ATTITUDES TOWARD KENYAN ENGLISH: ETHNICALLY-MARKED PRONUNCIATION

Abstract

Pronunciation in second language varieties are influenced by first language patterns. Hereinafter, attitudes toward pronunciation variation of Kenyan English with respect to attitudes toward read speech of two ethnically-marked varieties and respondents´ self-assessment of spontaneous speech are exposed. It was further established whether Kenyans can correctly identify the two ethnically-marked varieties from the read speech. From the more than forty two ethnic groups (regionally demarcated) of Kenya, the Bukusu and Nandi whose pronunciation proved maximally distinct were utilised for the exercise. The verbal guise technique was administered to 260 respondents from varied ethnic backgrounds in Kenya to listen to two (male and female) readers representing the Bukusu and Nandi ethnic groups. Additionally administered was a guided interview and a questionnaire for self-assessment elicitation by the respondents. The data was later corded and plotted in MS-Excel and R for statistical procedures. On one hand, the Nandi were rated for instance as happier and probably from an advantaged background. On the other hand, the Bukusu were rated as intelligent and confident among others. Notably, there were also similar character traits scored for both groups like preference for one to be a neighbor and other traits. The findings of this study have profound implications for the teaching of pronunciation to speakers of non-native varieties of English; considering that phonological cognition enables listeners to cope with variability in speech.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic research over the years has shown that there exists variation of language and have traditionally maintained that all forms of a language are equal in status (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006); yet, reality has clearly shown that people have language attitudes thus consider some languages and varieties of a given language to be more desirable than others (Edwards and Giles 1984). Language attitude has been defined as "any effective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or speakers" (Ryan and Giles 1982: 7). Attitude in itself is a "mental disposition towards something" that acts as a bridge between opinion and behaviour (Obiols 2002).

This research delves into the attitudes held toward Kenyan English (KenE) speakers' own speech and the speech of the Bukusu and Nandi. Since pronunciation is a characteristic of language shared universally, it plays an important role in revealing information about various characteristics of human behaviour, and information about the speakers' and hearers' emotions and attitudes (Kohler 2007).

1.2 Language and Attitudes

Language is a powerful social force that is not only the primary means of human communication but also an indicator of both personal and social characteristics of the speaker. Relying on the particular listener, a speaker's accent, speech patterns, vocabulary and intonation among others can serve as markers for evaluating that speaker's body language, personality, social status and character among other aspects. Thus, language attitudes can be defined as any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative relations toward different language varieties or speakers (Ryan and Giles 1982: 7).

Just like language attitudes arise from users' language ideologies, or prescriptive beliefs about how a language ought to be (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006) so do pronunciation attitudes. If a speaker perceives a certain feature in another's speech or writing as "correct," the speaker will highly regard the user; however, if a certain feature is perceived as "incorrect," the

speaker will downgrade the user. In light of this study therefore, how did respondents in this research react to the "correctness" or "incorrectness" of the stimulus voices? Did their prescriptive beliefs about how a language ought to be lead them to varied judgment about for example the level of education, status in society and occupation of the voices exposed to them? Peter Garrett (2010) states that "our competence, intelligence, friendliness, trustworthiness, social status, group memberships and so on are often judged from the way we communicate… [and] the speed at which we speak can evoke reactions".

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Since this research is both ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic in nature, social variables for instance age, gender, level of education, occupation and ethnicity/L1 are of interest therein when tackling attitude issues. In this regard, these variables may also directly or indirectly influence or even determine attitudes, motivation or behaviours toward language use hence the manifestation of given varieties of English. Because language is one tool for separating "us" from "them" (Bailey 2003), it is often a very strong indicator of region of origin, social class, gender, age, and ethnic, cultural, and social-group pertinence (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006). Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that people with different gender, age, education and cultural backgrounds may have different beliefs and attitudes toward varieties of English and consequently acquisition, choice and use of given variety. In majority of instances that we meet a people, we make assessments of and judgments about them. Factors such as overall appearance, posture, dress, and tidiness give clues about the person's background and state of mind.

Summarising these clues, we judge people to be friendly or unfriendly, reliable or unreliable, and even sane or insane. Whether or not the conclusions from our assessments are true, we nevertheless reach them and often act on them. Because language is a major factor in those judgments, it is appropriate to study and understand which aspects of spoken language have the greatest effect on our reactions to each other. Through such studies linguistic researchers have gathered a great deal of information about our reactions to the language employed by other people. The studies concentrate on aspects as detailed as the intonation of a particular word or set of words and as broad as entire languages within and between language communities. Incorporating pragmatics at the social level by looking at related attitudes toward these language variations is important due to the fact that attitudes are what people really identify and perceive on varieties.

1.4 Objectives and Hypotheses of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate some attitudes held about Bukusu and Nandi E-marked varieties of KenE in the densely multilingual republic.

With these in mind, this study:

i. Establishes whether respondents are able to correctly distinguish between Bukusu and Nandi speakers of English deriving from age, gender, education, occupation and ethnicity/L1 of the respondents.

ii. Establish the opinions of respondents toward their own variety of English.

The research was also based on these two null hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1. There would be no difference in respondents' opinion toward their own variety of English

- Hypothesis 2. There would be no difference in attitudes held toward Bukusu and Nandi varieties of English.

1.5 Significance and Contribution of the Study

The results of this study should provide insight into speakers' performances and attitudes about varieties of KenE. Since pronunciation is particularly difficult for learners of a second language to master, it is seldom taught systematically (Grice and Baumann 2007: 1) and understanding the attitudes held assists instructors, curriculum designers and language policy makers in devising suitable models of teaching English and addressing social and psychological implications of E-marked varieties of English in Kenya. Moreover, instructors can aid students in dispelling any detrimental cultural beliefs and negative attitudes, which usually emerge from false stereotyping they may have about varieties of English, the English culture and especially their first language culture. This is also due to the fact that attitudes are purely subjective. Acknowledging also that "sociolinguists working on WE [World Englishes] are facing difficulties in tackling culture as a linguistic phenomenon or bypass the consequences of cultural contact altogether" (Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: xiii).

On the other hand, educators may use the results of this study to inculcate communicative skills based on a realistic model of communicative competence that curriculum developers can apply to revise the time allocated for teaching and learning specific elements of pronunciation.

Bearing in mind also that non-standard linguistic structures are functional in certain contexts, requiring modification of the dictum condemning non-standard English. Supporting the notion to adopt a realistic model of communicative competence, reference is made to Jenkins (2000) who bases her arguments on the analysis of a corpus of exchanges between L2 speakers of English. She suggests an approach to teaching English pronunciation that is aimed at mutual intelligibility rather than the imitation of L1 language norms (Jenkins 2000). Therefore, this assessment has great relevance for English education curricula because communication between speakers of different social and ethnic backgrounds is hampered by ignorance or misunderstanding of social ethnic and regional linguistic variants and norms.

1.6 Justification of the Study

Examining the attitudes held toward E-marked varieties of English that exist within the confines of Kenya's multilingual society, this study hopes to contribute to the growing body of linguistic research. It also contributes to the need to expose related attitudes for pedagogic purposes. In this respect, it is crucial for the English language instructor to be aware of attitudes held by learners toward a particular variety of English (be it their own or that of others) before (s)he can embark on suitable teaching approaches and methods that foster communicative competence and intelligibility rather than aping RP. Motivated by such factors, attitudes and opinions of E-marked pronunciation in Kenya have been explored in this study. Moreover, no known study of this specific nature has been carried out on the attitudes and opinions of E-marked KenE pronunciation. Since English is an integral part of the life of the diverse Kenya, it is also a strong indicator of status and relationships.

1.7 Study Outline

Chapter one has served as a general framework for the present study. In chapter two, attention is drawn to some language attitude theories and previous attitudinal research ranging from earlier to the more current studies carried out within and without Kenya. The third chapter reveals the measurement techniques that are generally used for the study of language attitudes and includes the research design and methodology. Furthermore, the research instruments are also exposed. Chapter four gives detailed information on the participants in the present experiment and explains how the data was prepared, categorised and analysed. Chapter five presents findings of this study,

drawing attention to the results, analysis and discussion. The results are described along two groups, one concerning the attitudes towards the speakers as persons, the other on the respondents' evaluations on their own accents as such. This final chapter also checks the validity of formulated hypotheses, summarises the general findings and ends with some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORATICAL FRAMEWORK AND RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Behavioural and Mental Theories of Attitudes

To tackle the issue of attitudes toward E-marked varieties of language, language attitudes in general are introduced. Fishman (1971) suggests a mentalist and behaviourist viewpoint to language attitudes. In the mentalist view, attitudes are a "mental and neutral state of readiness which cannot be observed directly, but must be inferred from the subject's introspection". The behaviourist view states that attitudes are dependent variables and can be statistically determined by observation of actual behaviour in a social situation (Dittmar 1976: 181). This study was attached to the mental viewpoint unlike the observation of behaviour in real situations. The mentalist framework considers attitudes to have three sub-components (Ryan, Giles and Sebastian 1982: 7; Edwards 1982: 20; Fasold 1984: 148; Baker 1992: 12-13; Oakes 2001: 29). This approach to attitude analysis has also been termed the tripartite model (Williams and Jones 2005: 278). This means every attitude consists of three elements: a cognitive (thought), an affective (feeling) and a behavioural (action) element as displayed on figure 1.
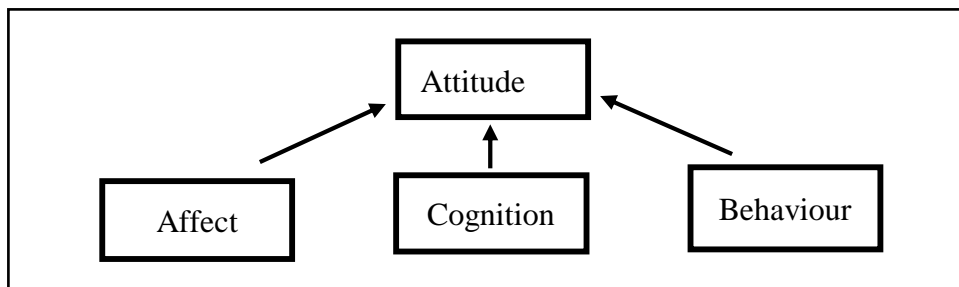
Figure 1: The three sub-components of an attitude: affect, cognition and behaviour (Adapted from Oakes 2001: 29).

The cognitive element refers to our thoughts and beliefs about the attitude-object. For example a belief in the value of the Irish language may lead to a favourable attitude towards it (Baker 1992: 12). These thoughts are combined with particular positive or negative feelings about the attitude-object, which form the affective element. The behavioural element refers to the influence of attitudes on behaviour. Referring to Baker's (1992: 13) example, a person with a favourable attitude towards the Irish language might send his/her child to a bilingual school. Despite this,

Baker (1992: 13) further warns that this action element of attitude is not always an indicator of external behaviour. This means that people may not always behave as they say they want to behave.

Importantly is that attitudes toward any E-marked varieties of KenE would, like any language attitude study, reflect the true attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups (Fasold 1984: 148). On the same as mentioned by Renee Edwards, reactions to people to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties (Edwards 2004). This is why John Edwards (1982: 22) says that "most studies of language attitudes, in fact, would be more accurately termed studies of attitudes towards speakers of language varieties." This study automatically brings out the variationist framework within sociolinguistics.

2.2 Variationist Framework within Sociolinguistics

Linguists suggest that Standard English (SE) may not be the ideal model for teaching, writing and speaking skills to English as a second language (ESL) or English as a foreign language (EFL) learners. Zaid (2008) explained that the reason is socio-political such that national and linguistic identities of the different ESL speakers feel obliged to use their own varieties as they feel identified with them. The reason is not linguistic because SE is intelligible to whoever learns and speak English. This refers to a process of nativization (Schneider 2007), where the transplanted language becomes native to a people or place, either in addition to or in place of, giving rise to the origination of the term World Englishes (Kachru 1997).

It has further been confirmed that the interaction of communities that use different varieties of English has resulted in initiating linguistic change, and, thereby, eliciting a large number of discourse accommodations, which eventually help in the generation of diverse World Englishes, or in other words, regional-contact varieties of English in contexts where English co-exists with one or more native languages (see Bremer et al. 1996, Boxer 2002, and Kerswill 2006).

In relation to these findings, Edwards and Giles (1984) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006) illustrated that dialectologists have traditionally maintained that all forms of a language are equal in status. Despite this, reality is crystal clear that people consider some languages and varieties of a given language to be more desirable than, or presumably superior to others. These perceptions and beliefs arising from a person or person's style of speech are, in essence, language attitudes and the foundations of linguistic stereotypes. If a person perceives a particular characteristic in another's speech or writing as "correct", the speaker will highly regard the

language user. However, if the characteristic is perceived as "incorrect", the speaker will regard the language user less highly.

Kristiansen (2003) narrows down from large-scale survey studies to a specific field of allophonic variation and illustrates her social cognition research approach with examples from historical, social and regional varieties of English. She investigates whether different allophonic variations are actually used by participants to identify each other's social and/regional background. Kristiansen's study is relevant to our present research since some of the relevant questions she raises for example, "where is this speaker from?", "what could be the level of his education?", "what is this speaker like?" are among some of the questions that have also been incorporated in this study for attitude elicitation regarding the various pronunciation and prosodic differences that are rampant in Kenyan ESL speech.

Schmied (1991) additionally states that Standard English uses stress to indicate word class i.e. 'protest (noun) and pro'test (verb) but that is not always maintained in EAfE. One of the most notable features of EAfE is the prevalent use of syllable-timed instead of a stress-timed rhythm. Syllable timed rhythm implies that a speaker will apply equal stress to all syllables and will therefore not create "weak" forms by putting two or three unstressed syllables into one stress unit like inner-circle speakers do. This explains the tendency to give too much weight to unstressed syllables, which often ends in unfamiliar rhythm. It can also lead to misunderstandings in intercultural communication, as the EAfE speaker may be experienced as unfriendly or childish (Schmied ibid.). Relating to these observations, this study set out to investigate, among others characteristics, whether the two varieties were considered friendly. It was assumed that such descriptions could be elicited from the stress and consequently rhythm and intonation of the stimulus voice. Various adjectives for example charming, rough, competent, among others were displayed for attitude elicitation as advanced in unfolding chapters of this study.

Worth noting, there has been more literature on topics such as language attitudes (Kembo-Sure 1991a) and domains of language usage (Abdulaziz 1991), but no work has deservedly scrutinised attitudes toward E-marked English pronunciation in Kenya considering that "it is doubtful whether we are justified in speaking of local varieties of English having developed, or as emerging" (Görlach 1991: 141). In Kenya, however, various factors indicate that this is the case and it is possible to speak of Kenyan English and thus local varieties therein.

2.3 Previous Research on Language Attitude Studies

As mentioned earlier, clearly, E-marked varieties of English do exist in Kenya. On the whole, African features in pronunciation are generally accepted since there is more often than not mutual intelligibility during communication. In fact, it is safe to note that mimicking the British accent would be irking. This view has also been mirrored in fiction by Armah in the following words:

> …his attempts to adopt an air of importance were not just ridiculous but actually irritating in the special way in which the efforts of the Ghanaian struggling to talk like some special Englishman are irritating. (Armah 1968: 28)

This attitude has sometimes been referred to as "linguistic schizophrenia" (Kachru 1982: 44). In view of this, an existing example is given by Schmied (1991: 173) of the Chigololos of Lusaka, of students whose lives are full of pretence and illusions, who often twist their tongues when talking to imitate native speakers of English, but end up exaggerating and hence ridiculed in speaking in a mannered foreign way. Schmied (ibid.) further states that it is interesting to see that even within African varieties, features shared by most ethnic and social groups in a country are often accepted, although they may be conspicuous to outsiders and make intelligibility difficult for foreigners unaccustomed to these features.

In addition, other features that are characteristic of only some ethnic groups are often ridiculed, stigmatized and not accepted. Such stigmatizations are of course, culture-specific and reflect underlying sociopsychological relationships between Kenya's ethnic groups. This means that features stigmatized by Africans are not necessarily similar to those stigmatized by native speakers of English (Schmied ibid.) According to Starks and Paltridge (1996), learning a language is closely related to the attitudes people have towards the language. In the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1992: 199), language attitudes are defined as follows:

> The attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language varies. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, case or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance and social status among others. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speaker of the language.

For instance, Haig and Oliver (2003) report that many of the Australian teachers in their study considered the speech of poor children to be "inferior" or "deficient" because it differed from the English the teachers considered "standard." This led the teachers to label the lower-class children as "victims" of their poor socioeconomic backgrounds and to provide the students with increased academic and linguistic support. From this example, it is clear that a listener's preconceived beliefs about a language can shape how (s)he perceives and reacts to a differing variety of language and its speaker.

Moreover, a number of studies have demonstrated that judgments of the quality and prestige of language varieties depend on knowledge of the social connotations which they possess. Thus, for instance, the use of languages and accents would be expressions of social preference, which reflect an awareness of the status and prestige accorded to the speakers of these varieties. A prestige standard form of a language has no inherent aesthetic or linguistic advantage over nonstandard varieties. Modern studies in the English language and sociolinguistics of English have acknowledged some of the factors that account for the diversity of English all over the world: age, gender, ethnicity, and religion. Bailey and Görlach (1982) observe:

> …scholars now recognize that they must acknowledge the complexity of the diverse language communities that make up the English-speaking world.

The attitude of the native and non-native speakers of English towards non-native Englishes varies considerably. Kachru (1982: 43) observes:

> The native speakers' attitude towards the development and the nativization of institutionalized varieties has traditionally not been one of acceptance or ontological recognition, because of the linguistic manifestation of the nativization, these varieties have been considered deficient models of language acquisition.

On the other hand, the speaker of the nativized varieties may be more receptive to the nativized variety than to the RP variety. Kachru (1982: 45) further claims:

> …educated Ghanaian English is acceptable; but as he quotes from Sey warning us that, it does not entail competence in speaking RP since in Ghana the type that strives too obviously to approximate RP is frowned upon as distasteful and pedantic. In Nigeria the situation is not different from Ghana or India…Many Nigerians will consider as affected or even snobbish any Nigerian who speaks like a native speaker of English.

Furthermore, Görlach (1991: 123) carried out tests among students of native English speakers of British and American origins. He found that these students had no great difficulty in identifying a

speaker from Nigeria as African. Although this observation does not provide much evidence regarding the existence of an African English, it vaguely points to the fact that there are some distinct linguistic features that mark the Africanness of the English utterances of the speakers, similar to the aspiration for this study, which is to explore the English varieties as manifest in Kenyan English(es). Schmied (1991: 2) defines African English as:

> …forms of English spoken by African speakers; this does not imply that there is an acknowledged variety or that there are several distinct varieties of the language, nor that these forms are standardized and codified in any way.

Schmied's (*ibid.*) definition uses the geographic criterion to identify the English variety. It also groups together all forms of English, from the English-based Creoles and Pidgins in West Africa, to other Africanized and non-Africanized English varieties spoken in most English speaking regions. In view of the linguistic diversity of Africa, and Kenya per se, this is a misleading definition. These, among other reasons, elevated the curiosity to carry out this study on the varieties of English as spoken in Kenya.

