bedroom near mine – meaning she will soon sleep with the student 1

Consider too the following conversation taken on a later date, different venue within the university and different students. They had cited 2 young female students.
Student 1: Charlie yangu, yule manzi yuko in my class
(My friend, that girl is in my class)

Student 2: Mgani? Yule amevaa mahipstar?
(Which one? The one wearing hipstars?)

Student 3: Yenyewe amevaa make-up mob sana but kama mbaya mbaya
(But she has put on a lot of make up but if she’s bad looking, she is bad looking)

Student 2: I bet itanichukua a few days kutoa friend yake ngotha
(I bet it will take me a few days to remove the pants of her friend)

(After this all three burst out in laughter)

Below is a conversation between 2 touts about to pick a passenger who happens to be a young college girl

Tout 1: Maze, ngoja yule konyonyo
(Pal, wait for that young girl)

Tout 2: Yuko wapi? Ooh yule malaya!
(Where is she? Ooh that prostitute!)

The above conversations about women saying they are only "reproductive objects and that they are only good for their reproductive organs / ability and sex, are too typical and much too reprehensive. Any notice that as long as one is a woman, she is equal to a (malaya) prostitute.

2.3 Sociolinguistic Attitudes

2.3.1 Evaluating Women

Language as a tool for evaluating women was also a common feature among some university students and some matatu touts. This process involved projecting women as weak in making commitments. It was also a process of attribution of bad qualities emphasizing negatively that women use sex not only to get jobs but also as a tool for promotion. They also depict them as too emotional with hysterical feelings and their inability to make sound judgments and practical decisions.

This is exemplified by the following examples:

University students

Student 1: Hawa mahoneys find it difficult to commit to anything. Not relationships, not books, whatever
(These female passengers find it too difficult to commit to anything; not to books not to relationships or anything else)

Student 2: I met with Tina. Did you know that she is assistant human resource manager in an NGO. I bet you she slept her way to the top.

Student 3: I'm sure Luke will be picked in the interview instead of her. If you ask me he is more composed, naturally.

Matatu Touts

Tout 1: Nilisikia mzee akisema atapatia dinga manzi dere. Akido hivyo sisi tumeisha. Madame na ndiyo wako emotional, na proud atawaza kweli .(I heard the boss saying he would give the matatu to a woman driver. We are finished because women are too emotional and proud. Will she really manage?)

Tout 2: yule dame aliibiwa purse, akaanza kulia kaa mwenda wazimu. They are too emotional. Angekuwa mzee, angekimbiza yule chokora. (That female passenger was mugged and started to cry like a baby. They are too emotional. If that was a guy he would have ran after the parking boy)

This sociolinguistic attitude reflects verbal sexism that discredits the female gender, condemning women to an inferior social status and thereby
depriving them the right of being proud of their success and roles in sustaining and enhancing development in the society. By so doing, the technique of negative evaluation instills into women fear of rising in stature because they feel shameful of their gender. They then retreat to the confines of the subservience and a state of domination by men in speech events and activities of the two institutions.

Apart from discrediting women in the use of sexist language in the two institutions, the negative evaluation of women noticeably promotes good image and interests of men in society. This confirms that sexist language as used by matatu touts and male university students is the main technique of subordinating and subjugating women.

2.3.2 Rejection

Sexist language as a tool for rejection is based on the idea that gender equality is unrealistic in the two institutions.

Consider the following data:

**University Students**

A woman worries about the future until she gets a husband. A man never worries about the future till he gets a wife.
A successful man is one who makes more money than his wife can spend. A successful woman is one who can find such a man.