Kalin and Rayko (1978) carried out a study as a part of a larger investigation concerning multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada. They recorded ten Canadian male postgraduate students, five of whom were born in Canada and had English as their L1 and five of whom spoke English as a second language. The respondents were undergraduate college students who were given brief biographical dossiers of the speakers and heard a thirty second recording of each stimulus voice. The respondents were asked to make evaluative judgments about the speakers. English Canadians were rated more favourably in qualities such as honesty, efficiency and the ability to get along with others.

In addition, the English Canadians were rated as more suitable for higher status jobs, indicating discrimination against foreign-accented speakers, even though the dossiers on the speakers showed similar backgrounds, experience, and qualifications. The focus of this research is on attitudes toward E-marked varieties of KenE, and explores whether one E-marked variety is rated more favourable than the other.

Furthermore, as reported by Lippi-Green (1997), on the silver screen (especially Disney World movies), characters that have foreign accents are frequently the villains or have distinctly negative attributes. In movies and on television, regional accents are often associated with characters that have less desirable traits, for example arrogance, stupidity, ruthlessness or

untrustworthiness. A familiar example to readers is Eliza Doolittle in "My Fair Lady," a movie based on the novel by George Bernard Shaw, Pygmalion. For her to be successful and accepted in society, Eliza had to rid herself of her native Cockney accent. Viewers witnessed her struggle to learn to speak "proper" English, and applauded as she ultimately triumphed over her heritage, learning to speak a more acceptable form of her language. With her new pronunciation style, she was granted acceptance and respect, reflecting that her accent had been a barrier to achieving those positive attributes. The movie is an effectual messenger for accent reduction and change for individuals who are not confident about their accents. Is it true, therefore, to generalise that Kenyans with their various E-marked varieties are not content like Eliza Doolittle and would go to great lengths to have their accents altered? Since, as mentioned earlier, English in Kenya is learned as a second language, is their preference to a specific E-marked variety and not another? Are there E-marked varieties of English that display more positive attributes than others? And how easily do people identify an E-marked variety as they easily identified Eliza's Cockney accent? To tackle these questions that are both sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic in nature, the situation of E-marked KenE was explored.

Adegbija (1994: 57) observes that there are only very few studies of language attitudes in sub- Saharan Africa: Schmied 1990, Kembo-Sure 1991a, Webb 1992, Adegbija 1992 [and Otundo 2011]. The primary objective of these studies was to identify speakers' attitudes towards English and indigenous languages in schools and work places. Attitudes towards English have an influence on language learning and in Kenya, attitudes were found to depend on the perception of sociocultural and economic advantages a language can provide (Abdulaziz 1991: 400). Surveys have proved that primary, secondary as well as tertiary students acknowledge the value of English in the work sphere. English is perceived as a gateway to success. Against this background, it is not surprising that attitudes towards English are generally positive (Sure 1989: 55, 1991a: 256).

The observations from the studies confirmed that positive and favourable attitudes were given to English in the official functions. Labov (1991) reported that a particular listener's own linguistic security (or insecurity) can greatly influence the judgments (s)he makes regarding another speaker with the same accent as well as the judgments of speakers of other accents. Concluding from a study he had conducted in New York City in 1966, he reports that "those who used the highest percentage of a stigmatized form in casual speech were the most sensitive in stigmatizing it in the speech of others" (ibid.: 176). Hence, these reviewed literature ignited interest

to carry out this study to establish whether similar conclusions could be made regarding two E-marked varieties of KenE.

Since this research, is both ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic in nature, social variables for instance age, gender, level of education, occupation and ethnicity/L1 are of interest therein when tackling attitude issues. In this regard, these variables may also directly or indirectly influence or even determine attitudes, motivation or behaviours toward language use hence the manifestation of given varieties of English. Because language is one tool for separating "us" from "them" (Bailey 2003), it is often a very strong indicator of region of origin, social class, gender, age, and ethnic, cultural, and social-group pertinence (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006). Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that people with different gender, age, education and cultural backgrounds may have different beliefs and attitudes toward varieties of English and consequently acquisition, choice and use of given variety. In majority of instances that we meet a people, we make assessments of and judgments about them. Factors such as overall appearance, posture, dress, and tidiness give clues about the person's background and state of mind. Summarizing these clues, we judge people to be friendly or unfriendly, reliable or unreliable, and even sane or insane. Whether or not the conclusions from our assessments are true, we nevertheless reach them and often act on them. Because language is a major factor in those judgments, it is appropriate to study and understand which aspects of spoken language have the greatest effect on our reactions to each other.

Through such studies linguistic researchers have gathered a great deal of information about our reactions to the language employed by other people. The studies concentrate on aspects as detailed as the intonation of a particular word or set of words and as broad as entire languages within and between language communities. One aspect of spoken language that affects every speaker and listener of English is accent[1]. Accents are patterns of pronunciation embedded in intonation that identify speakers with particular groups, and they vary in many ways. A suitable working definition of accent was created by Rosina Lippi-Green (1997: 42): "Accents are loose bundles of prosodic and segmental features distributed over geographic and/or social space."

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[1] Whereas dialect is the differences in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, accent is defined only as the differences in pronunciation between two varieties of a language. A difference in accent can usually be identified by vowel sounds (Wolfram and Schilling- Estes 2006), consonant articulation (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006), syllable-timing versus stress-timing (Kachru 2005), and syllable stress (Fromkin and Rodman 1998).

Region is a common accent influence. Yet another is E-marked accent, those patterns of pronunciation that are common to a particular ethnic group of the country.

Kioko and Muthwii (2003) investigated the attitude of Kenyan speakers towards three varieties of English: Ethnically marked Kenyan English (E-marked), standard Kenyan English (non E-marked) and Native Speaker English (British, Australian and American). They employed 210 participants in the study who were grouped depending on their, ethnic language, rural and urban setting and educational achievement (primary, secondary and tertiary). The respondents were from five ethnic affiliations. The methods of data collection were tape-recording and direct elicitation questionnaire. The questionnaires solicited for the preferred language in formal contexts for instance law-courts, media and schools. It was revealed that in the work-place, English is the preferred language in both rural and urban settings. It further revealed that differences in language choice are influenced by the educational achievement of the respondents in both rural and urban setups. The educated masses had strong preference for English that their unprivileged counterparts.

Consequently, the use of local L1s decreases as education advances. The less educated (primary and secondary school) preferred the use of their local L1s at their places of work. In Kioko and Muthwii's findings, a number of respondents who preferred the use of English at the work-place believed that it fostered integration among people of a varied ethnic background. Since English was not the language of choice for respondents who were not fluent in it, they subsequently did not speak English whilst interacting with subordinate staff and opted for Kiswahili as a unifying language in the densely ethnic society.

Pertaining to schools, the Kenyan variety of English is the preferred language which is considered as E-marked English of students and non E-marked English of the teachers. The non E-marked English variety is regarded as the language of those who are more educated while the E-marked English is regarded as the basilect variety of Kenyan English. This study, however, does not use the term basilect to refer to E-marked variety of English but rather suggests that the E-marked variety is also prevalent in what they term the English variety spoken by the more educated. Studies on New Englishes have shown two parameters that reveal variations in English; these are the indigenous (ethnic) language(s) of the speaker and the education level (Bamgbose 1982, Bokamba 1982, Zuengler 1982).

Additionally, Abdulaziz (1982) also recognises the significance of rural and urban speaker distinction. This study has proposed that pronunciation is not only conversely related to education

but is influenced by, in some cases only by the L1. Because ethnically influenced varieties are the core of this research, it is only reasonable to first give a clear picture of the ethnic language situation in Kenya before narrowing down to the two ethnic groups in question; the Bukusu and Nandi. In Kenya, for instance, E-marked and regional accents are intertwined since almost all geographic regions are predominantly populated by one ethnic group. This study, therefore, explores associated attitudes which are indicators of varieties of a language. This is due to the fact that attitudes are what people really identify and perceive on varieties.

2.4 Kenya's Sociolinguistic Platform

Nduku and Jepkirui (2003) observe that the language policy following more than three decades of linguistic research on the use of English in Kenya reveals local linguistic features that define a range of varieties of KenE. At one end of this range lies Standard[2] KenE, a variety grammatically similar to other standard varieties of English and is predominantly applied in formal contexts and varies in terms of register, for instance education, media, law and governance. At the other end lies Colloquial KenE, which could be the only variety used by some speakers, in spite of the fact that it is typically an informal variety used among relatives and friends. This variety differs markedly from Standard varieties of English in a number of elements such as phonology, syntax, semantics and lexical items of other Kenyan languages incorporated in the English language.

English in the Republic of Kenya is spoken as a second language (L2) variety. In Kenya, English is used in international fora, intranational fora, and has almost no native speakers of the language; which is characteristic to majority of speech communities with English as a second language (ESL) (Görlach 1984: 13). Kenya has assigned English an important role since it is the language of international communication and serves as a lingua franca among educated Kenyans of different language backgrounds (Sure 1991b: 133). Exact numbers of speakers of English in the country have not been documented, but estimates indicate figures between 10 and 20 percent and likely to increase in future (Mwangi 2003: 7).

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[2] Whereas dialect is the differences in grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, accent is defined only as the differences in pronunciation between two varieties of a language. A difference in accent can usually be identified by vowel sounds (Wolfram and Schilling- Estes 2006), consonant articulation (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes, 2006), syllable-timing versus stress-timing (Kachru 2005), and syllable stress (Fromkin and Rodman 1998).

Kenya's linguistic repertoire is complex such that alongside English, Kiswahili also acts as the official language and is the lingua franca of the broader East Africa acting as the language of social, cultural and business interaction between members of different ethnic and racial groups (Abdulaziz 1991: 392). Kenya further has approximately 42 indigenous (also referred to as ethnic) languages. These include larger groups like the Kikuyu (22 percent), Luhya (14 percent), Luo (13 percent) and Kalenjin (12 percent) and others (38 percent) (Mwangi 2003: 9). Indigenous languages, thus, sum up to 99 percent and are in most instances the first languages Kenyans acquire, the number of people with English as mother tongue is close to zero (Seidel 2004).

Majority of Kenyans are multilingual and have a command of at least 3 languages: their mother tongue, Swahili and English. Those who interact with other ethnic groups also acquire their language and speak even four or five languages (Schmied 1990: 220). Despite all the complexity a good number of Kenyans are still monolingual (Sure 1991a: 246). The proficiency level of the English language in Kenya is triglossic such that the longer the period of formal education, the closer it approaches Standard English. The triglossic situation can be categorised as: acrolect – university, mesolect - secondary school, basilect - primary school. Those who graduate from university are almost undistinguishable from speakers of International English, except for their pronunciation. At first sight, lexical and grammatical features in general do not show conspicuous traces of deviance (Mwangi 2003: 7). The acrolectal variety is rare, since only 1 percent of the population has gone through tertiary education (Skandera 1999: 16). The majority of people speak English on a mesolectal level, which is intelligible but entails a lot of phonological and grammatical features of an indigenised KenE variety (Mwangi 2003: 8). This brings us to the purpose of this study where attitudes toward the phonological realisations (pronunciation) are investigated.

Regarding phonological features, findings provided by Schmied (1991a) through quantitative analysis, revealed for each phoneme to what extend Kenyan pronunciation varies from Standard English. His results show existence of distinct national features of KenE, such as a levelling of differences between long and short vowels, a lack of central vowels, and the monophthongisation of diphthongs. These features are, however, prevalent in almost all new varieties of English for instance, Jamaican English or Black South African English. Specific for Kenyan English are the following subnational features distinct among the four linguistic groups Central Bantu, Western Bantu, Kalenjin and Luo (Schmied 1991a) and are unlike national features

stigmatised (Mwangi 2000: 2). The Bukusu, who fall under the larger Luhya language group, are a Western Bantu people who speak Lubukusu. The Nandi, on the other hand, are categorised under the broader Kalenjin and are Highland Nilotes who speak Nandi. Although both languages are tone languages, they differ markedly in their English pronunciation as evidenced by, for instance Schmied (1991a: 425-426). These features are:

- the devoicing of voiced sounds and vice versa among western Nilotes and the Central Bantu, e.g. /p/ vs. /b/ - pen/ben, boy/poy
- the pronunciation of /l/ as /r/ sound by the Central Bantu, e.g. fry/fly, pray/play
- the insertions or deletions of nasals before voiced stops by some Central Bantu, e.g. *saland (salad), *goond (good), *had (hand)
- the dropping of initial /h/ and its inclusion where it does not exist by some Central Bantu, e.g. hair/air, air/hair
- the intrusion of vowels in consonant clusters, e.g. *againist (against), *filim (film)

It has also been observed that a majority of Bantu speakers have problems distinguishing between /r/ and /l/ and may pronounce the word lorry as /loli/ or /rori/ instead of /lori/. In Kenya the Gikuyu tend towards /r/ and the Embu towards /l/. In many ethnic groups, like Luyia (Kenya) and Hausa (Nigeria) there is no /b/ sound or /p/ sound (Melcher and Shaw, 2003). A typical Luhya speaker when saying *very good* [veri gud] will end up saying [veri ku:t] (Muaka 2009: 84). Owing to these and other contentious pronunciation issues and regarding to the status of English and its associated varieties, there are bound to be various attitudes that accompany the language, especially toward pronunciation because it is the first element a person hears that confirms variation.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Widely used methods of scientific investigation in language variation and attitude research are the direct and indirect methods. The direct method comprises two techniques: self-reporting and observation. The commonly used indirect techniques of gauging attitudes were employed, where the verbal-guise technique was used in conjunction with semantic-differential scale ratios. The indirect method has been considered by various researchers in recent years to be more effective in eliciting language attitudes and language varieties. It provokes the respondents to reveal their beliefs towards a language variety without overtly being conscious of participating in a language attitude revelation test. Four subjects (a male and a female were selected to represent each language group) who read the passage were exposed to 260 respondents to listen and judge their voices for attitude elicitation.

3.2 Study Area and Target Population

To get the respondents for this study, respondents that spoke their L1 and English were targeted. Kiswahili was not necessary, although it was expected that all respondents spoke this language by virtue of it being the lingua franca (Nabea 2009). Urban areas were also targeted because in a majority of rural areas a greater number of interactions occur in the local languages and/or the first language, while English is rarely used. A majority of people who speak Kiswahili live in rural-urban or urban areas. A greater number of English speakers mainly live in the urban areas and other more developed areas of the country than in the rural areas.

Schmied (1991: 30) has mentioned that this is because of "the selective nature of the migration process (usually the more educated, innovative and active people leave the village, the others stay behind)". For these reasons, an urban area was randomly selected as a representative of the region. However, when getting respondents from institutions of learning, both urban and rural areas were considered. This is due to the fact that education in Kenya, regardless of the geographic orientation, is offered through the same medium of instruction and applies the same syllabus.

3.3 Sampling Procedure, Group and Method

To get the respondents from the target population for attitude elicitation, urban centres, institutions and facilities were randomly selected to get one. Thereafter, purposive sampling was administered to the population to get those respondents with the age variable between 18 and 49 years and spoke English and at least one local language. Thereafter, simple random sampling was administered to get four respondents for the verbal guise. It is prudent to mention that regardless of the fact that simple random sampling technique did not exhibit evenly distributed social variables in all representative regions within Kenya, this anomaly was curbed by carrying out the study on fifteen regions. The total number of regions under investigation in the whole country was therefore fifteen. This further meant that the expected number of respondents was sixty. Consequently, the probability that this number of respondents sufficed to encompass all social variables under exploration in this study was significant. The outlined occupational groups were employed in this study:

(a) Those in instructors of English language and other subjects

(b) Those in mechanics/technicians/electrician

(c) Those associated with police/administration/army/law

(d) Those in the field of medicine like doctors/nurses/clinicians

(e) Watchmen/cooks/farmers

The fifteen selected regions were suitable for attitude elicitation because no known study of this specific nature had been carried out therein with the hope of capturing attitudes held and considering social variables like age, gender, level of education, language background and occupation, towards E-marked varieties of KenE. It is therefore believed that this study gives wide and varied views on the topic under exploration. Additionally, to have a larger sample that would strengthen the validity of the results, 200 university students were also used as respondents, thus increasing the total number of respondents to 260. The also engaged in the attitude elicitation exercise on Bukusu and Nandi E-marked pronunciation. Further, they participated in a guided interview session or filled in a questionnaire with similar enquiries to get information on the opinion that individual Kenyans have toward their own variety of English.

3.4 Research Instruments
3.4.1　The Reading Passage

One of the research instruments for this investigation is a reading passage, "Hills like White Elephants" by Earnest Hemingway (1956). Lamb (1996: 454) terms Hemingway's mode of writing, in which the dialogue receives an essential role in the story's composition, "modern dialogue" where Hemingway has created a real-life conversation (ibid.: 455).

3.4.2　The Verbal Guise Technique

The verbal guise technique (Garrett 2010) has been recently developed after Wallace Lambert and his associates propounded the original matched guise procedure (Fasold 1984). Although over the years, the procedure has had numerous modifications in its application, but the idea behind it has not been lost. This technique involves recording the voices of subjects as they read a word-list or a reading passage. These anonymous voices are then presented to other respondents who are drawn from a diverse linguistic and social spectrum (depending on the objectives and scope of the study) in terms of level of education, social status, occupation, gender, age and regional or ethic affiliation for subjective judgment. Thereafter, the respondents are requested to make subjective judgments about each voice on a 5-point semantic differential scale, which is the main instrument of attitude measurement in sociolinguistics research. A semantic differential scale involves the assessment of a concept by rating it on scales comprised of adjectival opposites (Williams 1973). For example, a scale testing whether a language variety evokes in its listeners a sense of security may have a scale with adjectives like "friendly", "lazy", "sincere" and "honest" among others. This scale may be presented to respondents as shown here:

Voice 1　　　Extremely uneducated_ _ _ _ _ _ _ Highly educated

　　　　　　Very energetic _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Very lazy

　　　　　　Quite charming _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Very irritating

　　　An example of a 7-point scale as illustrated by Williams (1973)

The respondents thus check a space in each item to indicate their impression of the voice. A check closest to each positively marked feature on the scale implies a very strong value in that regard; for instance, a check closest to "honest" implies the voice evokes an impression of the speaker being a very honest person, while the reverse is true of a voice closest to not honest. Each point on

the scale is given a numerical value (1-7). These values are assigned in a descending order from the point closest to the positively valued adjective, such as "charming", which is assigned a 7, to the furthest one which is assigned a 1.

The emergence of the verbal guise technique where the different voices can be given by different native speakers, in order to avoid the problem of finding perfect bilingual speakers; the speakers can be recorded talking freely about the same topic instead of reading the same passage, so that the reading style does not affect the judgments; the experiment can be done in natural context, in a way as to avoid the influence of artificial contexts on the subjects (Garrett 2010, Garrett et al 2003). In this study, moreover, a 4- point semantic differential scale was utilised on non-native speakers reading the same passage to investigate the intended questions and statements. Further, to curb void and uncertainty to the respondents, they not only checked (✓) an empty slot provided that was closest or not closest to each positively marked feature but checked (✓) given optional statements in the place of spaces. An example is illustrated here: This speaker seems to be:

> 1: Extremely Uneducated
>
> 2: Uneducated
>
> 3: Well Educated
>
> 4: Highly Educated

As indicated in the example above, the 4-point semantic differential scale was preferred because it fleshed out void and uncertainty for the respondents and subsequently provided clear cut data for analysis. Additionally, the 4-point scale forces people to choose a response, people may be more thoughtful and biased in selecting a response, and it eliminates the possible misinterpretation of the mid-point. Moreover, since there were four audio recordings for solicitation of information from respondents, it was wise to work with a shorter and less cumbersome scale to kill boredom; if any. This research instrument was selected to address this objective of the study:

i.   To establish whether respondents correctly distinguish between the two ethnically marked varieties of English spoken in Kenya and quantitatively explore the attitudes manifested toward these varieties deriving from gender, level of education, age, occupation and L1.