Matatu Touts

Tout 1: I am proud mimi ni chali, I think kuwa dame ni curse. Siwezi kuimagine nikiwa manzi kama yule amedondosa. (I'm proud to be a man. I think that to be a woman is a curse. I can't imagine being a woman like that one who is so overweight)

Tout 2: Ati Beijing kila saa. Hawawezi kuwa equal to us ata wakienda kwa moon. Wanafaa wakumbuke Waligretiwa from just a part of chali. Man naye was created in the full image of God (The women say Beijing every time. They can't be equal to us even if they go to the moon. They should remember that they were created from just a part of a man's body. Men on the other hand was created in the full image of God)

The data above shows an open refusal to accept women as partners equal to men in the activities executed by the institution of matatus and the university. It is tantamount to segregating female passengers and students, and not giving them due recognition and thereby marginalizing them. The language in the two institutions makes females to feel rejected and incomplete human beings. Some of them who are not aware of their gender rights subconsciously accept rejection as enshrined in the sexist language.
2.3.3 Exclusion

The exclusion procedure in use of sexist language by some matatu touts and some male university students entailed the use of various speech manifestations to remove women not only from important social life sectors, but also from the world of all that is positive to that of hopelessness. In other words, it entailed the removal of women from 'men's world' highlighting a presupposition that they cannot exist without men. They are thus excluded from the real world and public sphere. Some of the utterances towards this end are as follows:

University Students

Student 1: I had a talk about the coming elections with Joan

Student 2: I really can't reason and work with woman on such serious matters. I can only work and reason with a woman in bed

Student 1: there are more chicks in our anatomy class.

Student 2: I don't care how many they are, or what they do. Boxer's Business is to satisfy me. Let the intellectual be left to me.

Student 1 (Female): Ngilu should have been made either Prime minister or vice-president
Student 2 (male): what for? Leadership is a man’s domain even Kibaki knew that. You women should be led. But it is a good thing, you are given the health portfolio it is closer home.

Data collected on exclusion as a sociolinguistic attitude was used to highlight differences between male students and female students on one hand and female and male matatu passengers on the other hand in terms of value systems, interests and opinions. The consequence of this is the exclusion of women with regard to promotion of their participation in the economy and education. Male speech in the context of this study exhibit behavior of jealously guarding their world of power, decision - making, lordship over women and wealth.

2.3.4 Self-Glorification

This is a discoursive sociolinguistic attitude commonly used by some male students at university and some matatu touts. It was also noticed that the techniques were used with an accompanying vilification of women.

Data reflecting these include slogans such as:
Matatu Touts.

Men wake up as good looking as they went to bed women somehow deteriorates during the night.

Unlike woman, men are like gold you miss a chance with him you miss it for a life time.

In using these slogans, the languages users show attitudes that they avoid blame, so they clear themselves and defend themselves against any real or imagined accusation and glorify themselves to justify their prevailing way of behaving and engaging in speech. In so doing, they reinforce and sustain the status - quo of the superiority of males with women being interpreted as inferior. This sets the scene for discrimination of women particularly through glorifying and praising men as reflected in the sexist language used by matatu touts and university students.

Sexist language use only expresses a reality experienced by the oppressors. It speaks only for their world, from their point of view. Ultimately a revolutionary movement has to break the hold of the dominant group over theory. It has to structure its own connections. Language is part of the political and ideological power of rulers.
Some terms are sexist and insulting by virtue of being ‘female words’. For example “mother fucker” and ‘son of a bitch’. The term may be directed towards men by fellow men but the insult in the statement abuse first the mother who is raped by the son and secondly the mother who is a bitch. The term “siste” as used by matatu touts implies an opportunity for a prospective sexual partner. Talking about sexist language raises the political issue of appropriacy. For instance, beginning language speakers of English who worked as waiters seem to have learned the phrase. “Are you ready to order, dear?” “Dear” addressed to a woman may irritate her because the term is used to address women in a negative sense as potential sexual partners. This places the man in a more superior position in relation to the woman. This therefore becomes sexist.

2.3.5 Abuse

This sociolinguistic attitude was also found to be common in the two institutions as they used sexist language. It involved the use of insults, abusive language and even obscenities that reflected negatively on womanhood.

The following slogans were taken from both walls of matatu and university students rooms: Women are, pigs, dirty, smelly and amorphous women are children, women’s brains are like those of hens, women are cheap, promiscuous, unfaithful, women are like rivers, every man washes himself in them, women are public property for men, women are confused beings, mouthy, prejudiced, good at gossiping and nagging, Malaya kama mbaya, mbaya, nipe nikupe, she is fine
she is mine. They are meant to hurt female passengers and female university students, and even embarrass and suppress them.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 SEXIST LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the inability of men to show affection, tenderness or vulnerability when interacting with women through language. For a long time, men have largely done the work in the public sphere (the economy) and women perform the socio-emotional work in the private sphere (the family). Language as a stereotype against women emerged from this dichotomy of work. Men’s work was seen to be more important than that done by women. Power can be located in the individual, in interactions between the speaker and hearer and in the speech itself based on its value within any culture. Specific speech events and choice of words express particular ideological models of power, which influence interaction and serves as a major motivating factor for the use of sexist language.

3.2 Language as a Tool of Prejudice

The data collected has pointed to varied ways in which language aids define women prejudicially and thereby making them to be regarded as sexual objects. For example, use of sexist language tend to define women in relation to
sexual offers to men while men are given autonomy in the use of language and linguistic status that is higher than that given to women e.g.

University Students

1. That girl is coming to a bedroom near mine.

Matatu Touts

2. A woman is like a maize cob; any man with teeth can bite from it.

Men's extensive labelling of women as parts of body, fruit or animals as mindless, or like children-labels with no parallel for men – reflects men's derision of women and helps them to maintain gender hierarchy and control e.g.

Matatu Touts

3. Nilikuwa kwako lakini sikukuta mtu yoyote. Manzi tu ndiye alikuwa.(I had come to your place but didn't find anybody. The only one I found was your girlfriend)

4. Ass, cash or gas; no one rides free

Data supports the idea that many terms are used not only by men to discuss and address women that they know but also to address unknown women in public either verbally or through graffiti e.g.
Matatu Touts

5. Beba yule malaya. (Carry that prostitute)

6. Ass, gas or cash. No one rides free.

Slogan 6 extracted from the inside of a matatu basically gives a woman 3 alternatives by which she can pay her fare in a matatu. First, she could sleep with one or more of the matatu crew (Ass), second she could pay with money (Cash) and third she could fuel the matatu (gas). The use of the word “Ass” is an obvious insult to the dignity of the women because it assumes that sleeping with any woman according to matatu touts is or may not be a big deal. This is a subconscious promotion of sexist language. It also reflects aspects of language borrowing since the word “gas” is American used in local contexts to refer fuel for cars.

Some male university students and matatu touts consider their female counterparts to always be available sexual partners. In addition to this, the way the females are addressed by some matatu touts and male university students is different. They can make remarks on parts of a woman’s body on how they make their female counterparts sexually impressive or unimpressive. They may refer to women as “honey” “Malaya” or use obscenities to threaten them and still fail to recognize how offensive these remarks are to woman.
Findings of this research show that there is an intriguing gender pattern in the use of language. University students and matatu touts extensively use sexually disliked language variants while women tend to avoid these in favour of socially respected language variants that are often standard in nature as defined by the society. For example it was noted that university students used words like *pussy* and *ass* a lot to refer to their female counterparts and matatu touts regularly used the term *malaya*.

From the data given, there are often-noticed overtones that are associated with sex-painted words. This alludes to differential access to meanings in language by both men and women. These words are supposed to be semantically equivalent both by refereeing to men and women. However, the semantic equivalent given to men is exceptionally positive and the other is largely negative of women as shown in the examples:

**Touts**

7. Unlike women, men are like gold, if you miss your chance once you miss it forever.

**University Students**

8. Coming soon to a bedroom near you.
Many terms have sexual connotations associated with the females' defined weaknesses in the society than corresponding men’s terminologies. For instance university students pejoratively use terms like ‘bachelor’ and ‘spinster’. Bachelor is used to refer to university male students that do not have girlfriends by choice and live happily and enjoy rights of liberty because they do not face problems that could be created by having relationships with female university students. On the other hand, spinster conjures an image of an old and unappealing female university student living a drop and unfulfilled life in consequence of her failure to have a male university student as a boyfriend.