Each selected evaluator was asked to rate four voices (that was considered representative of the two varieties) on a semantic differential scale of a number of adjectives for each voice. The

adjectives were elicited from a Kenyan sample in Bayreuth and Kenya and discussed, thereafter, were advanced and altered during and after the pilot study. Moreover, the selected evaluators filled in a questionnaire for biographical data and information regarding their own variety of English. This directly portrays the linguistic complexity and experiences faced by Kenyans regarding their English language accents.

CHAPTER FOUR

DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS AND DATA CATEGORISATION

4.1 Description of Subjects

There were four subjects selected for the verbal guise technique; where two (1 male and 1 female) speakers represented each ethnic group in question, which is to mean two Bukusu and two Nandi speakers. Their voices were presented for judgement elicitation from 240 respondents from different ethnic languages vastly dispersed in the regions of Kenya. The four subjects were, a 42 year old Lubukusu speaking male who was a qualified pathologist and lecturer with three university degrees born and bred in Bungoma region and working in Rift Valley; a 25 year old Lubukusu speaking female office assistant with a secretarial diploma, working in a university born and bred in Bungoma region; a 52 year old Nandi speaking male who was a principal administrative officer in a university for many years and born and bred in Nandi region; a 32 year old Nandi speaking female who was a clerical officer in a university and held a diploma, also born and bred in Nandi region.

4.2 Description of Respondents
4.2.1   Gender and Age of Respondents

A total of 240 respondents participated in this study in answering the attitude elicitation questionnaire. It was generally easier to obtain more information about the respondents by allowing them to fill in their biographical data and (refer to appendix b section c). These respondents randomly emerged from five geographic regions of Kenya. By virtue that they were randomly sought from different counties of Kenya and others sought form one university, they greatly varied in level of education, ethnic background, gender and occupation. There were 100 third year university students undertaking Bachelor of Education, 80 third year undergraduate students undertaking Bachelor of Information Science and the remaining 60 respondents selected from 15 different counties (four from each visited county: Kisumu, Machakos, Kikuyi, Trans-Nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Kakamega, Busia, Siaya, Bungoma, Kericho, Nakuru, Mombasa, Taita-Taveta, Nairobi, Elgeyo-Marakwet). Their ages ranged between 18 and 65 years. There were 140 females and 100 males in total. Of the university students, 110 were female and 70 were male all ranging from 20-25 years old. This means that they were all grouped in the 18-25 age range rendering figure 2 skewed; indicating that an overwhelming 80% (192) of the respondents were

between 18 and 25 years. For the next age range, 26-33, there were 13% (31) of the respondents. There was an equal 3% (6) in the age group of 34-41 and 42-49. Within the last two age groups, there was an equal 1% (2) for each.
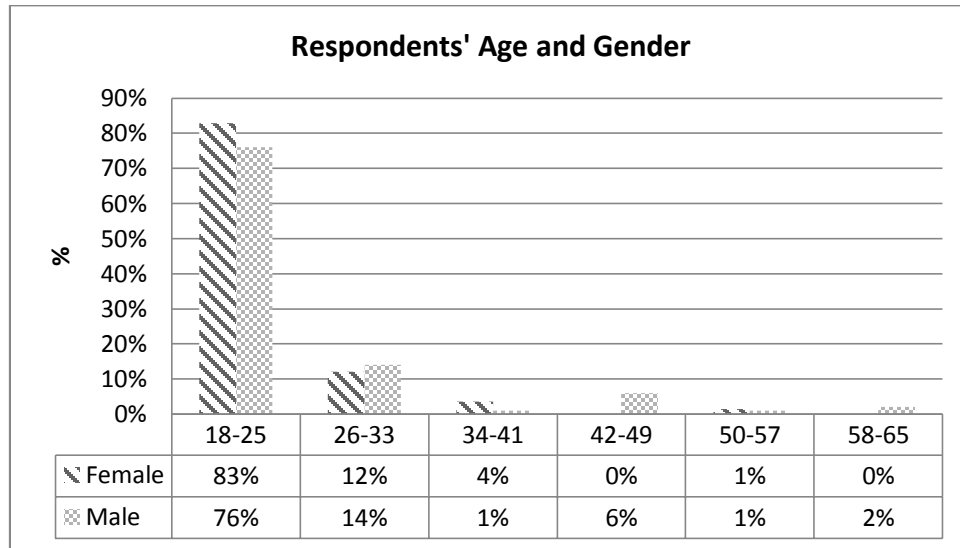
Respondents' Age and Gender

	18-25	26-33	34-41	42-49	50-57	58-65
Female	83%	12%	4%	0%	1%	0%
Male	76%	14%	1%	6%	1%	2%

Figure 2: Representation of the age and gender of respondents

4.2.2 Level of Education

The respondents' level of education was also considered as a variable in this study. Kenyans who have only finished primary school or have not attended school at all have extremely limited exposure to English, which results in their speaking a basilectal variety of English, in other words 'broken English' (Mwangi 2003: 7). Since for a number of years, the female gender was less prioritized to attend schooling contrary to their male counterparts. For this and other reasons expounded in the literature, a greater number of males were encouraged to learn English, especially during the colonial times, in order to secure white collar jobs with the colonialists. One hundred and eighty respondents were in their third year of university, just a few more months to attaining degrees (110 females and 70 males, age range of 20-25). This explains why figure 3 is also skewed. Generally, 83% (199) of the respondents were in university or had a university degree. Thirteen percent (31) had gone through college or were still in college while the remaining 4% (7) and 1% (3) were still in high school (also referred to as secondary school in this study) or had attained at least primary school education respectively. Breaking down these results, we notice that 87% of those in university or had university degrees were female. This resulted because the selected respondents were apparently more female than male. For those in college, there were more male than female respondents. Despite the skewedness of the findings, it can still arguably be stated that

females have also embraced formal education just as their male counterparts. In addition, education has not favoured any age group (as revealed in the foregoing section).

Respondents' Gender and Level of Education

	Primary Sch.	Secodary Sch.	College	University
Female	1%	2%	11%	86%
Male	1%	4%	16%	79%
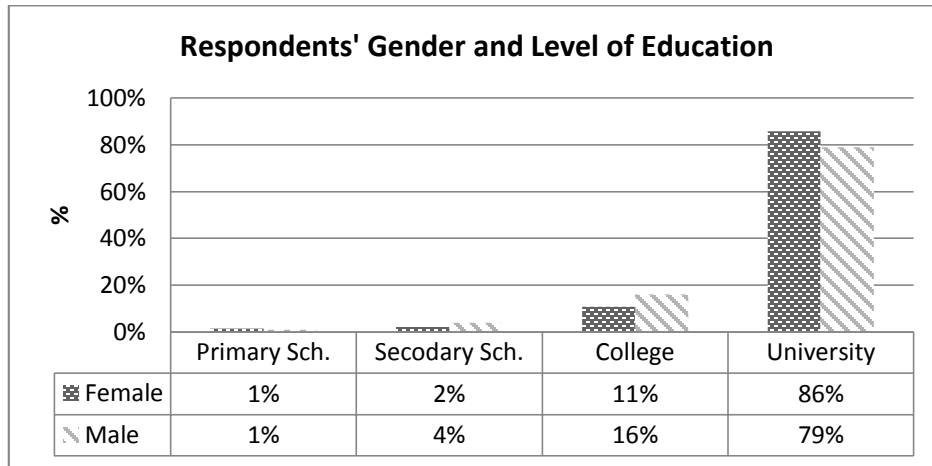
Figure 3: Respondents' gender and age

4.2.3 Native Regions and Counties of Origin of Respondents

As mirrored on figure 4, all the 240 respondents were from five geographic regions of Kenya ranging from various counties therein, including the 15 sampled counties of the 60 respondents.

Respondents' Region of Origin

	Coast	Rift Valley	Western	Eastern	Central
Respondents	3%	33%	45%	8%	10%
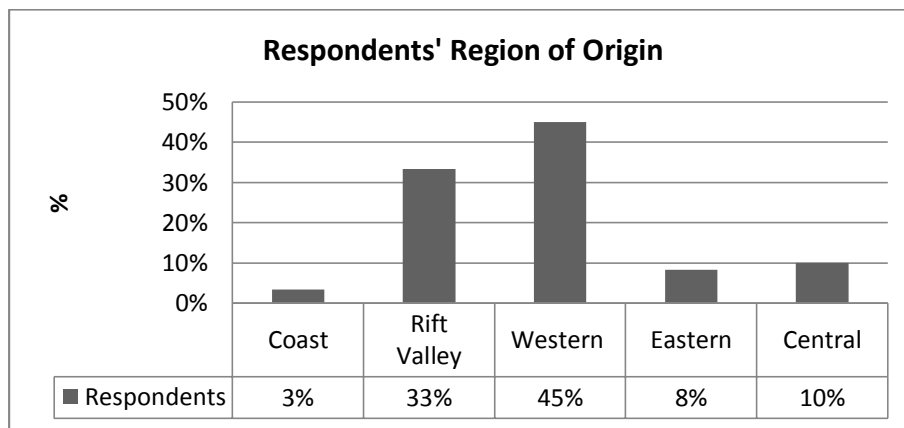
Figure 4: Distribution of native origin of respondents

1. Of the 45% (108), which was the highest were natives of the Western geographic region of Kenya emanating from these counties of the region: Siaya (16), Busia (16), Bungoma (16), Kakamega (16), Vihiga (16), Kisii (8), Kisumu (8), Migori (8) and

2. Of the 33% (80) were from Rift Valley geographic region from the following counties: Nandi (24), Elgeyo Marakwet (24), Uasin Gishu (16), Nakuru (8), Baringo (4) and Trans – Nzoia (4) and

3. Twenty four (10%) of the respondents were natives of Central geographic region from: Nyeri (16), and Kirinyaga (8);

4. Twenty (8%) were from Eastern geographic region emanating from these counties: Machakos (8), Kitui (8), Meru (4) while

5. Eight (3%) were from Coast geographic region; 4 from Taita-Taveta County and the other 4 from Kwale County.

4.2.4 Regions and Counties of Current Residence of Respondents

The highest numbers of respondents at 40% (96), were residing in the Rift Valley geographic region living in the following counties (refer to figure 5): Nandi (16), Uasin Gishu (16), Elgeyo Marakwet (16), Trans – Nzoia (16) and Nakuru (16), Kericho (16).
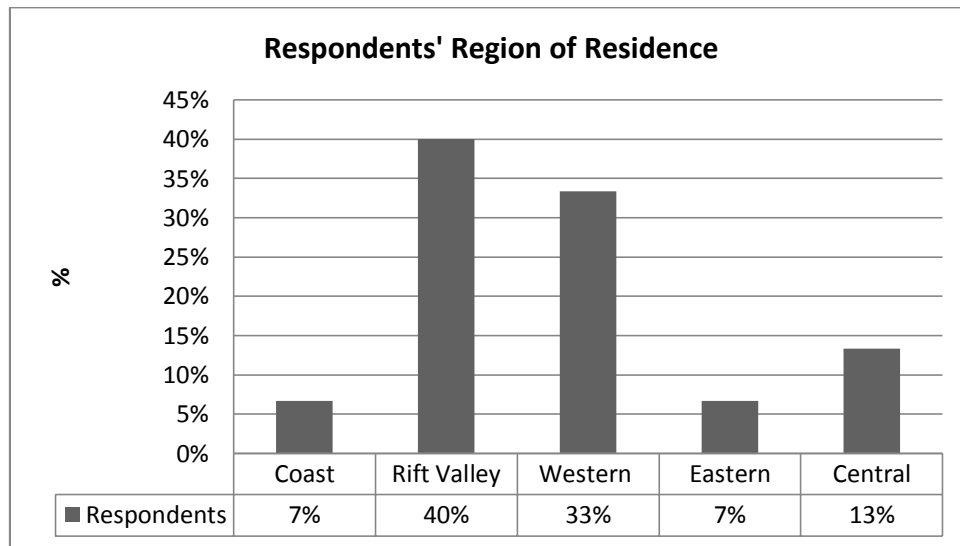
Figure 5: Respondents' region of origin

Eighty (33%) were residing in the Western geographic region of Kenya in these counties: Busia (16), Kisumu (20), Kakamega (16), Siaya (12), Bungoma (16), 13% (32) of the respondents were currently residing in Central geographic region all residing in Kiambu county; 7% (16) were in Eastern geographic region living in Machakos county and the remaining 7% (16) were in at the Coast geographic region in: Mombasa (4), Taita – Taveta (8), and Kwale (4). It is prudent to note that all the respondents from the 15 selected counties were all residing therein as compared to the grouped university students who came from sparse counties of Kenya and converged within the university setting (see chapter three for sampling procedure and technique).

4.3 Preparation of Response Data

The attitude elicitation responses were divided into three categories that required different kinds of analyses and coding: 1) those that had an assigned label of 1-4 already coded into the data; 2) those that had nominal information about regional identification of the speakers; and 4) those that had a preference value of "yes" or "no." When respondents answered questions that required a judgment of the speaker's personality, background, or a specific characteristic, the answers spanned a range between two opposing values, e.g., friendly-unfriendly. Depending on the answer selected, a score ranging from 1 for the most negative answer (Unfriendly) to 4 for the most positive answer (Very Friendly) was automatically recorded by the computer into the respondent's answer file.

Nominal information about the respondents was sorted and grouped for description and discussion, but was not converted to numeric scoring for statistical comparisons. The information about gender and age of the respondents fall into this category as does the information about the respondents' background and whether or not they preferred to change their own accents. The respondent also described the speaker as "rural,", "urban" or "rural – urban." These answers were recorded as numbers in the data base with "1" representing "rural," "2" representing "rural – urban" and "3" representing "urban". Although they were numbers, they were actually nominal data and were not used in the statistical analyses. Furthermore, the preference value answers were also converted to the numbers of "1" for "yes" and "2" for "no". The opinion questions on whether a respondent preferred the speaker to be his or her neighbour, friend, boss, spouse or child's spouse fell in this category of data.

4.4 Categorisation and Analysis Procedure of Response Data

In exploring the opinion of respondents toward their own variety of English to meet the fourth objective of this study and the null hypothesis; there would be no difference in respondents' opinion toward their own variety of English. This broad null hypothesis can be broken down to other hypotheses therein. For instance; individuals do not prefer particular regional or E-marked accents. Such preferences mirror respondents' attitudes toward speakers with different regional varieties of English. This would mean that those preferences are influenced by the listener's perception that regional accents are suggestive of characteristics that are usually regarded desirable, and vice versa. The questionnaire had two sections. In section A, questions one to twelve

and question twenty (see appendix B) sort judgments about specific character traits and the overall impression concerning the speakers personality, background, intellectual, and competency traits.

The data was scored from 1-4. Thirteen to seventeen opinion items questioned whether a respondent preferred the speaker to be his or her neighbour, friend, boss, spouse or child's spouse were converted to the numbers of "1" for "yes" and "2" for "no". Item eighteen generated data concerning the types of job category the respondent thought best suited the speaker and the next item whether the speaker could hold a job in a high ranking position. Finally item twenty one sort whether the respondent thought the speaker was from rural or urban region. In section B of the questionnaire, the respondents identified the speakers' region of origin and further indicated their specific ethnic language. For each item, the set of data was analysed independently displaying descriptive tables and graphs and tests for statistical analyses and discussions.

4.4.1 Data Sorted by each category

The data collected from the questionnaire was quantitative in nature and was analysed using the Excel spreadsheets to create pivot tables and figures to organize, count, and calculate various sets of information. Moreover, the excel programme was used to give the mean ratings and rankings of each trait in the semantic differential scale. In all statistical tests the raw data was used for the input values.

The set of data consisting of questions one to twelve and question twenty that asked for a value judgment concerning particular character traits and the overall impressions of the speaker were assigned a value of 1-4. Since the responses were constrained and the only answers that respondents could give were 1-4 for "extremely intelligent", "intelligent", "somewhat not bright" and "not bright" respectively, the total number of each response for the four speakers was counted using excel. The results of the male Bukusu with those of the female Bukusu were then combined and the same was performed for the Nandi group. This curbed the variable of gender as it was not the core focus of this study but played a significant role in balancing elicitation of attitudes across gender.

Thereafter, a non-parametric test was run on the consolidated data from excel to R. The Chi-square test was performed to compare the results of the Bukusu and Nandi categories. In the R console, two rows were created and data was inserted from the Bukusu and Nandi groups respectively for each item before computing the Chi-square test. Worth noting, since some results gave low values (less than five) or even zero counts in the original data, the Chi-square test was

ruled out and instead the Fisher's exact test was adopted. Despite the fact that the p-value (for testing significance level) of the two tests was not extremely different, Fisher's exact test was preferred for its precision. In addition, the median and mode for all responses were computed. Similar computations were done for all the items of the questionnaire in section A.

4.4.2 Speaker Accent Recognition

Here, the hypotheses dealt with the correct identification of regional and E-marked accents by predicting that listeners do correctly identify the regional and E-marked accents. Examination on whether or not a speaker was accurately identified by looking at the frequencies of recognition was performed. The data was from section B of the questionnaire and was tabulated to discover how many times a speaker was correctly identified. The overall percentages were displayed and compared with the opposite group.

4.4.3 Incorrect Recognition

Of all the ways it is possible to examine the data about speaker recognition, the clearest information comes from the simplest approach of all: the number of people who did not recognize the speakers at all. This is perhaps the most meaningful information, because it clearly demonstrates that even when the respondents had some level of recognition of some of the speakers, for other speakers the majority of the respondents had no level of recognition.

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD KENYAN ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION

5.1 Respondents' Opinion and Views about their Own Accent

5.1.1   Respondents' awareness of influence of L1 on own speech

After requesting for data on the level of education attained by the respondents, it was also important to find out whether the respondents were aware that their L1 had an influence on how they articulate English. Since all the respondents selected for the study had to have knowledge of English and at least one Kenyan ethnic language, their responses to this question were analysed and discussed in relation to their level of education and recorded utterances. As indicated on the figure 65% (156) of the respondents indicated that they were aware that their L1 influenced the way they spoke English while the other 35% (84) indicated that they were not aware of such influence on their speech production.