The term “cockroach” refers to a male university student (who has a female university student girlfriend) wields considerable power with money and more opportunities. The term “boxer” refers to a female student on the same level with “cockroaches”, but is considered to be weaker than their male counterparts. The reason for this is that they are considered to be desperately looking for a male friend. Shockingly often, there is an imputation of sexual immorality to referents of the woman’s term, with the man’s term carrying very general usually favourable implications. For instance, matatu touts use the term ‘madam’ to refer to young women as possible sexual partner, in the data, matatu touts address their male passengers as “chief, mzee, or boss” which depicts them as individuals with great abilities, power and status. Matatu touts never realise the fact that some of these young female passengers also do have greater abilities and professional status than men. In fact, the linguistic repertoire
of the language used by matatu touts contains a greater percentage of sexist words degrading women than those referring to men, whether in the negative (when male passengers either refuse to pay for their fare or when they bargain for the reduction of the total fare charged) or positive sense.

There are more than 500 English slang terms for 'prostitute' but only 65 for 'whore manager'. There were similar chauvinistic attitude towards women like the tradition of the Victorian age, where a woman's place was in the kitchen. The slogans collected reveal that despite the major developments in science, technology, medicine and others, society still considers a woman stupid, a sex object and incapable of standing on her own two feet. Consider the data below collected from writings in matatus:

9. Girls like it our way

10. I lead she follows

11. We call them, they run

12. Get down with the boys

13. Real men tell them lies
14. We got what we need

15. She is neat, she is mine

The above data indicates how meaning in the language used puts women as second-class citizens. This is promoting sexist language at the subconscious level among matatu touts, who at the same time do not understand underlying gender imperatives in the slogans they use.

3.3 Language as a Means of Expressing Sexist Differences

Differences between men and women are also evident in the data collected. Below are the sentences collected from rooms of male university students (pinned on the walls) reflecting these differences;

16. A man will pay $2 for a $1 item he wants. A woman will pay $1 for a $2 item that she doesn’t want.
17. A woman worries about the future until she gets a husband. A man never worries about the future until he gets a wife.
18. A successful man is one who makes more money than his wife can spend. A successful woman is one who can find such a man.
19. To be happy with a man you must understand him a lot & love him a little. To be happy with a woman you must love her a lot and not try to understand her at all.
20. Married men live longer than single men but married men are a lot more willing to die.

21. Any married man should forget his mistakes—there's no use in two people remembering the same thing.

22. A woman marries a man expecting he will change, but he doesn't. A man marries a woman expecting that she won't change & she does.

23. A woman has the last word in any argument. Anything a man says after that is the beginning of a new argument.

24. There are 2 times when a man doesn't understand a woman—before marriage & after marriage.

The above slogans indicate that the future of women lies in the hands and activities of men. This is also promoting sexist language at the subconscious level since university students simply ignore to understand underlying impact on women. This they do consciously since they are aware of the sexually implied meaning that the slogans carry. This marks a difference between them and matatu touts.

3.4 Sexist Language and the Place of Women in Society

Sexist language is not a new phenomenon. It has been in existence and is probably as old as language itself. It changes with time in order to be appropriate to new contexts and therefore it grows. For instance, use of sexist language by matatu touts is a newer context when compared to its use in institutions like
universities. The use of words to refer to female anatomy is very old. Men of all ages and colour use the derogatory term 'ass' for a long time now.

Changes within sexist language have only made it to be stable. For instance words and phrases that demonstrate stability of sexist language are 'Piece of Ass, Cow, bitch, pussy, girlie' etc. These words have been in use for a long time, are still in use and there is limited evidence to show that they will not be used.

The matatu industry is a new context in which language is being used as noted earlier. It was difficult identifying groups from which matatu touts and university borrowed the use of sexist language. Those interviewed acknowledged they simply adopted the language because their peers were using it. However, university students conceded to the fact that part of their sexist language was acquired from the writings and slogans displayed in matatus as they used them. There were also cases where some slogans were identical between the two groups. This may be because of the fact both matatu touts and university students are exposed to similar social-economic conditions that dispense and motivate them to use language with similar sexual meanings. They are working on their future lives either in education or in matatu business. For example the slogans "some reasons why beer is better than a woman was found in a matatu and student hall. The reasons that supposedly make beer better than a woman are:
25. A beer doesn't get jealous when you grab another beer.