Awareness of L1 Influence on Own Speech

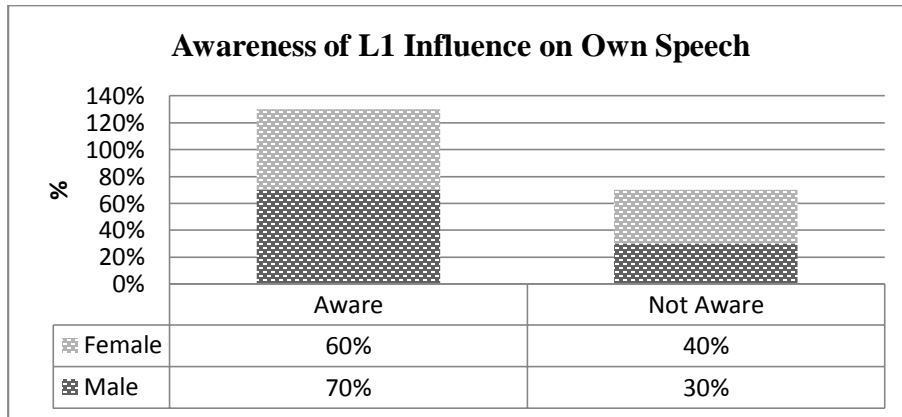|	Aware	Not Aware
Female	60%	40%
Male	70%	30%

Figure 6: Awareness of L1 influence on respondents own speech

Of the outcome more males (70%) than females stated awareness of L1 influence on their speech (72 female, 84 male) and (48 female, 36 male) respectively. Furthermore, the findings reveal that 89% (213) of the respondents did not find the question concerning the influence of their L1 on their English articulation intimidating. From the statistics, only 11% (27) of respondents found the question intimidating and stated their reasons as interwoven in this section.

5.1.2   Respondents association of their pronunciation

In addition to the fact that more than a quarter of the respondents, at 35%, claimed that they were not aware of the influence of their L1 on their English articulation, the results of this question were

necessary to find out how true the accent of the respondent as was depicted in the audio recording was similar to the selected geographic region. The results of this item are distributed through the geographic region of origin as displayed on figure 7. The greater number of respondents 66% (144) selected Nairobi geographic region as the region which most people spoke English similar to theirs. Only 2% (4) stated that their accent sounded similar to that of Central geographic region although they were born, raised and worked in the Coast geographic region. Besides English, they also spoke Kiswahili and Chiduruma; their L1 which dominates Kwale county in the Coast geographic region. These respondents had no affiliation whatsoever to the Central geographic region. Five percent (12) of the respondents stated that their English accent sounded similar to that of Eastern geographic region. Fifteen percent (36) of the respondents stated that their accent sounded like that of the Rift Valley geographic region, while the remaining 18% indicated Western as the region which their accent could be associated with.

Region that Respondents Associate their Own Accent

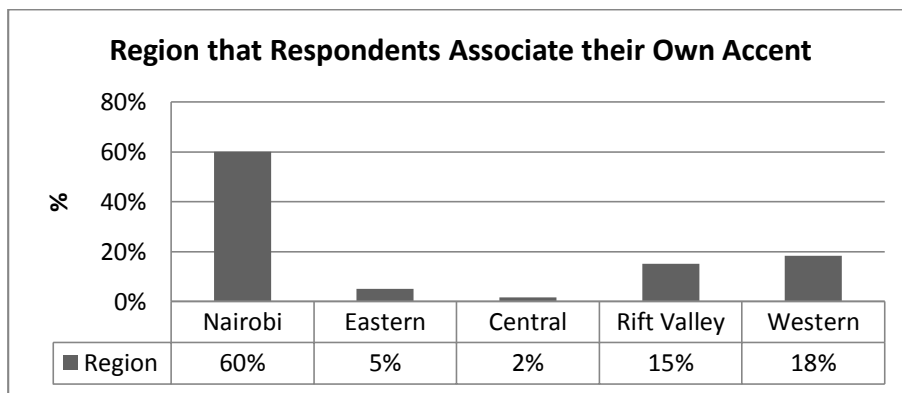|	Nairobi	Eastern	Central	Rift Valley	Western
■ Region	60%	5%	2%	15%	18%

Figure 7: Region that respondents associate their own accent

To break it down, 100% of those in Central associated their accent to Nairobi region as mirrored on figure 8. There were 66% from Coast who also indicated Nairobi as the affiliated region of their accent. The other respondents from Coast associated their accent to Eastern and Central regions. Further, 80% of those from Eastern also stated that they had a Nairobi accent. In addition, 45% and 40% of those from the Rift Valley region indicated that they had Nairobi and Rift Valley accents respectively. Of those from the Western region, 63% and 33% selected Nairobi and Western accents respectively.

Region that Respondents Associate their Own Accent

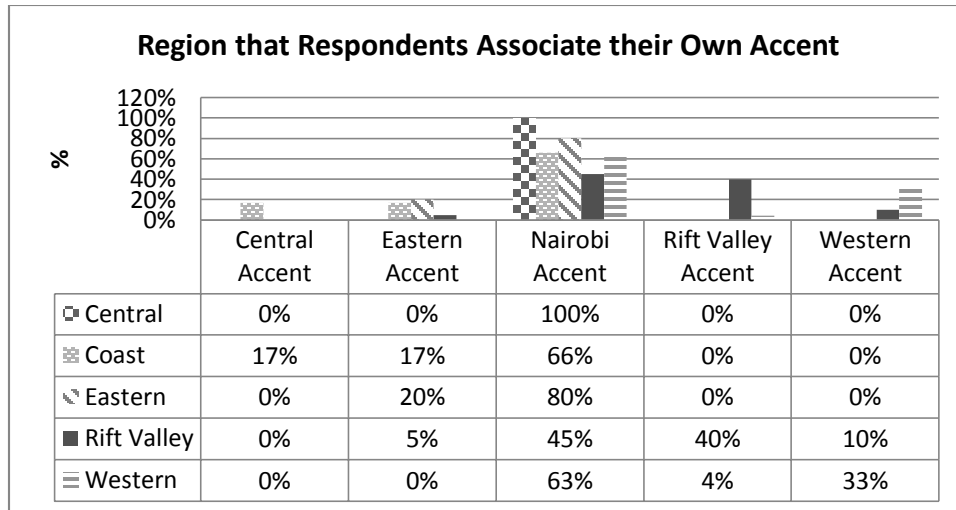|	Central Accent	Eastern Accent	Nairobi Accent	Rift Valley Accent	Western Accent
▫ Central	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
▦ Coast	17%	17%	66%	0%	0%
◸ Eastern	0%	20%	80%	0%	0%
▪ Rift Valley	0%	5%	45%	40%	10%
≡ Western	0%	0%	63%	4%	33%

Figure 8: Region that respondents associate their own accent

5.1.3   Respondents' description of the strength of their own accent

How respondents described their own accent was also explored in this research. According to the overall results for this item, 37% of the respondents described their accent as moderate, 28% termed their accent as light, 20% as fairly strong, and 8% as very strong. Interestingly the remaining 7%, who were all female, indicated that they did not have an accent at all when speaking English. Although this was a captivating observation, delving into gender was beyond the scope of this study. To paint a clearer picture, majority (50%) of those who indicated that their accent was fairly strong were from Central region as captured on figure 9. The remaining 50% from Central region described their accent as moderate. Half of the respondents from Coast region also indicated that their accent was moderate.

Respondents' Description of their Accent Strength

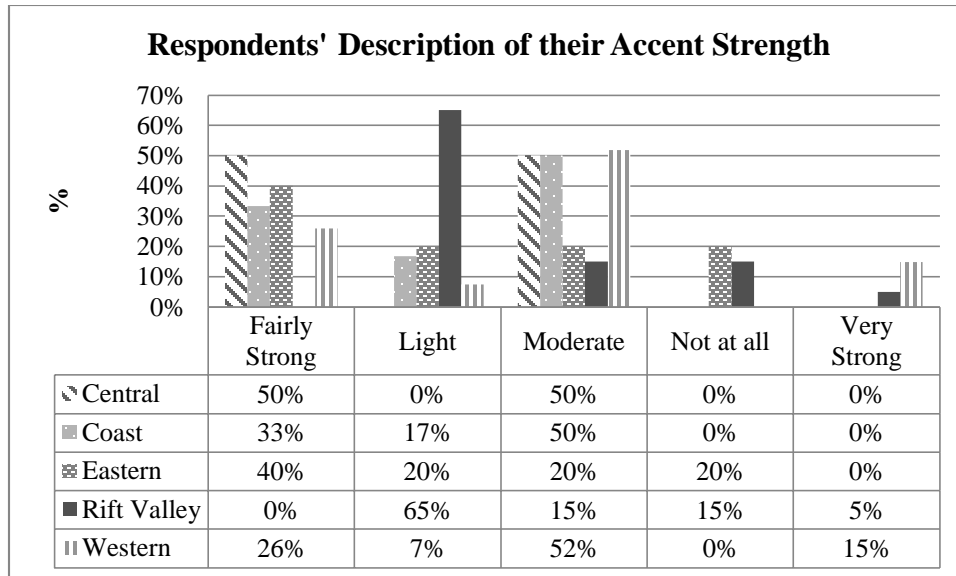|	Fairly Strong	Light	Moderate	Not at all	Very Strong
○ Central	50%	0%	50%	0%	0%
▦ Coast	33%	17%	50%	0%	0%
▩ Eastern	40%	20%	20%	20%	0%
■ Rift Valley	0%	65%	15%	15%	5%
‖ Western	26%	7%	52%	0%	15%

Figure 9: Respondents description of their accent strength

Majority of those from Rift Valley termed their accent as light. Of those who indicated that theirs was a very strong accent, the majority were from Western region at 15% (12 spoke Dholuo; 4 spoke Teso). The 5% (4) from Rift Valley geographic region, who also described theirs as a very strong accent spoke Markweeta as their L1. The previous inquiry brought forth another inquiry on how respondents thought their moderate, very strong, or no accent sounded like. For example, some respondents who indicated that their accent was very strong also thought it sounded very nice.

The consolidated findings show that the highest number of respondents, 52% (124) described their accent as sounding nice, 20% (48) indicated that theirs was somewhat nice, 18% (44) noted theirs as very bad, 8% (20) indicated that it was somewhat bad and the remaining 2% (4) were for the opinion that their accent was bad. Let us consider the results of each region as depicted on figure 10. We find that there was a distinct dichotomy in the opinion of respondents from Central region, whereby 50% thought their accent sounded nice and the remaining half was on the other extreme opinion; very bad. From the Coast region, 67% indicated that their accent was nice and the remaining lot were for the opinion that theirs was somewhat bad or somewhat nice. None of the respondents from this region thought their accent was bad or very bad. Majority, 50% and 52% of those from Rift Valley and Western region respectively, indicated that their accent sounded nice.
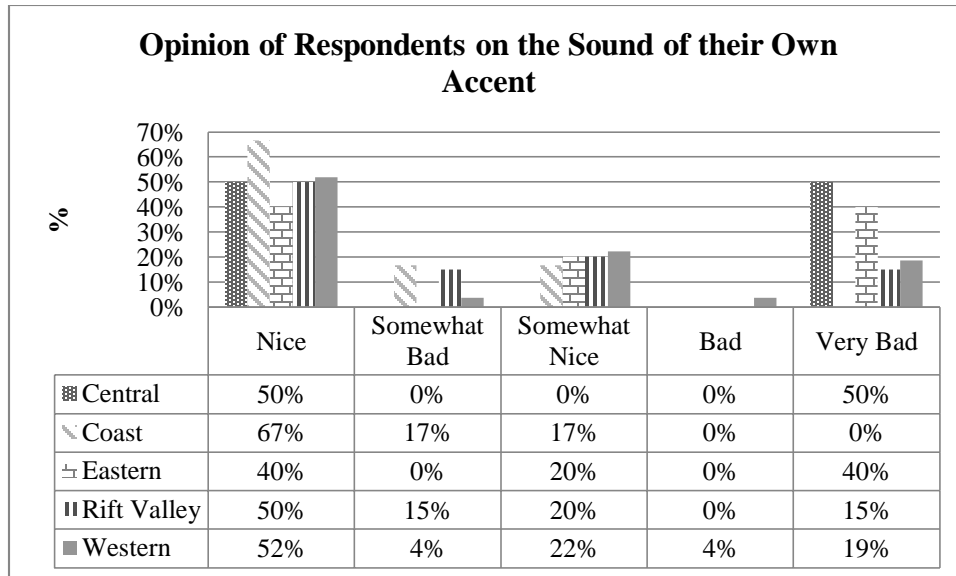
Opinion of Respondents on the Sound of their Own Accent

	Nice	Somewhat Bad	Somewhat Nice	Bad	Very Bad
Central	50%	0%	0%	0%	50%
Coast	67%	17%	17%	0%	0%
Eastern	40%	0%	20%	0%	40%
Rift Valley	50%	15%	20%	0%	15%
Western	52%	4%	22%	4%	19%

Figure 10: Opinion of respondents on the sound of their accent

5.1.4 Identification of respondents' own accent

After investigating how respondents viewed their own variety of English, it was inevitable to explore how easily these varieties were identifiable. According to the overall findings, half of the respondents 50% (120) indicated that in the course of interaction with other people, their accent could be easily identified. Further, 37% (88) noted that their accent could be identified but with some difficulty, while the remaining 13% (32) claimed that their accent could be identified at all. Figure 11 indicates the findings regionally.

Respondents' Opinion on how Easily their Own Accent is Identifiable

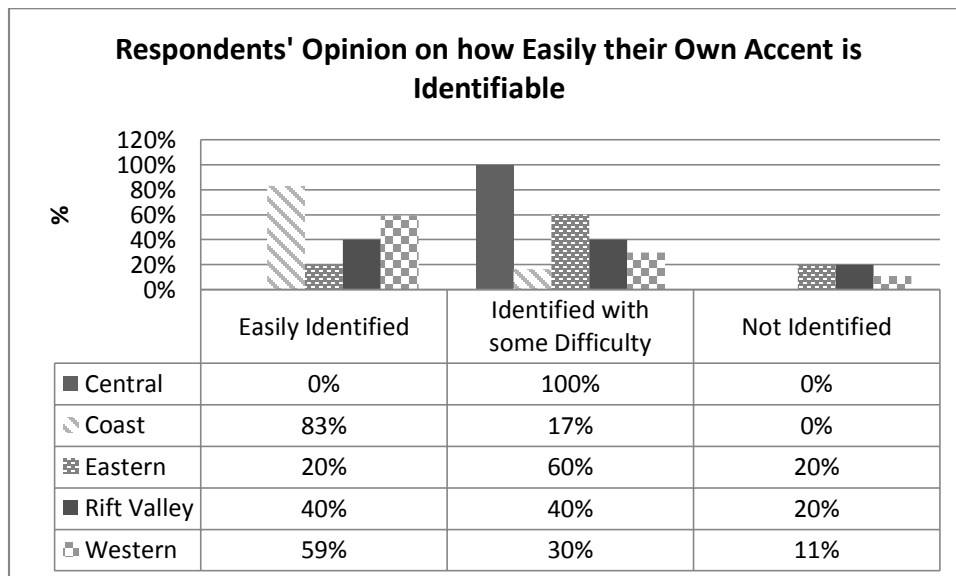|	Easily Identified	Identified with some Difficulty	Not Identified
Central	0%	100%	0%
Coast	83%	17%	0%
Eastern	20%	60%	20%
Rift Valley	40%	40%	20%
Western	59%	30%	11%

Figure 11: Respondents opinion on how easily their accent can be identified

All the respondents from Central region were for the opinion that their accent could be identified but with some difficulty. An overwhelming 83% of those from the Coast region noted that their accent could be easily identified as originating from any specific region. Additionally, 60% of those from Eastern region indicated that their accent could be identified with some difficulty. Fifty nine percent of those from Western region thought their accent could easily be identified. Delving further into the investigation, it was also prudent to mention how the respondents' accent strength and accent identifiability interacts. It was logical to presume that the stronger the accent, the more likely for it to be easily identified.

Respondents' Opinion on the Strength of their Acent versus the Ease to Identify it

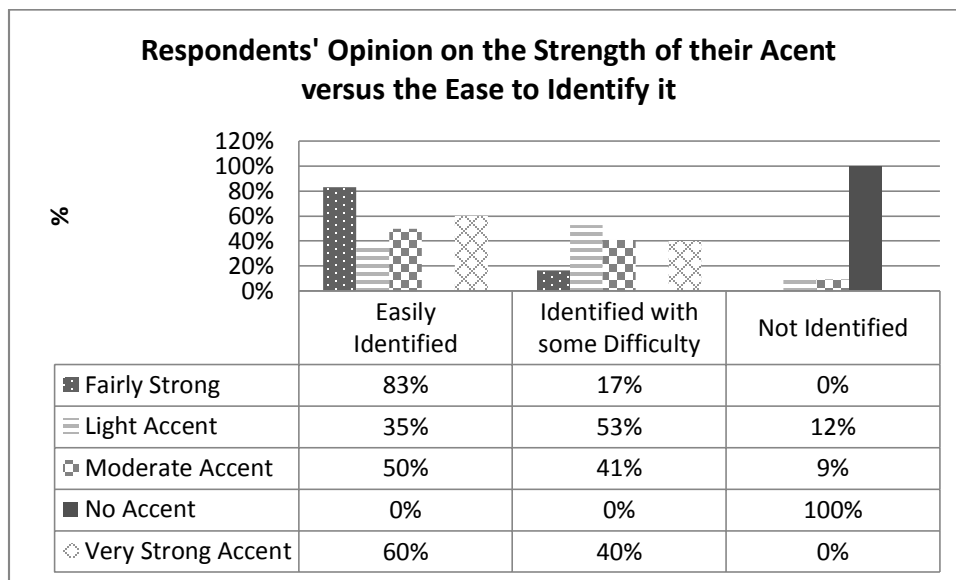|	Easily Identified	Identified with some Difficulty	Not Identified
Fairly Strong	83%	17%	0%
Light Accent	35%	53%	12%
Moderate Accent	50%	41%	9%
No Accent	0%	0%	100%
Very Strong Accent	60%	40%	0%

Figure 12: Opinion on strength of accent versus ease of identification

Figure 12 indicates that an overwhelming 83% of the respondents who stated that their accent was fairly strong also indicated that it could be easily identified. A large sum, 53%, of those who noted that they had a light accent also noted that it could be identified but with some difficulty. Majority of those who noted that their accent was very strong, 60% also indicated that it could easily be identified. As expected, all those who claimed to have no accent at all noted that their accent could not be identified. Interestingly, 50% of the respondents who claimed to have a moderate accent also indicated that it could easily be identified. When asked whether the respondents had received any kind of attention when conversing in English because of their accent, 57% (136) of them indicated that they had not attracted any attention when speaking English. That meant that the other 43% (104) who noted that they had received attention when speaking English was a

significant finding for this study. Of these respondents, 69% (72) indicated that the attention received because of their accent was positive as reflected on figure 13.
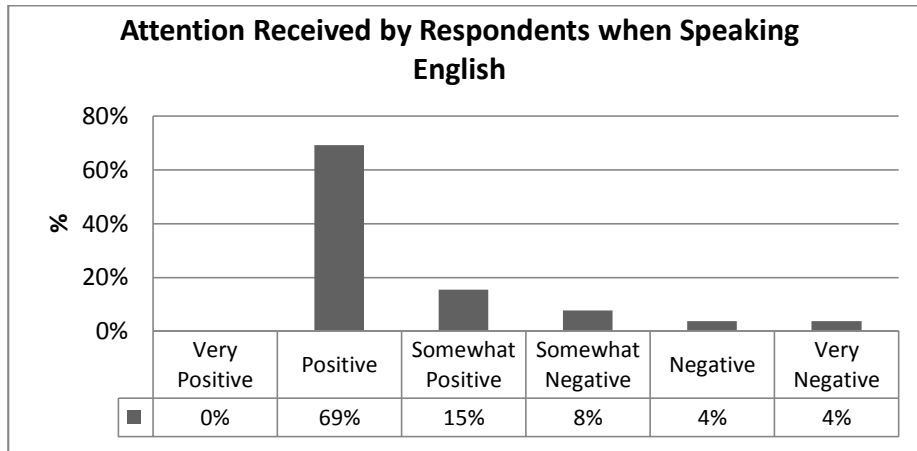
Attention Received by Respondents when Speaking English

	Very Positive	Positive	Somewhat Positive	Somewhat Negative	Negative	Very Negative
■	0%	69%	15%	8%	4%	4%

Figure 13: Attention received by respondents when speaking English

There were 15% (16) who noted that they received somewhat positive attention when interacting in English, while the remaining had received somewhat negative (8%), negative (4%) and very negative attention (4%); these were 16 respondents. Notably, none of the respondents had received very positive attention whilst speaking English. Since a considerable number of respondents indicated that they had received attention when speaking English; be it negative or positive, it was prudent to find out whether any of them wished to alter their accent. Interestingly, a total of 40% (96) wished to change the way they spoke and had already attempted to do this.