26. When you go to a bar you know you can always pick up a beer.

27. A beer will not get upset if you come home and have beer on your breath.

28. You don't have to wine and dine a beer.

29. If you pour a beer right, you'll always get good head.

30. Hangovers go away.

31. When you are finished with a beer the bottle is still worth 5 cents.

32. You don't have to wash beer before it tastes good.

33. A beer always goes down easy.

34. You can share a beer with your friends

35. A frigid beer is a good beer.
36. You always know you are the first one to pop a beer.

37. You can have more than one beer and not feel guilty.

38. You can enjoy beer all month long.

39. A beer is always wet.

The use of sexist language is a reflection of the inability of men to appreciate women as their fellow human beings. By using this form of language, men have failed to show affection and tenderness as they deal with women.

A major issue in the sociolinguistics of speech is the relationships between sex and language. Since the mid 1970s, research on language and sex has concentrated on the role language plays in the maintenance of women in a disadvantageous position in society. Before this, linguists had had an interest in the study of sex and language in two other respects. The earlier of these was the presence in a few languages of lexical, phonological and morphological forms that are used only or predominantly by speakers of one sex or the other. More recently, in early research in sociolinguistic variation, sex was investigated as an independent variable related to linguistic variables along with status, style, age and ethnicity.
Robin Lakoff (1973a: 48) points out that for the most part, women are not expected to use ‘strong’ expletives such as ‘damn’ or ‘shit’ but are encouraged to substitute weaker ones like “oh dear”, or “fudge”. This difference in linguistic acculturation between men and women permits men the opportunity to express strong emotions with impunity, even if they'll say something against women. This is an opportunity that women are denied to the extent that they are prevented from expressing themselves with feelings and their individuality. This is a form of linguistic male chauvinism.

Female students and passengers are careful in choosing their vocabulary to consciously avoid using sexist words which to them are “improper” words. There is the general acceptance of sexist language when used by male students and matatu touts and this is considered trivia. But when sexist is used by female students and passengers, it is unacceptable and contrary to the norms of the society. Sometimes females who use this are regarded as immoral.

A young reader who sees in a school textbook “The courageous pioneer defended his land” forms a mental image of the pioneers that eliminate females, unless of course, they are referred to elsewhere in the book by the qualified “women pioneers”. More often, though, history books refer to pioneer women as luggage as in sentences such as “the pioneers crossed the plains with their wives children and personal belongings”. Consider the following slogan made by a matatu tout:
Chei (Chege) nilikuja maskani sato kukutafuta lakini hakukuwa na mtu.
Manzi tu ndiye alikuwa. (Chege I came to visit you at home on Saturday but there was nobody, only your lady was in).

Just as it is in "The courageous pioneer defended his land", the above slogan made by a tout does not regard a woman as a human being. For instance, the assertion that there was "nobody" at home when the girlfriend was actually there implies that women are not essential in the absence of men.

Speech can by virtue of its real or imagined association with sex, acquire masculine or feminine connotations. Largely, sexist language is used to demean women.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusion

The study was based on the use of English, Kiswahili and Sheng languages in generating, expressing and reinforcing negative attitudes against women. The study dealt with speech manifestations of sexist language as used by male students and matatu touts.

It showed that the use of sexist language portrays gender differences as fundamental characteristics of the society. This has consequences, which are transmitted to subsequent generations through language. The emphasis of this study is on aspects of language and gender and how the former portrays female students and passengers in the eyes of men and the society at large. It was carried on a small section of the society. Other parts of the society will most likely show similar tendencies. The study reveals that sex-related differences emerge either in the form of words or utterances.

The study hypotheses claimed that women are socially oppressed, derogated and subordinated. In confirming this hypothesis, the study has demonstrated that language plays a major role in creating, transmitting and
sustaining gender differences in society. Male users of language use it both consciously and subconsciously to give negative attributes to women and portray them as weak. This usage can be interpreted as male chauvinistic.

Language can be sexist and its use generates, express and reinforces sexism, much of which is negative to women. The use of this kind of sexist language is directed towards generating and sustaining a situation of inequalities between males and females particularly in the university and matatus.