Respondents' Attempt to Alter their Accent

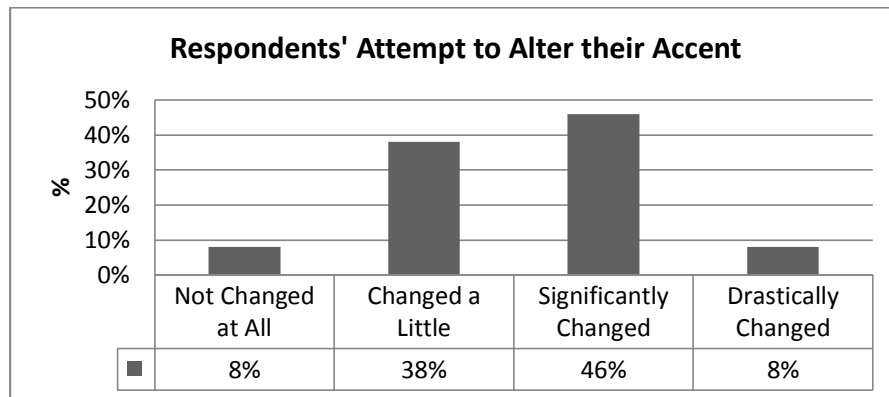|	Not Changed at All	Changed a Little	Significantly Changed	Drastically Changed
■	8%	38%	46%	8%

Figure 14: Respondents attempt to alter their accent

Of those who had attempted to alter their accent, 46% (44) indicated that afterward, their English pronunciation had significantly changed. In this regard, 38% (36) noted that their accent had changed a little, while the other at 8% (8) each noted that their accent when speaking English had

drastically changed or not at all changed. Now that we know more about the respondents, let us explore their judgement regarding English accents that have been influenced by Lubukusu and Nandi.

5.2 Social Attitudes toward Bukusu and Nandi Varieties of English

The current section is dedicated to presenting the results of perceptual tasks completed by the 240 respondents for this study. In the first part of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to give short judgments about specific character traits and the overall impressions concerning the speakers' speech on a four-point likert style (see appendices). This section, thus, responds to the null hypothesis (H0) of this research: There is no difference in attitudes held toward Bukusu and Nandi varieties of English. Results of the items on the questionnaire are exposed in relation to the H0 or the item questions one after the other and correlations are made where appropriate. The *p* values are analysed in relation to the recommended 0.05 value with a constant 95% confidence interval (CI) and 3 degrees of freedom (*df*).

5.2.1   Scores for intelligence

When asked whether the speaker sounded intelligent, only 3% indicated that both groups sounded extremely intelligent. There were 36% who indicated that the Lubukusu speakers sounded intelligent, while 28% said the same for Nandi speakers. 49% noted that Lubukusu speakers sounded not too bright and 37% for the Nandi. There were more respondents, 33%, who were for the opinion that the Nandi sounded not bright, while 12% noted the same for the Bukusu. The consolidated results for intelligent and not bright scores as reflected in the likert scale representation from R, on figure 15, show that 69% of the respondents thought the Nandi did not sound bright. This conversely meant that 31 % were for the opinion that the Nandi sounded intelligent.
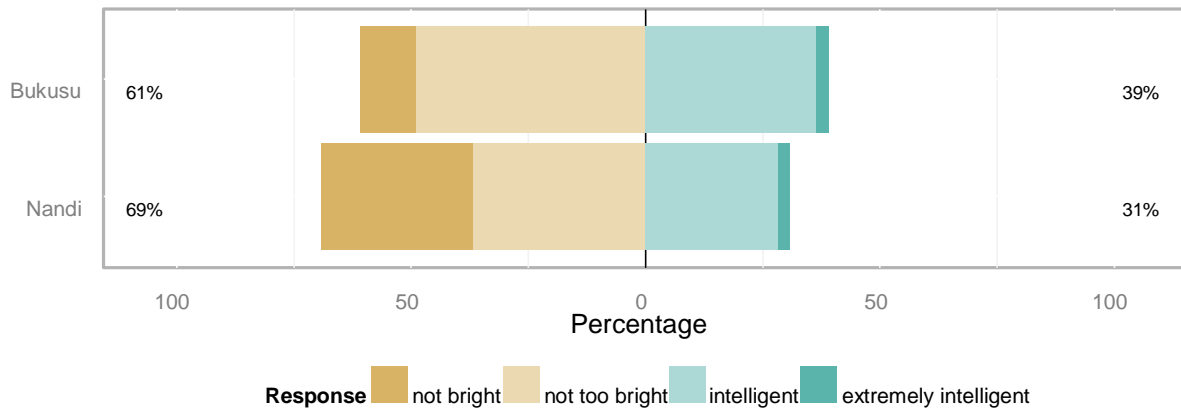
Figure 15: How intelligent the speakers sound

For the Bukusu group, 61% of the respondents indicated that they sounded intelligent and 39% indicated the opposite. It is noticeable that a greater number of respondents noted that both the Bukusu and the Nandi did not sound intelligent.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' intelligence

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*P*
The speaker sounds intelligent	Bukusu	240	2.302	2.000	3	2.531e-13
	Nandi	240	2.006	2.000		

The question to ask for this item, "is there any difference between respondents' scores regarding their opinion on the intelligence of Bukusu and Nandi speakers?" The scores for the Bukusu and the Nandi indicate significant difference of *p* = 2.531e-13. The scores also indicate a mean difference of 2.302 and 2.006 for the Bukusu and Nandi respectively with the degree of freedom; *df* =3. Since the *P* value < 0.05, the null hypothesis is rejected; there is indeed significant difference in scores for intelligence between Bukusu and Nandi varieties of English.

5.2.2 Scores for happiness

Attempt to uncover the respondents' opinion on whether the speakers sounded happy found that only 1% indicated that Lubukusu speakers were extremely happy. Of the respondents, 56% indicated that Lubukusu speakers were sad, 34% indicated happy and the remaining 9% scored for extremely sad. Half of the respondents, 50%, indicated that the Nandi sounded happy. There were 35% who noted sad for the Nandi, 7% for extremely sad and the remaining 8% for extremely happy. After collapsing the results to happy and sad on the likert scale, as reflected on figure 16,

there were more scores (58%) who thought the Nandi sounded happier than the Bukusu. A greater 64% indicated that the Bukusu sounded sad.
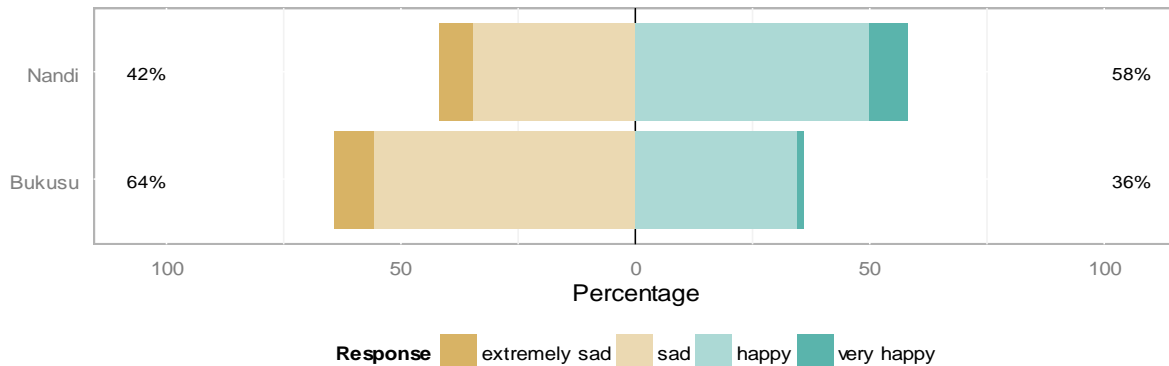

Figure 16: How happy the speakers sound

As shown on table 2, the respondents disagreed that the two groups sounded happy. The Fisher's exact test found that more Nandi speakers were thought to sound happier than Lubukusu speakers. The mean difference for the Nandi = 2.594, median = 3.000, p = 6.552e-14 < 0.05 for comparison with the Bukusu; mean difference = 2.281, median= 2.000. This in turn means that the H0 hypothesis is rejected; there is significant difference in scores for intelligence between the Lubukusu and Nandi speakers.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' happiness

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*P*
The speaker sounds happy	Bukusu	240	2.281	2.000	3	6.552e-14
	Nandi	240	2.594	3.000		

5.2.3 Scores for energy

Forty three percent of the respondents indicated that Lubukusu speakers seemed to be slightly lazy, 36% indicated that they were energetic, 17% that they were lazy and the remaining 5% noted that the Bukusu seemed very energetic. On the other hand, 43% of respondents indicated that the Nandi sounded energetic, 29% indicated slightly lazy, 20% noted that they sounded lazy while the other 8% scored for very energetic. The overall outcomes, as mirrored on figure 17, for scores of both groups between energetic and lazy indicate that 59% rated the Bukusu as sounding lazier than the Nandi at 49%.
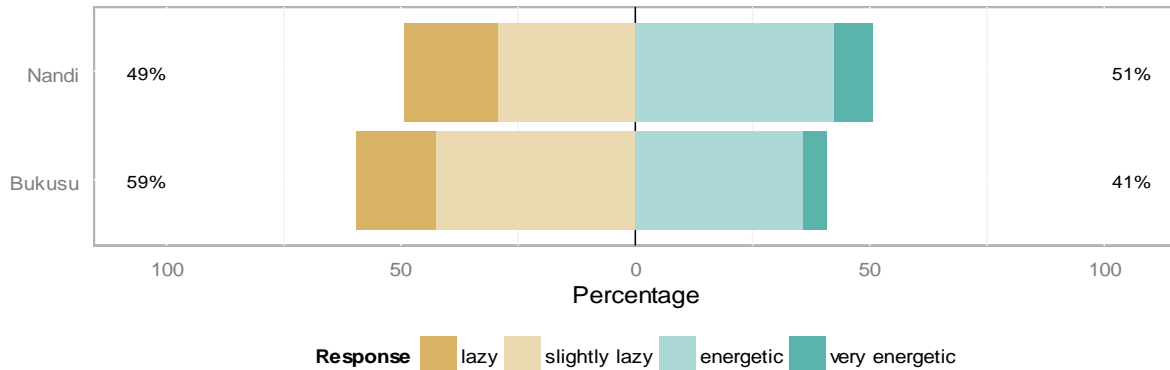
Figure 17: How energetic the speakers sound

For this item on speakers' energy, the respondents did not show great difference whether they found the two groups energetic or lazy. Table 3 indicates that there was statistical significance among the scores for the two groups. The $p = 0.0002353 < 0.05$ through the Fisher's exact test and mean difference = 2.288 for the Bukusu and 2.388 for the Nandi. The median was also different at 2.000 for the Bukusu and 3.000 for the Nandi. The H0 was rejected; there was significant difference in scores for energy between Bukusu and Nandi varieties of English.

Table 3: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' energy

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*p*
The speaker seems to be energetic	Bukusu	240	2.288	2.000	3	0.0002353
	Nandi	240	2.388	3.000		

5.2.4 Scores for confidence

When asked about the speakers' confidence, there were minor scores that the Bukusu and Nandi sounded very confident; at 3% and 4% respectively. Forty one percent indicated that the Bukusu sounded confident and for the same rating, 34% for the Nandi speakers. Moreover, there were 43% who noted that the Bukusu seemed somewhat unsure, while 34% indicated the same for the Nandi. There were more scores, at 29% indicating that the Nandi seemed unsure and 13% for their counterparts. The overall percentages for confident or unsure reveal that 62% of the respondents found the Nandi unsure and 56% found the Bukusu unsure (refer to figure 18).
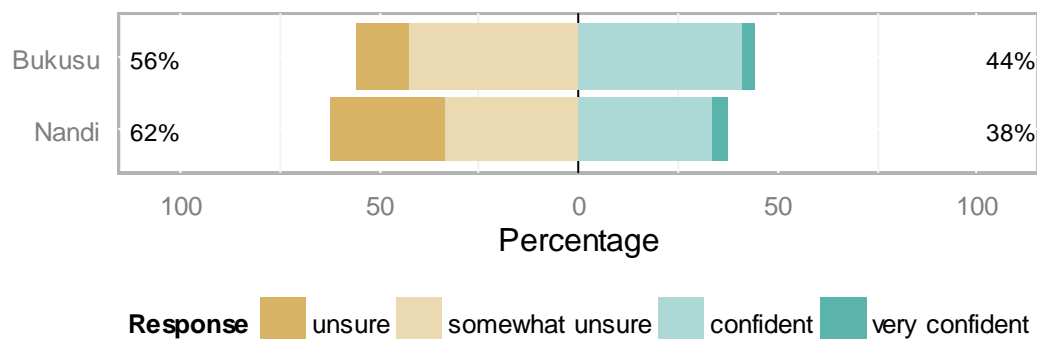
Figure 18: How confident the speakers sound

As depicted on table 4, the Nandi speakers' confidence is generally lower than that of the Bukusu since their scores generated a lower mean score (mean = 2.125) in comparison to the Bukusu (mean = 2.337). The p value = 6.302e-08 < 0.05 with 3 degrees of confidence. The H0 was thus rejected; there was significant difference in scores for confidence between the Bukusu and Nandi varieties.

Table 4: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' confidence

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	Df	p
The speaker seems to be confident	Bukusu	240	2.337	2.000	3	6.302e-08
	Nandi	240	2.125	2.000		

5.2.5   Scores for charm

In response to the item whether the speakers sounded charming or not, only 9% indicated that Lubukusu speakers sounded quite charming, and 12% noted the same for the Nandi group. At alsmost similar percentages of 33% and 34% respectively, the Bukusu and Nandi were indicated as sounding charming. In contrast, 44% were for the opinion that the Bukusu sounded slightly irritating and so did the Nandi at 33%. In addition, 21% noted that the Nandi speakers sounded irritating. The same was scored for the Bukusu at 21%. After tabulating the data for positive and negative responses as reflected on figure 19, 58% of the responses point that the Bukusu were more irritating that the Nandi (54%).
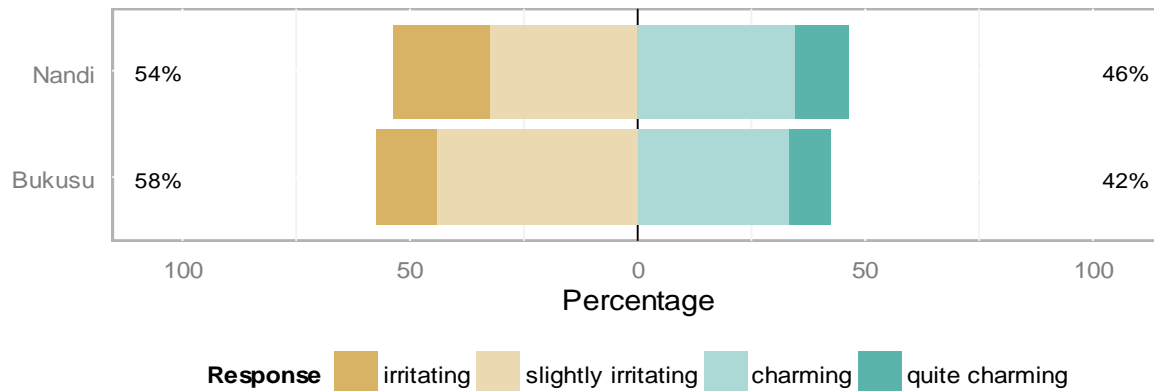
Figure 19: How charming the speakers sound

The descriptive statistics displayed on table 5 reveal a similar median for both groups but differ in mean scores. The Bukusu had a 2.388 mean, while the Nandi had a 2.369 with a constant *df* of 3. The H0 is rejected since the *p* value = 0.0002036 < 0.05; there is significant difference in scores for charm between Bukusu and Nandi speakers.

Table 5: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' charm

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*p*
The speaker sounds charming	Bukusu	240	2.388	2.000	3	0.0002036
	Nandi	240	2.369	2.000		

5.2.6   Scores for friendliness

Regarding friendliness, the majority of scores indicated that both groups sounded friendly. There were 58% for the Bukusu and 58% for the Nandi. Merely 4% and 6% respectively indicated that the Bukusu and Nandi seemed very friendly. Moreover, 29% noted that the Bukusu were somewhat unfriendly, and the same was indicated for the Nandi speakers. The remaining percentages scored for unfriendly; the Bukusu receiving 13% and the Nandi 19%. Both groups were nonetheless rated as more friendly than not, each receiving 58% of the responses (reference is made to figure 20).
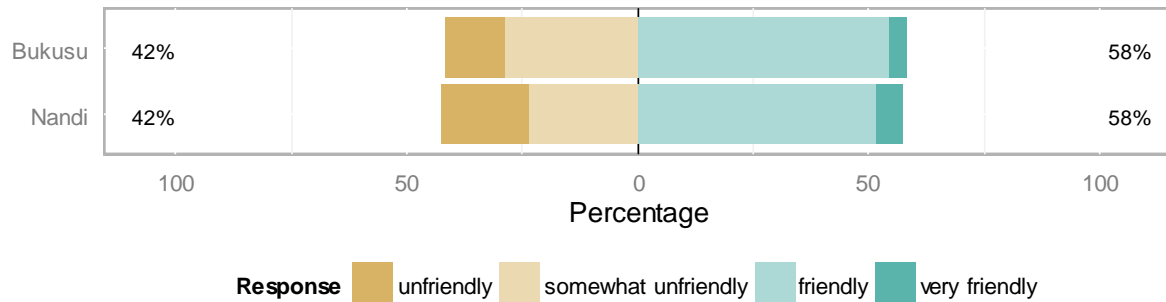
Figure 20: How friendly the speakers sound

Since the two groups display similar percentages with consolidated data, descriptive statistics draws a line for any comparison that may exist within the scores. Notice on table 6 that in spite the fact that the median is the same, there is variation in mean; the Bukusu have 1.111 and the Nandi 1.218. Moreover, the *p* value = 0.02748 < 0.05 rejecting the H0; there is indeed significant difference in the scores for friendliness between the Bukusu and Nandi speakers.

Table 6: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' friendliness

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*p*
The speaker sounds friendly	Bukusu	240	1.111	1.000	3	0.02748
	Nandi	240	1.218	1.000		

5.2.7   Scores for speech-speed

The speed at which the subjects read was also an interesting item to consider for this study since attitudes may vary on whether the speaker is too slow or too fast in his/her utterances. For this item, only 1% and 2% respectively indicated that the Bukusu and Nandi spoke extremely fast. The majority of the responses for the Nandi indicated that their speech was fast. Twenty two percent noted the same for Lubukusu speakers. Almost similar percentage of scores rated the Bukusu and Nandi as speaking a little slow; 34% and 35% respectively. Sixteen percent thought the Nandi spoke slowly, while 43% thought the same for the Bukusu. Subsequently, as mirrored on figure 21, when these results are compounded to two scales of fast and slow, the Bukusu are thought to be slower in their speech than the Nandi speakers at 78% and 51% respectively.
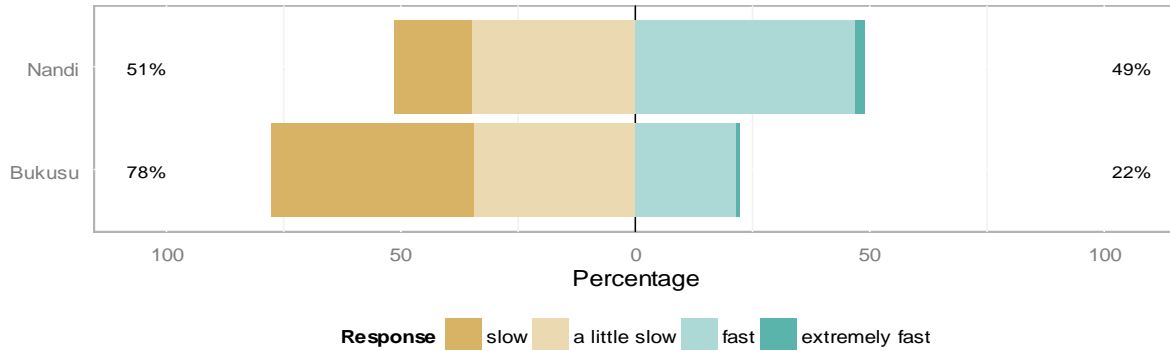
Figure 21: How fast the speakers sound

This is supported by descriptive statistics on table 7; where the mean differences in scores are 1.796 for the Bukusu and 2.344 for the Nandi. Additionally, the *p* value = 2.2e-16 < 0.05 rendering the H0 rejected; there is significant difference in scores for speech-speed between the Bukusu and Nandi varieties of English.

Table 7: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' speech-speed

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*p*
The speakers' speech-speed	Bukusu	240	1.796	2.000	3	2.2e-16
	Nandi	240	2.344	2.000		

5.2.8   Scores for competence

The next item addresses competence levels between the two groups. The findings show that only 4% thought the Nandi would be very competent when conversing in English and only 18% scored the same for the Bukusu. The latter also received 41% of the scores indicating that they would be competent in free speech and the former received 34% of the scores for the same judgement. Moreover, 28% and 31% respectively thought the Bukusu and Nandi's spontaneous speech would be somewhat incompetent. That leaves 13% and 31% respectively indicating that they would expect the Bukusu and Nandi's conversation in English to be incompetent. The merged results on figure 22 reveal that 59% thought Lubukusu speakers' conversation would be competent, and 38% had similar rating for the Nandi.
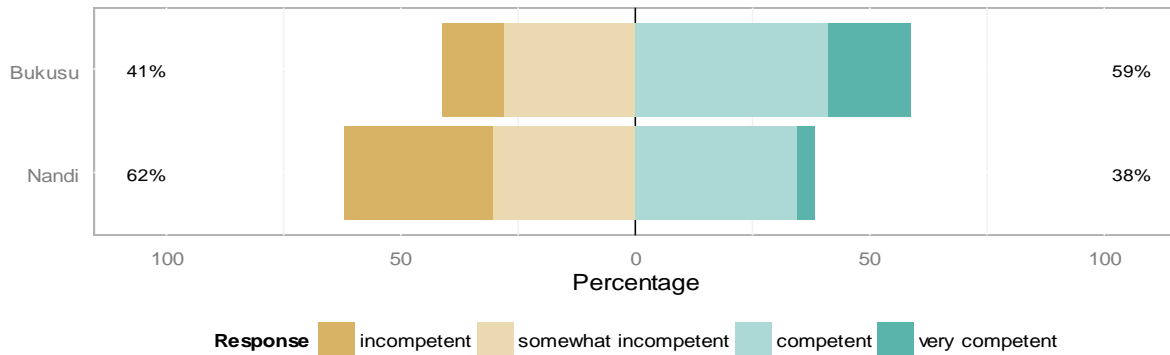
Figure 22: How competent the speakers would be when speaking English

Table 8 shows a difference in the means of the Bukusu and Nandi; 2.631 and 2.1 respectively. There was also a median difference of 3.000 for the Bukusu and 2.0 for the Nandi group. We notice a p value $= 2.2\text{e-}16 < 0.05$, which implies that the H0 is rejected; there is significant difference in the scores for competence between Bukusu and Nandi varieties of English.

Table 8: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' competence

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*df*	*P*
The speaker would be competent when conversing in English	Bukusu	240	2.631	3.000	3	2.2e-16
	Nandi	240	2.1	2.0		

5.2.9 Scores for speakers' background

This item inquired whether the speaker sounded like (s)he was from a socially advantaged background. The results indicate that 29% of the scores thought Lubukusu speakers were from a disadvantaged background, while 20% noted that same for the Nandi group. Forty four percent rated the Bukusu as having a somewhat disadvantaged background just like 39% for the Nandi speakers. There were 34% of the scores indicating that the Nandi were from an advantaged background and 23% who scored the same for Lubukusu speakers. Only 4% rated the Bukusu as having a highly advantaged background, and 8% for the Nandi. It is depicted on figure 23 that generally the majority of scores judged both groups as being disadvantaged. Although, 41% thought the Nandi speakers were advantaged unlike only 27% for the Bukusu.
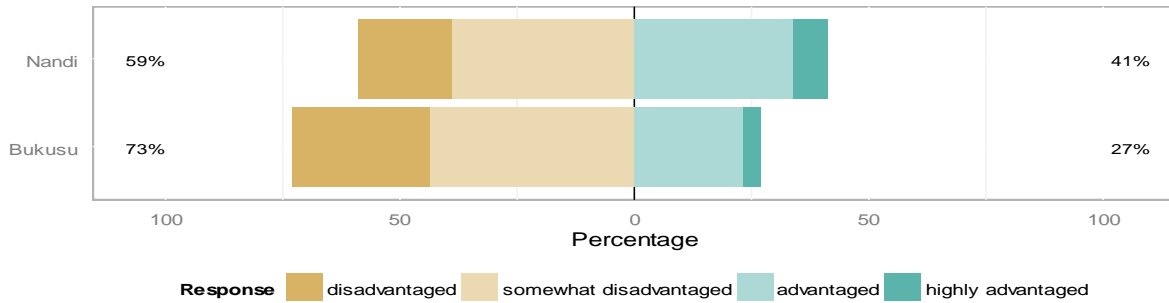
Figure 23: Social background of the speakers

Attention is drawn to table 9; where the median is the same (2.000) for both groups unlike the mean. The Bukusu had a mean of 2.013, while the Nandi had 2.288 at $df = 3$. The p value =1.12e-05 < 0.05. This led to rejecting the H0; there is significant difference in scores for social background between the two groups.

Table 9: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' background

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	df	P
I would say the speakers' background is advantaged	Bukusu	240	2.013	2.000	3	1.12e-05
	Nandi	240	2.288	2.000		

5.2.10 Scores for preference of the speaker to be a neighbour

The item for this H0 solicited information on whether the respondents had any preference for the speaker to be their neighbour. Here, there could only be a positive or negative response with no other variation in degree unlike the likert-type responses displayed in the preceding sub-sections.
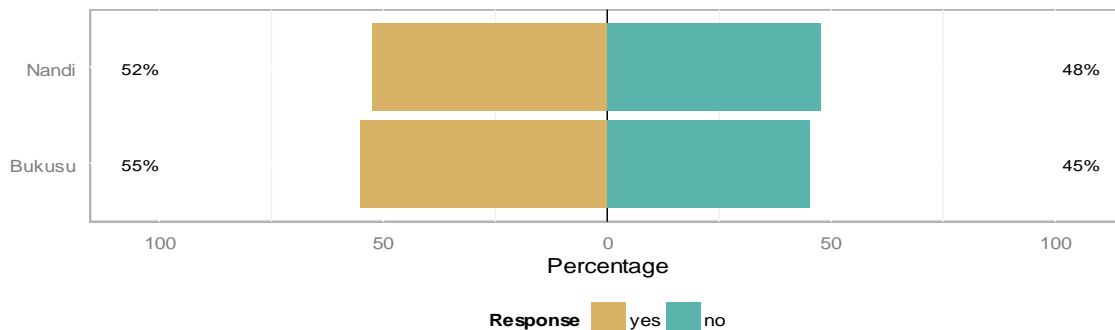
Figure 24: Preference for the speaker to be a neighbour

As displayed on figure 24, 55% of the scores agreed to have Lubukusu speakers as their neighbours, so did 52% for the Nandi speakers. Descriptive statistics on table 10 reveal that the

median for both groups is the same. Nonetheless, the means are different; Lubukusu speakers had a mean of 1.45, while the Nandi had 1.475. The *p* value on the other hand was 0.4765 > 0.05 thus the H0 is accepted; there is no significant difference in scores for preference of the speaker to be a neighbour between the Bukusu and Nandi.

Table 10: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for preference as neighbour

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*df*	*P*
Would you like this person to be your neighbour?	Bukusu	240	1.45	1.000	3	0.4765
	Nandi	240	1.475	1.000		

5.2.11 Scores for preference of the speaker to be a friend

To test this H0, respondents were required to answer whether they would like the speaker to be their friend. The findings on figure 25 expose that 89% of the scores agreed to make friend with the Bukusu, there were also 78% for the Nandi speakers. Noticeably, there were lesser percentages who indicated that they would not like to have friends from either group.
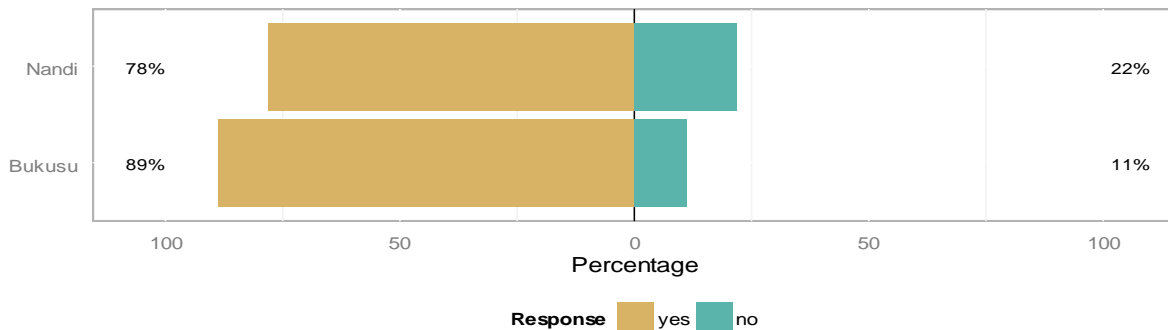
Figure 25: Preference for the speaker to be a friend

As disclosed on table 11, the median of both groups was the same (1.000), while the means varied. The Bukusu had a mean of 1.111 and the Nandi speakers had 1.218. For this item, the H0 was rejected since the *p* value = 0.0008715 < 0.05; there is significant difference in scores for preference to have the speaker as a friend between the two groups.

Table 11: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for preference as friend

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*df*	*P*

Would you like this person to be your friend?	Bukusu	240	1.111	1.000	3	0.0008715
	Nandi	240	1.218	1.000		

5.2.12 Scores for preference of the speaker to be a spouse

The respondents were also asked whether they had any preferences for the speaker to be their spouse. Almost unanimously, none of the respondents preferred either the Bukusu or the Nandi to be their spouse; 89% and 91% respectively.
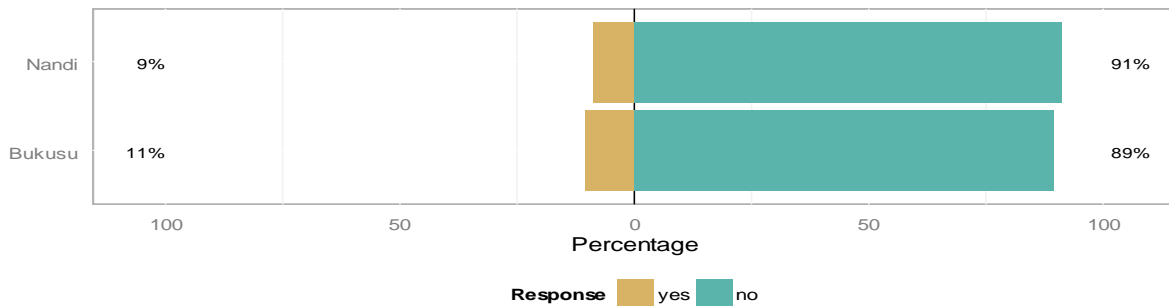

Figure 26: Preference for the speaker to be a spouse

On table 12, it is noticed that the median is the same for both groups but their means are different. The Bukusu have 1.894, while Nandi speakers have 1.913. The p value $= 0.3828 > 0.05$ therefore accepting the H0; there is no significant difference in the scores for preference to have the speaker as a spouse between the Bukusu and Nandi speakers.

Table 12: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for preference as spouse

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	df	P
Would you like this person to be your spouse?	Bukusu	240	1.894	2.000	3	0.3828
	Nandi	240	1.913	2.000		

5.2.13 Scores for preference of the speaker to be a child's spouse

As projected on figure 27, the majority of respondents had no preference for the speakers from either group to be their child's spouse. There were 72% and 71% scores rejection for the Bukusu and Nandi respectively.
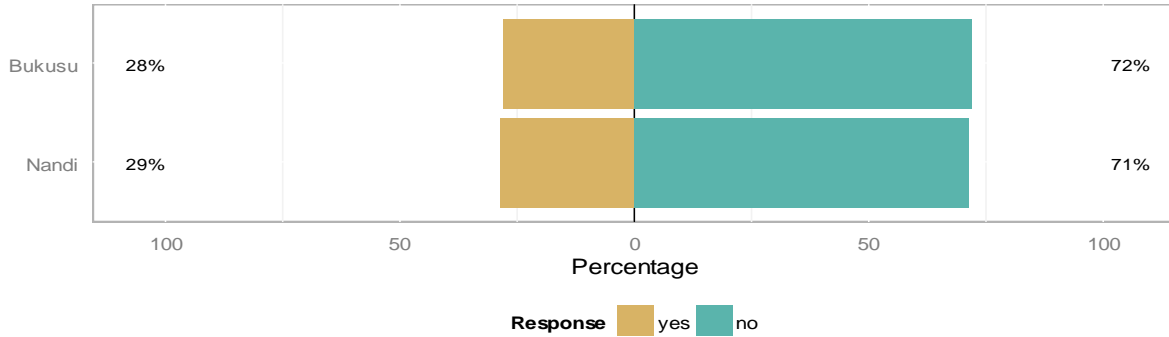

Figure 27: Preference for the speaker to be your child's spouse

There was a difference in the scores means; 1.718 for the Bukusu and 1.711 for the Nandi. With an equal median of 2.000 and $df = 3$, the p value $= 0.9255 > 0.05$. As a result, the H0 is accepted; there is no significant difference in scores for preference to have the speakers as a child's spouse between the Bukusu and Nandi. These findings are reflected on table 13.

Table 13: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for preference as child's spouse

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	df	P
Would you like this person to be your child's spouse?	Bukusu	240	1.718	2.000	3	0.9255
	Nandi	240	1.711	2.000		

5.2.14 Scores for preference of the speaker to be a boss

To find out whether there were any preferences to have the Bukusu or Nandi speakers of English as bosses, there were 29% scores for the Bukusu and 24% for the Nandi speakers who consented to this idea. The other 71% and 76% scores respectively were against having both the Bukusu and Nandi as their bosses (see figure 28).
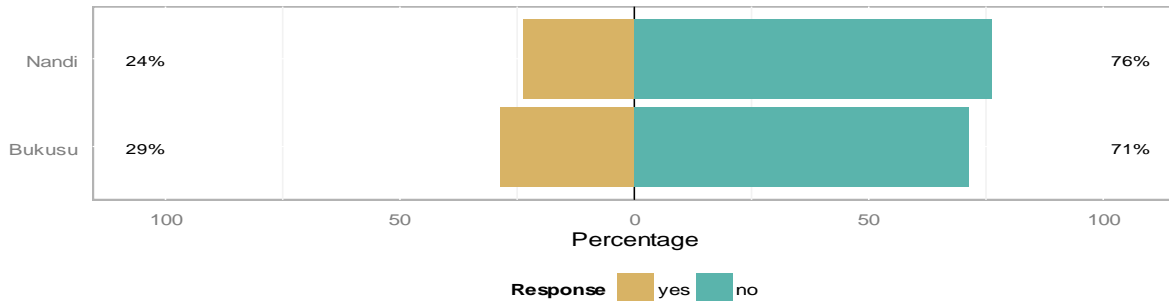
Figure 28: Preference for the speaker to be a boss

The summary statistics indicated on table 14 show a similarity in median for the two groups; 2.000. The means are, however, different; the Bukusu show 1.712 and 1.762 for the Nandi. The *p* value = 0.09147 > 0.05 rendering the H0 accepted; there is no significant difference in scores for preference for either the Bukusu or the Nandi speakers to be the respondents' boss.

Table 14: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for preference as boss

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*P*
Would you like this person to be your boss?	Bukusu	240	1.712	2.000	3	0.09147
	Nandi	240	1.762	2.000		

5.2.15 Scores for the speaker to hold a high ranking position

Since the results for preference for speakers from both groups to be bosses are generally negative, this item seeking to know whether the same speakers could hold a high ranking position also generated more negative than positive scores as depicted on figure 29.
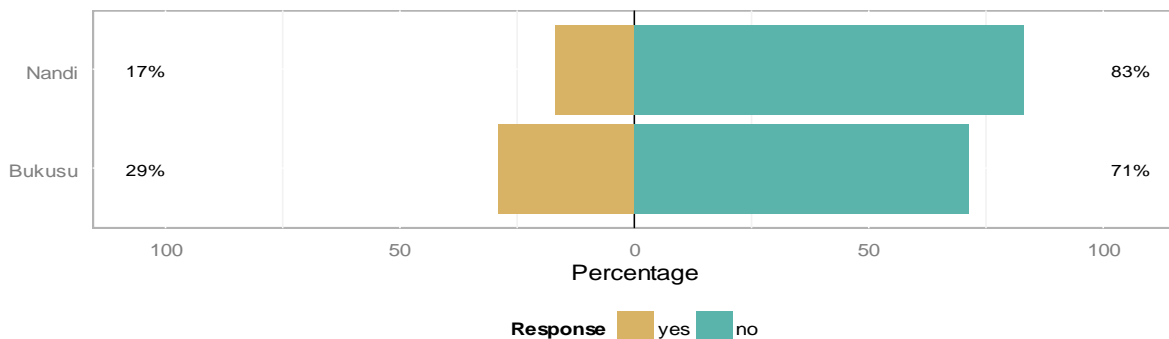
Figure 29: Whether the speaker would hold a high ranking position

There were, subsequently, 83% who indicated that they did not think the Nandi speakers would hold a high ranking position like a minister, professor or executive manager. The means of the two

groups were 1.71 for Lubukusu speakers and 1.831 for the Nandi group as shown on table 15. At p value = 1.103e-05 < 0-05, the H0 was rejected; there is significant difference in scores for whether the speakers hold a high ranking position between the two groups.