This study also shows that sexist language use is popularly treated as a source of humour more often than outrage, particularly when used subconsciously in the graffiti. This humour can act as a weapon in the social arsenal constructed to maintain sex inequalities. In the above sense, it will mean that such use has increasingly led women to lose their self worth and dignity. Consequently, language has had negative effect on the image and self-worth of women. Sexist speech events are discriminatory and socially oppressive situations as gender inequality.
4.2 Recommendation

Elimination of sexist language use may be difficult but it is not impossible. However, a variety of government agencies, feminist groups, professional associations, religious organisations, educational institutions, publishing firms and media institutions have devised policies on language and gender inform of guidelines or regulations. Some prominent individuals and institutions for example have made striking changes in their language use. Representatives of Canada and Nordic countries raised the issue of sexist language for the first time at UNESCO's 24th session for the general conference (1987). During this conference, a call was made for the avoidance of gender specific language. This development indicated a growing awareness that language does not merely reflect the way we think but that it also shapes our thinking. If words and expressions implying that women are sex objects are used constantly, the assumption of inferiority and sexism becomes part of the mindset.

The study of language and gender is not well established in sociolinguistics. A distinctive subject matter which cut across diverse linguistic disciplines and methodologies is lacking. The questions which animate sexist language use have emerged and thereby resuscitated interests in the study of gender even from other academic disciplines such as Sociology and Anthropology which study social relations scientifically. This portrays a potential area for linguistic research to capture women's experiences as they are treated. This will aid substantially political efforts by gender based organisations and
other stakeholders with keen interest, to seek not only to eliminate the use of sexist language, but also to change relations between women and men in society.
Appendix

Some Grafitti Found in Minibuses (Matatus) and the walls of rooms of male university students

Women are like maize cobs, any can bite from it

Women are like matatus, if you miss one you can always get the another one.

Kama mbaya, mbaya (if she’s bad, she’s bad)

Ass, gas or cash-no one rides free or I’ll tell the sheriff.

Unlike women, men are like gold, if you miss your chance once you miss it forever.

Coming soon to a bedroom near you.

Spring chicken (she’s still young and beautiful)

Your friend is next (boyfriend to her girlfriend), ex-object.

Always look for a woman with an that is one way street…up north.

There’s always a dark secret surrounding a single woman (stereotype).

Reasons Why Beer is better than Women

You can enjoy a beer all night long. Object

Beer stains wash out.

You don’t have to wine and dine beer. 4. A beer will wait in the car while you go and play football.

When your beer goes flat, you toss it out.
Beer is never late.

A beer doesn’t get jealous when you grab another beer. Object moral standard

Hangovers go away.

Beer labels come off without a fight.

When you go to a bar, you can always pick up a beer. Object

Beer never has a headache.

After you’ve had a beer, the bottle is still worth 5 cents.

A beer won’t get upset if you come home and have another beer. Moral standard

If you pour a beer right, you’ll always get good head.

A beer goes down easy.

You can have more than one beer in a night and not feel guilty.

You can share a beer with your friends.

You always know you’re the first one to pop a beer.

Beer is always wet.

Beer doesn’t demand equality’ moral standard

You can have a beer in public.

A beer doesn’t care when you come.

A frigid beer is a good beer.

You don’t have to wash a beer before it tastes good. Moral standard

If you change beers, you don’t have to pay alimony.

You can’t catch social diseases from a beer.
Big-Busted/Small-Busted Women

**Big Busted Women**
- can get a taxi on the worst days
- have a neat place to carry spare change. Insult
- have always been the center of the arts amusement
- make jogging a spectator sport. Sex objects
- can keep a magazine dry while lying in the tub. Insult
- have more negotiating power (with men shorter than them) sex objects
- usually can find leftover popcorn after a movie. Insult
- can always carry a little extra
- always float better insult
- know where to look first for lost earrings. Insult
- rarely lack for a slow dance partner sex object
- have a place to set their glasses when sitting in an armless recliner. insult

**Small Busted Women**
- don't cause a traffic accident every time they bend over in public
- always look younger
- find that dribbled food makes it to the napkin on their lap
- can always see their toes and shoes
- can sleep on their stomachs
-have no trouble sliding behind the wheel of small cars
-know that people can read the entire message on their t-shirts
-know that everything more than a handful is wasted
-can come late to a theater and not disrupt an entire aisle
-can take an aerobic class without running the risk of knocking themselves out

**Reasons why motorcycles are better than women**

Motorcycles only need their fluids changed every 2,000 miles.