Table 15: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' potential

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*P*
Would you like this person hold a high ranking position?	Bukusu	240	1.71	2.00	3	1.103e-05
	Nandi	240	1.831	2.000		

5.2.16 The profession that best suits the speaker

This item sought to find out which profession best suited the speakers. There were 14 occupations (see the key below figure 30) to guide the responses.
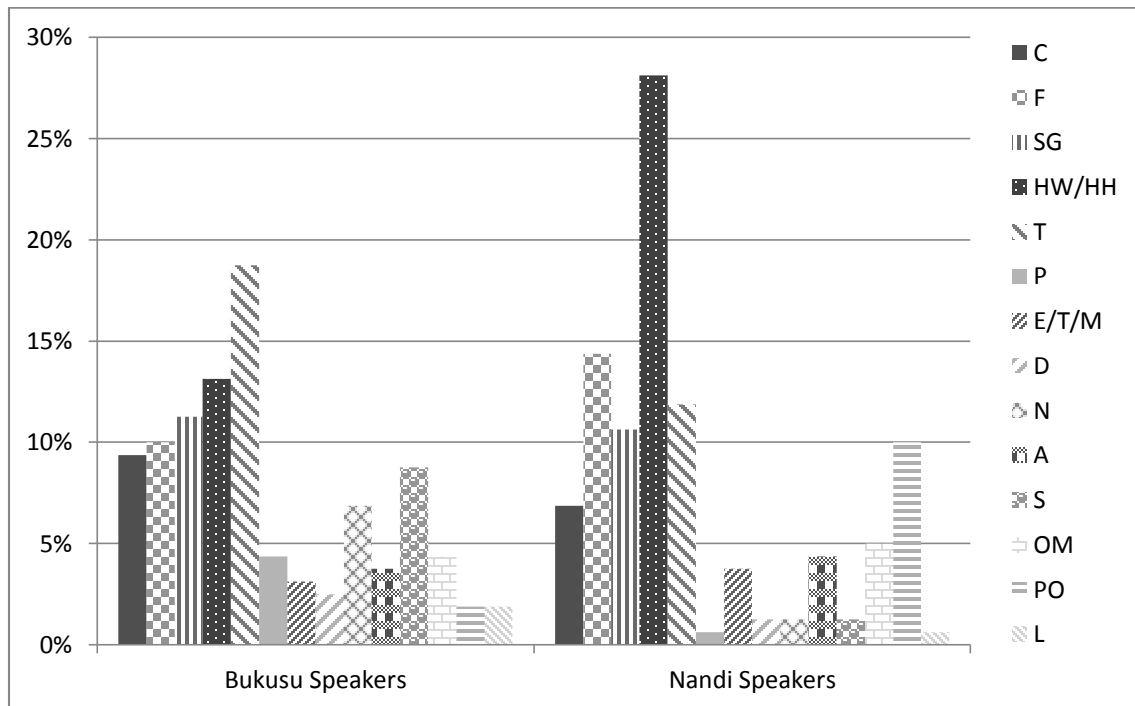
Figure 30: The profession that best suits the speaker

KEY: C-Cook, F-Farmer, SG-Security Guard, HW/HH-Housewife/husband, T-Teacher, P-Preacher, E/T/M-Electrician/Technician/Mechanic, D-Doctor, N-Nurse, A-Administrator, S-Secretary, OM-Office Messenger, PO-Police Officer, L-Lawyer

For the Nandi speakers, the majority of responses, 25% indicated that they were either housewives/househusbands. The Bukusu group received majority of the responses, 19% that they were teachers and the Nandi received 12% for the same occupation. Thirteen percent also noted that Lubukusu speakers were either housewives or househusbands. Another significant percentage,

11%, was for the opinion that Lubukusu speakers of English were security guards. Moreover, 11% also indicated that the Nandi speakers were security guards. Ten percent thought that the Bukusu were farmers and so did 14% for the Nandi speakers. There were 9% and 7% respectively who indicated that the Bukusu and Nandi were cooks. Notably, only 2% got the impression that Lubukusu speakers were police officers in comparison to the Nandi who received 10%. Very low scores indicated for both groups that they were lawyers, electricians/technicians/mechanics, doctors, preachers and administrators.

5.2.17 Scores for the speakers' setting

The respondents were also asked to presume the speakers setting in relation to the overall impression achieved. There were 75% scores that Lubukusu speakers were from a rural setting, 21% that they were from rural-urban and only 4% that they were from urban. The Nandi speakers, on the other hand, received 58% scores that they were from rural, and an equal 21% for rural-urban and urban. Reference on figure 31 reveal that both groups received similar scores for urban-rural (21%) and there were more Nandi speakers thought to be from an urban setting than the Bukusu group.
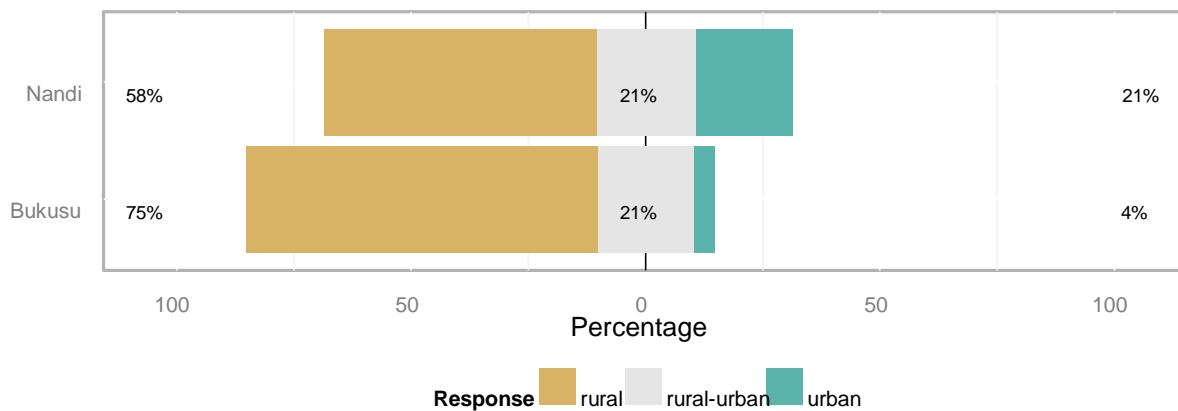

Figure 31: The speakers' setting

Table 16 discloses the mean difference in scores at 1.294 for the Bukusu and 1.625 for the Nandi. Although the median is the same, the *p* value = 7.894e-15 < 0.05 renders the H0 rejected; there is significant difference in scores for setting between Bukusu and Nandi speakers of English.

Table 16: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' setting

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*P*
The speaker could be from which setting?	Bukusu	240	1.294	1.000	3	7.894e-15
	Nandi	240	1.625	1.000		

5.2.18 Scores for the overall impression

It was only reasonable that after all the preceding different attitude elicitation items, the overall impression of the speakers had to be established. There were only 4% and 8% respectively, who indicated that the Bukusu and Nandi speakers had an extremely positive overall impression. Forty nine percent of the scores show that Lubukusu speakers' impression was positive and so do 47% for the Nandi group. On the other end, 38% pointed that Lubukusu had a negative impression, while 36% noted the same for the Nandi speakers. Nonetheless, 6% rated Lubukusu speakers as having an extremely negative overall impression. For the same rate, there were 14% for the Nandi group. Consolidated data on figure 32 expresses that 56% of the scores rated the Bukusu as having a positive overall impression and 51% for the Nandi speakers.
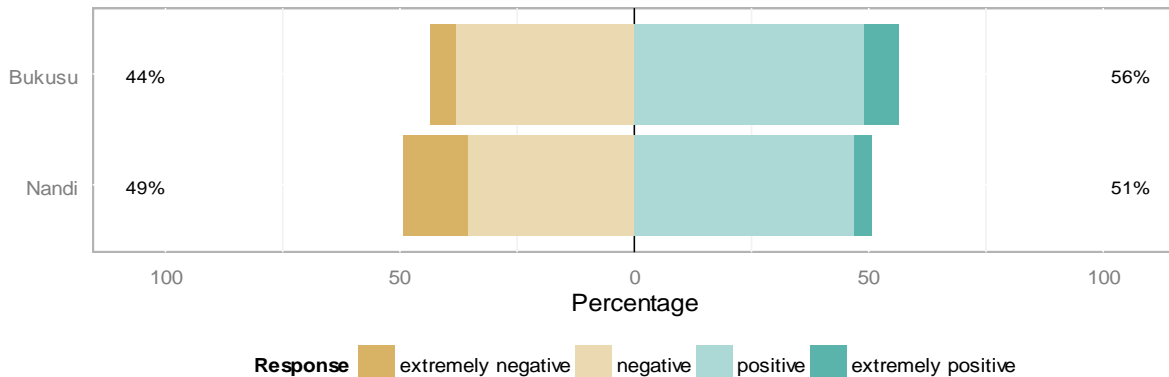
Figure 32: Speakers' overall impression

Descriptive statistics and results of the Fisher's exact test for numbers on table 17 point that there was similarity in median = 3.000, but differences in mean; 2.581 and 2.406 for the Bukusu and Nandi respectively. The *p* value = 3.375e-05 < 0.05, which in turn means that the H0 is rejected; there is indeed significant difference in scores for overall impression between the Nandi and Bukusu varieties of English.

Table 17: Descriptive statistics and results of Fisher's exact test for speakers' overall impression

Item descriptor	Group	N	Mean	Median	*Df*	*P*
What is the overall impression of the speaker?	Bukusu	240	2.581	3.000	3	3.375e-05
	Nandi	240	2.406	3.000		

5.2.19 Identification of the Speakers' Ethnic Background

The next items (as in section B of the questionnaire) sought to find out whether respondents were able to correctly distinguish between Bukusu and Nandi speakers of English. Reference is made to the findings on figure 33, where 95% of the respondents identified Nandi speakers of English as being Kalenjin. There were, however, 4% who indicated that the Nandi were Luhya and 1% (3) noted Other. For Lubukusu speakers, 61% indicated that they were Luhya, 31% thought they were Kalenjin, 8% indicated Other and 1% was not sure.

Identification of the speaker as a Kalenjin or Luhya

	Kalenjin	Luhya	Other	Not sure
■ Bukusu Speakers	31%	61%	8%	1%
■ Nandi Speakers	95%	4%	1%	0%
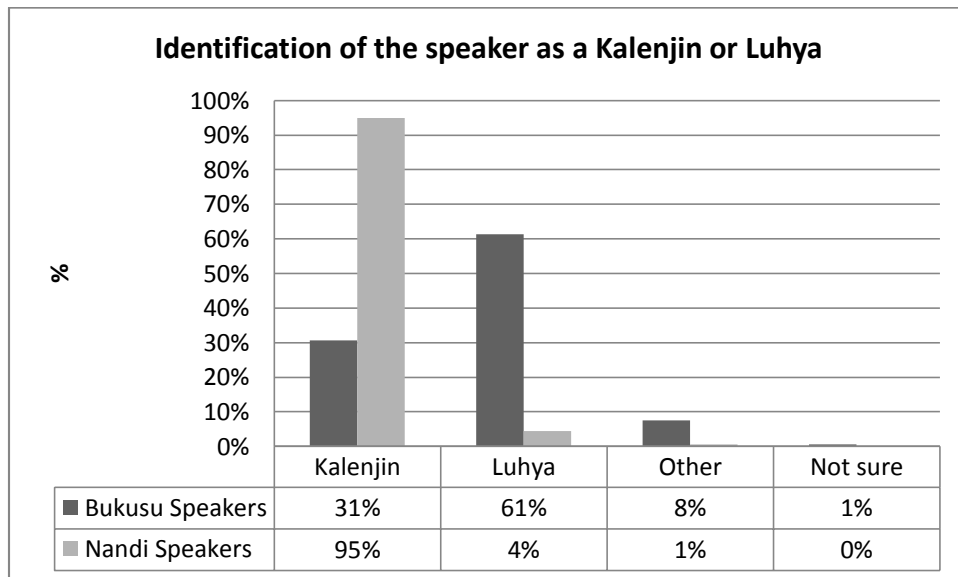
Figure 33: Identification of the speakers' ethnic language

The first part of the item subsequently led to the next question, where respondents had to indicate according to their first response. Those who indicated that the speaker was a Luhya went ahead to select a dialect within Luhya that suited the speaker. The same was done for those who selected Kalenjin. The findings of this part are elucidated with exact numbers. Of the 61% (294) scoring

Lubukusu speakers as Luhya, 162 indicated that they were Bukusu, 96 thought they were Maragoli, 33 noted them as Nyore and the remaining 3 were not sure.
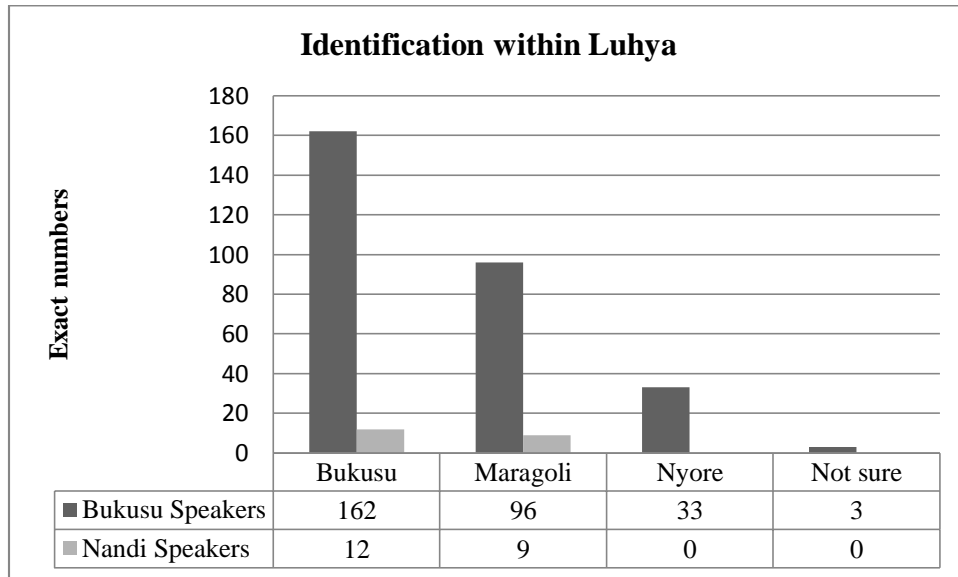

Figure 34: Identification of the speakers' dialect within the Luhya

The 4% (21) who indicated that the Nandi speakers were Luhya went further to indicate that 12 were Bukusu and 9 were Maragoli. The figure 35 shows identification within the Kalenjin.
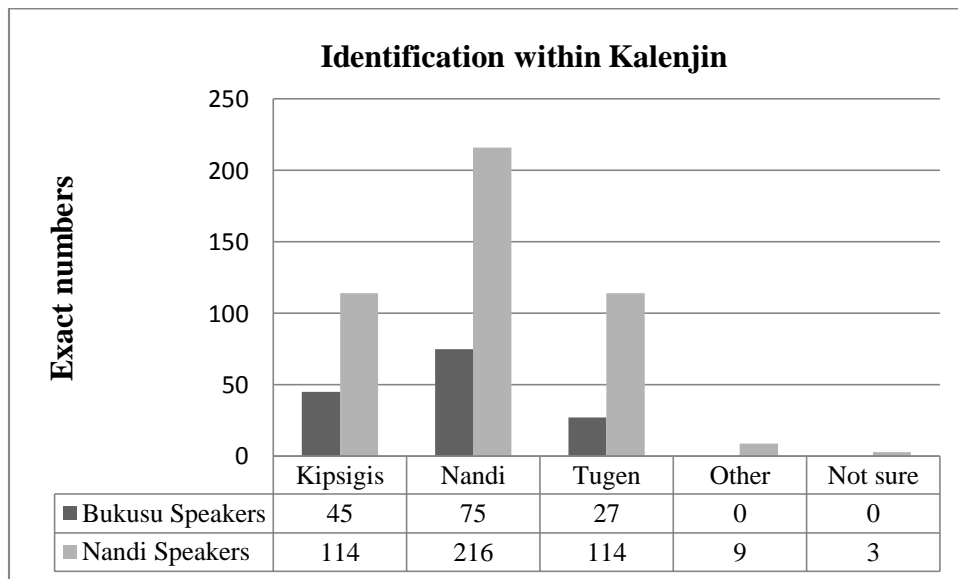

Figure 35: Identification of the speakers' dialect within the Kalenjin

From the majority of scores at 95% (456) asserting that the Nandi speakers are Kalenjin; 216 indicated that they were Nandi, 114 thought they were Kipsigis, another 114 noted them as Tugen, 9 were for the opinion that they were a different dialect of Kalenjin and 3 were not sure. Of the 9

respondents who identified the Nandi speakers as Other-Kalenjin, 3 thought they were Pokot, 3 Turkana and 3 Marakwet. Of the 31% (147) who were for the opinion that the Bukusu were Kalenjin, continued to note that 75 were Nandi, 45 were Kipsigis, and 27 were Tugen. Moreover, there were those respondents who indicated that the speakers were neither Kalenjin nor Luhya but Other. Eight percent (36) indicated that the Bukusu were Other, and 1% (3) did the same for the Nandi speakers. As mirrored on figure 36, 21 thought the Bukusu were Kisii, 6 thought they were Kamba, 3 indicated them as Luo and the remaining 6 identified them as Kikuyu. The 3 who thought the Nandi speakers were neither Luhya nor Kalenjin identified them as Meru.