Motorcycles' curves never sag.

Motorcycles last longer.

Motorcycles don't get pregnant.

You can ride a Motorcycle any time of the month.

Motorcycles don't have parents.

Motorcycles don't whine unless something is really wrong.

You can kick your Motorcycle to wake it up.

You can share your Motorcycle with your friends.

If your Motorcycle makes too much noise, you can buy a muffler.

You only need to get a new chain or belt for your Motorcycle when the old one is really worn.

If your Motorcycle smokes, you can do something about it.

Motorcycles don't care about how many other Motorcycles you have ridden.

When riding, you and your Motorcycle both arrive at the same time.

Motorcycles don't care about how many other Motorcycles you have.
Motorcycles don't mind if you look at other Motorcycles, or if you buy Motorcycle magazines.

New Motorcycles must be asked for, and if you don't want to pay for them, you don't get them.

If your Motorcycle goes flat, you can fix it.
If your Motorcycle is too loose, you can tighten it.
If your Motorcycle is too soft, you can get different shocks.
If your Motorcycle is misaligned, you don't have to discuss politics to correct it.

You can have a beer while riding your Motorcycle.
You can have a black Motorcycle and show it to your parents.
You don't have to be jealous of the guy that works on your Motorcycle.
You don't have to deal with priests or blood-tests to register your Motorcycle.
You don't have to convince your Motorcycle that you're a motorcyclist and that you think that Motorcycles are equals.
If you say bad things to your Motorcycles, you don't have to apologize before you can ride it again.
You can ride a Motorcycle as long as you want and it won't get sore.
Your parents don't remain in touch with your old Motorcycle after you dump it.
Motorcycles always feel like going for a ride.
Motorcycles don't insult you if you are a bad rider.
Your Motorcycle never wants a night out alone with the other Motorcycles.
Motorcycles don't care if you are late.
You don't have to take a shower before riding your Motorcycle.
It's always ok to use tie downs on your Motorcycle.
If your Motorcycle doesn't look good, you can paint it or get better parts.
You can't get diseases from a Motorcycle you don't know very well.

**Why Coffee Is Better Than Women**

Gender - Women - Why Coffee Is Better Than Women

You don't have to put cream in your coffee to make it taste good.

Coffee doesn't complain when you put whipped cream in it.

A cup of coffee looks good in the morning.

You won't fall asleep after a cup of coffee.

You can always warm coffee up.

Coffee comes with endless refills.

Coffee is cheaper.

You won't get arrested for ordering coffee at 3 AM.

Coffee never runs out.

Coffee is out of your system by tomorrow morning.

You can take black coffee home to meet your parents.
You can make coffee as sweet as you want.

You can smoke while drinking coffee.

You can put out a cigarette in a cup of coffee.

Coffee smells and tastes good.

You don’t have to put vinegar in your coffee.

If your coffee pot leaks, you can use a regular paper towel.

You can always get fresh coffee.

You can turn the pot on, leave the room, and it’ll be hot when you get back.

They sell coffee at police stations.

You can always ditch a bad cup of coffee.

Coffee goes down easier.

If you put chocolate in your coffee, it doesn’t put on weight.

No matter how ugly you are, you can always get a cup of coffee.

A big cup or small cup? It doesn’t matter.

Your coffee doesn’t talk to you.

Coffee smells good in the morning.
Coffee is good when it's cold too.

Coffee stains are easier to remove.

Coffee doesn't care when you dunk things in it.

Coffee doesn't care what kind of mood you're in.

Coffee doesn't shed.

Coffee is ready in 15 minutes or less.

You can't get a cup of coffee pregnant by putting cream in it.

Coffee doesn't mind being ground.

No matter how bad coffee is, you can always make it better.

Coffee doesn't have a time of the month...it's good all the time.

When coffee gets old, you can throw it away.

When you have a coffee, you don't end up with a pube in the back of your throat.

Coffee doesn't take up half your bed.

Coffee doesn't mind if you wake up at 3 AM and decide to have a cup.

INSTANT COFFEE!
You can have an intelligent conversation with coffee.

It can take up to 2 weeks for coffee to grow mold.

Your coffee won't be jealous of a larger cup.
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