Identification within Other

	Kisii	Kamba	Luo	Kikuyu	Meru
■ Bukusu Speakers	21	6	3	6	0
■ Nandi Speakers	0	0	0	0	3
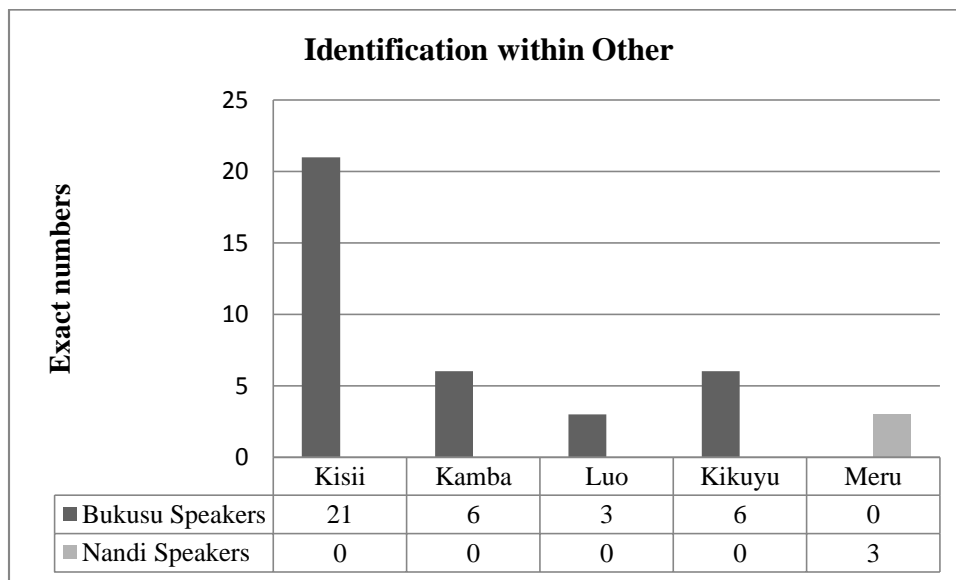
Figure 36: Identification of the speakers' dialect within Other languages

5.3 Discussion of Findings

This study has revealed that Kenyans have ascribed certain opinion about their English accents:

i.   Majority of the respondents indicated that they had L1-accented English, a greater percentage being male.

In addition, some this gave reasons and how they felt about it. Here are some examples of expressions by respondents who noted that they had L1-accented English. I feel: *good, lucky to be aware, embarrassed, bad, down-spirited, uncomfortable, ashamed, proud, it re-ignites my awareness of my region, uneasy, like I know nothing, a sense of belonging, really bad, very challenged, shy, inferior in some cases, inadequate, I do not care*.

An interesting example was that of a 27 year old female health officer who stated that she was aware of the influence of her L1 on her production of English when "I shrub a word." The word shrub has not been used here as its ordinary meaning of any woody plant smaller than a tree and with branches near the ground, but as a form of KenE known as Sheng, which is a basic urban vernacular for the youth today. In the literature, Mazrui (1995) has indicated that the foundation of this language lies at the traditional code switching between Swahili and English (hence the term sh-eng). In her statement, this female respondent applied the term "shrub" to mean a short coming or inadequacy. The term may only be used when speaking Sheng to refer to mispronunciation of words. This meaning emanated from the symbolic nature of the actual shrub which is short and small and has now been incorporated and accepted in the variety of English spoken by Kenyans. Indications are that the youth in rural areas now also communicate in Sheng and also a sizable number of the adult population, who grew up with 'old school' Sheng – the Sheng in their days.

ii.   In spite of the fact that respondents associated their accents to Nairobi region than any other regions, those originating from central believed that their ethnically marked English was either fairly strong or moderate, majority of those originating from Coast and Western indicated that their accent was moderate, those from Eastern believed theirs was fairly strong, while the ones from Rift Valley thought their accent was light.

It was assumed that the E-marked accent of the respondent is directly related to the geographic region of origin. The ethnic languages within these regions have characteristics that are bound to be transferred into the English speech of the respondent as further supported in the review of literature. These results give impetus to the attitudes respondents have toward their own competence and performance in English and also the attitudes they hold toward other varieties of English. Within the literature of this study, these are closely related to the accents that people have whilst communicating in English. This is more so because English is spoken in Kenya as a second language and consequently, articulation influenced by L1 is bound to emerge. When individuals deem themselves accurate and fluent in producing a particular language, they are also bound to rate their competence and performance at the highest possible achievement. This may be equated to the degree of self-confidence the respondent has while speaking English.

iii. Majority of respondents from Coast, Western and Rift Valley regions indicated that their accent sounded nice. While those from Central and Eastern regions described their accent with two extremes as either nice or very bad.

iv. The respondents from Central and Eastern regions were for the opinion that their accent could be correctly identified as originating from their respective regions with some difficulty, those from Coast and Western region indicated that theirs could be easily identified correctly as originating from the respective regions, while the Rift Valley respondents thought their accent could be either easily identified or identified correctly with some difficulty.

v. The respondents who stated that they had a fairly strong accent also indicated that it could be easily linked to their region of origin. Furthermore, indicating that their accent had received positive attention. Intriguingly, 40% of respondents who indicated that their English was L1-accented had attempted to alter it and almost half stated that their pronunciation had significantly changed.

vi. Majority of the respondents correctly identified both the Bukusu and Nandi groups as originating for the Luhya or Kalenjin broader languages respectively and further correctly identified them within the broader languages as being Bukusu and Nandi speakers respectively.

It has been revealed that English proficiency of pupils attending a rural school differs markedly from pupils of urban regions because there is a lack of qualified teachers in rural areas and a tendency to use the mother tongue for communication, thus rural pupils do not reach the same command of English as their urban counterparts (Mwangi 2003: 8). The findings to the questions of regional, ethnic and urban or rural origin, for instance, reveal gaps that emerge between empirical realities (that is where speakers are actually from) and beliefs at least partially founded on social stereotypes. With this in mind, then, to what extent can it be claimed that 'perception is reality'? Kuiper (2005: 28) states that people's perceptions may "have little basis in empirical reality", but are nonetheless psychologically real and can hence have substantial effect on language attitudes, linguistic (in)security and perhaps consequently on linguistic behaviour. The elicitation of peoples' beliefs about regional variation, and of course also E-marked variation, in language is an intriguing and worthy research venture in itself. Regardless of these, the application of authentic speech stimuli for identification and judgment may not only expose disagreements between real and imagined degrees of divergence but could also serve to sabotage potentially harmful stereotypes. Stereotypes about regional and E-marked varieties certainly exist in all speech

communities, and Kenya is no exception, in spite of the approaching stage of codification and standardisation of KenE. This study, thus, provides some evidence for a delay between (stereotyped) perceptions of variation in language and observable reality; where some of the respondents simply did not correctly identify the origin of the speakers (section 5.2.19). Additionally, another case of perception verses reality is seen when some respondents) were for the opinion that their accent sounded similar to that of Central geographic region being born, raised and were working in the Coast geographic region. This group, besides English, also spoke Kiswahili and Chiduruma (their L1 which dominates Kwale county in the Coast region) had no affiliation whatsoever to nor sounded like they were from Central region.

Findings further reveal that the Bukusu and Nandi groups of Kenyan ESL speakers have been assigned distinct attitudes toward their L1-accented English, as outlined:

vii.   The Bukusu group was believed that their L1-accented English sounded more intelligent, confident, competent and slow compared to the Nandi accented English.

viii.   The Nandi group was believed that their L1-accented English sounded happier, energetic, charming, from an advantaged background, from an urban setting and had faster speech in relation to Bukusu accented English.

ix.   Both groups' L1-accented English was believed to sound friendly.

x.   There was preference for the Bukusu group to be a friend. Despite having low scores, respondents preferred the Bukusu to be a spouse and to hold a high ranking position. Worth noting, majority of the respondents indicated 'teacher' as the profession that best suits the Bukusu and 'housewife/husband for the Nandi)'.

xi.   The overall impression of the Bukusu subjects was slightly more positive than that of the Nandi subjects at 56% and 51% respectively.

Findings in previous attitudinal studies in Kenya as reflected in the literature review (e.g. Kembo-Sure 1991a, Kioko and Muthwii 2003), reveal that Kenyan ESL speakers who had preference for the use of English at the work-place believed that it fostered integration among people of a varied ethnic background and that in schools, the non E-marked variety (standard Kenyan English) is that which is used by teachers and the E-marked variety is that of the learners (Kioko and Muthwii 2003). Additionally, both rural and urban Kenyans prefer the use of standard Kenyan English (the non E-marked variety) for use in media and education, and spoken by professionals like doctors,

engineers, lawyers, and business people (ibid.). The findings of this study reveal that the two E-marked varieties were generally scored as sounding not bright and also received very high scores that the speakers could neither hold high ranking positions at work nor was there preference of them to be a child's spouse or a boss (see figures at section 5.2.1, 5.2.14 and 5.2.15). Further, the majority indicated that the subjects with a Bukusu accent were teachers and those with a Nandi accent were housewives/husbands (see figure at section 5.2.16). Schmied states that job tasks dictate the quantity and quality of English necessary (Schmied 1991: 47). There is, however, a clear case of perception versus reality (Kuiper 2005: 28) since none of the Bukusu subjects for the stimulus voices was a teacher, but rather a pathologist (also working as a lecturer) and an office assistant. The Nandi stimulus voices were a principle administrative officer and clerical officer (see section 5.3). Does this, in turn, mean that a teacher is not a high ranking position? And basing on Kioko and Muthwii (2003), is it perception or reality that teachers speak the non E-marked variety of KenE? These of course are questions for further investigation. These results further prove, as mentioned in the literature, that accents influence listeners' perceptions of speakers (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006) and people are always judged by the first impression they give when they speak and conclusions are drawn about them regardless of who or what they really are.

Of importance is that, in order to dispel Kenyans from any prejudices and conclusions regarding their own L1-accented English or that of others, English Language Teaching (ELT) plays a crucial part in discouraging their biased perception of E-marked KenE and cultivating Kenyans communication flexibility to accommodate accent diversity. The world-wide pedagogical goal to achieve, the term English as an International Language (EIL) should be interpreted for Kenyan ESL learners because the lack of a concrete definition of EIL may raise difficulties for Kenyans in conceptualising it and lead them to pursue RP variety, which is only prescriptive in their textbooks and in very few occasions their learning context (for instance use of RP speech from radio or television and sometimes interaction with RP speakers).

The fact is that English is a diverse and dynamic language and people from all walks of life speak it with an accent. The internationalisation of English has brought about diversification of the language. Pertaining to this reason, the acquisition of RP English by Kenyans as the pedagogical goal is no longer apt to promote the concept of EIL; regarding norms of accent, the main linguistic characteristics that do not hamper mutual intelligibility in communication can be

introduced into the classroom (Jenkins 2000). Productive promotion of EIL among learners relies on whether Kenyan instructors of the English language are capable of perceiving E-marked varieties of English as unique, not as substandard, and embrace them as individual varieties of EIL. Further, individual courses should be stipulated in the syllabus to address issues of variation within EIL to foster positive attitudes toward non-native varieties and raise aware that Bukusu and Nandi varieties, for instance, like all other Kenyan and world-wide varieties when intelligible should be accepted.

5.4 Summary of Findings

Majority of the previous studies have sampled native English speakers or both native- and non-native English speakers only. This implies that language attitude studies with only ESL listener samples are rare. Due to the growing nature of World Englishes, there is a prevalent emergence of ESL and further research into its listeners' perceptions of varieties of English is demanded.

The results of the two objectives of this study on attitudes held by Kenyans towards their own accent of English and that of Lubukusu and Nandi speakers suggest that ESL listeners' perceptions are influenced by the speaker's accent. More specifically, this research indicates that Kenyan ESL listeners perceive Lubukusu accented English and Nandi accented English distinctly, particularly on ratings of perceived competence and perceived character speaker traits. Notably, there was no significant difference between scores for both groups for preference to be a neighbour, a child's spouse or a boss, suggesting that while Lubukusu speakers may be regarded as sounding more intelligent, confident, and would probably be more competent in spontaneous speech than the Nandi speakers, the Nandi were rated as happier, energetic, charming and probably from an advantaged background. In relation to the speech speed, the Nandi were rated as speaking fast and the Bukusu were scored to be slow. Additionally, both groups of speakers were rated as being more friendly than not. Both E-marked varieties were correctly identified as originating for the Luhya or Kalenjin broader languages and further correctly identified as having Lubukusu or Nandi as the first language.

Regarding the respondents, majority of them indicated that their English reflected their L1 phonological features, that their accent could be associated to that of Nairobi region and that they had a moderate accent which could be easily identified. There was general opinion that the respondents' own accent sounded nice, had received positive attention and had no intention to alter

it. These results reject the two last hypotheses of this study; there is difference in respondents' opinion toward their own variety of English and in their attitudes toward Lubukusu and Nandi varieties of English.

5.5 Recommendations

This study raises pertinent questions that future research should attempt to uproot. For instance, what attitudes are associated with the exact intonation differences with regard to social variables like age, occupation, gender, level of education and more importantly, the L1 structure? Can a direct comparison of, for instance, the Bukusu language structure be analysed alongside that of the English language structure? What about gender issues; can, for example, differences of intonation patterns be evident in one ethnic group's English variety in relation to gender? What are, for example, the attitudes of teachers of English toward their own variety of English and toward that of their learners? Mühleisen (2001), for instance, found that in 1993 Trinidadian teachers did not rate their spoken English as "Bad English". Borrowing from this, an interesting question emanating from this research is; how do Kenyan teachers rate their own spoken English pronunciation and that of others? And to what extend do teachers actually teach pronunciation? Are there appropriate teaching aids for this and how is the achievement, if any, measurable?

5.6 Concluding Remarks

The current study has also exposed, through self-assessment and assessment of others, the attitudes of Kenyans from varied ethnic groups of the country toward their own variety of English and Lubukusu and Nandi accented English. The findings suggest that the responses depend particular on respondents' social environment and orientation. Admitting that there is first language effects of Lubukusu and Nandi accents on speakers English intonation should be addressed critically and need further investigation. It is pedagogically essential to provide language instruction that makes Kenyan ESL learners and speakers aware of the value of different varieties of English intonation, including their own, from the pluralistic view of English. This promotes acceptance and tolerance of the varieties. Most importantly, however, teacher training should place emphasis on altering the stereotypical preconceived notions about varieties of English that Kenyans may hold. Preferably, listeners should be encouraged to hear and appreciate the dynamic variety of speech patterns that assist in forming an ethnic group's unique heritage and grant its speakers identity and belonging

within the ethnic group even when they are far away from it because these varieties enrich and preserve culture. Relying on the basis of just listening and identifying a person as originating from ethnic group X does not mean that one knows the real person behind the accent. Assigning character traits like trustworthy, confident, rude and sad to accents may lead to unknown truth. As a matter of fact, none of these character traits can precisely be detected on the basis of an accent.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Letter of Introduction to Respondents

Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies

BIGSAS, Bayreuth University

D-95445 Bayreuth

Germany

Dear Respondent,

I am a Junior Fellow of Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) in Bayreuth University pursuing a Doctorate in English Linguistics and carrying out a research " *Attitudes toward Kenyan English: Ethnically-marked Pronunciation"* You are among others who have been selected to participate in this study. The information will help to accomplish the research objectives and your responses will be treated with a lot of confidentiality.

Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

KHALAYI, O. B.

Appendix B: Attitude Elicitation Questionnaire

Bayreuth University,
Department of English Linguistics
Sociolinguistic and Ethnolinguistic Survey

Please listen to the four recorded voices and rate each voice on the scale provided. The adjectives provided are meant to guide you in making independent evaluation of the speaker. Indicate your rating of the speaker by checking (✓) appropriately on the four point scale provided (Section A). After your ratings of the voices, please try to identify each speaker's region of origin (Section B). Finally, fill your biographical sketch and other social variable questions by either checking (✓) or writing in the space provided (Section C).

Section A

		Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 4
i.	This speaker seems to be:				
	4: Extremely Intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3: Intelligent	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2: Not Too Bright	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1: Not Bright	☐	☐	☐	☐
ii.	This speaker seems to be:				
	1: Extremely Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2: Sad	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3: Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐
	4: Extremely Happy	☐	☐	☐	☐
iii.	This speaker seems to be:				
	4: Very Energetic	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3: Energetic	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2: Slightly Lazy	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1: Lazy	☐	☐	☐	☐
iv.	This speaker seems to be:				
	4: Extremely Confident	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3: Confident	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2: Somewhat Unsure	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1: Unsure	☐	☐	☐	☐
v.	This speaker sounds:				
	4: Quite Charming	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3: Charming	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2: Slightly Irritating	☐	☐	☐	☐
	1: Irritating	☐	☐	☐	☐
vi.	This speaker sounds:				
	1: Unfriendly	☐	☐	☐	☐
	2: Somewhat Unfriendly	☐	☐	☐	☐
	3: Friendly	☐	☐	☐	☐
	4: Very Friendly	☐	☐	☐	☐
vii.	The speaker's way of speaking is:	☐	☐	☐	☐

1: Slow
        2: A Little Slow ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        3: Fast ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        4: Extremely Fast ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

viii.   While conversing in English, I would expect this speaker to be:
        4: Very Competent ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        3: Competent ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        2: Somewhat Incompetent ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        1: Incompetent ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

ix.   This speaker sounds like he is from a background that is socially:
        1: Disadvantaged ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        2: Somewhat Disadvantaged ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        3: Advantaged ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        4: Highly Advantaged ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

x.   Would you like this person to be your neighbor?
                1: Yes ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        0: No ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

xi.   Would you like this person to be your friend?
        1: Yes ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        0: No ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

xii.   Would you like this person to be your spouse?
        1: Yes ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        0: No ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

xiii.   Would you like this person to be your child's spouse?
        1: Yes ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        0: No ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

xiv.   Would you like this person to be your boss?
        1: Yes ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        0: No ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

xv.   Do you think this person works as a:
        Cook ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Farmer ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Security Guard ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Housewife/husband ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Teacher ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Preacher ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Mechanic/Electrician/Technician ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Doctor ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Nurse ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Administrator ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Secretary ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Office Messenger ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Policeman ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
        Lawyer ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

xvi. Do you think this person could hold a job in a high ranking position like an executive manager, professor or minister?

1: Yes	☐	☐	☐	☐
0: No	☐	☐	☐	☐

xvii. My overall impression of this speaker is:

4: Extremely Positive	☐	☐	☐	☐
3: Positive	☐	☐	☐	☐
2: Negative	☐	☐	☐	☐
1: Extremely Negative	☐	☐	☐	☐

xviii. Do you think this person is from a rural or urban area?

Rural	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urban	☐	☐	☐	☐
Rural-Urban	☐	☐	☐	☐

Section B
Speaker one (1)

1. Is   i. Kalenjin ☐
           ii. Luhya ☐
           iii. Other ☐ **if Other,** please write here _____

2. Please indicate according to your answer above.

       if Kalenjin   i.Kipsigis ☐
                   ii.Nandi ☐
                   iii.Tugen ☐
                   iv.Other _____

       if Luhya   i. Bukusu ☐
                   ii.Maragoli ☐
                   iii.Nyore ☐
                   iv.Other _____

Speaker two (2)

1. Is   i. Kalenjin ☐
           ii. Luhya ☐
           iii. Other ☐ **if Other,** please write here _____

2. Please indicate according to your answer above.

       if Kalenjin   i.Kipsigis ☐
                   ii.Nandi ☐
                   iii.Tugen ☐
                   iv.Other _____

       if Luhya   i. Bukusu ☐
                   ii.Maragoli ☐
                   iii.Nyore ☐
                   iv.Other _____

Speaker three (3)

1. Is   i. Kalenjin ☐
                        ii. Luhya ☐
                        iii. Other ☐   **if Other,** please write here _____

2. Please indicate according to your answer above.
              if Kalenjin   i.Kipsigis ☐
                                  ii.Nandi ☐
                                  iii.Tugen ☐
                                  iv.Other _____

              if Luhya   i. Bukusu ☐
                                  ii.Maragoli ☐
                                  iii.Nyore ☐
                                  iv.Other _____

Speaker four (4)

1. Is   i. Kalenjin ☐
                        ii. Luhya ☐
                        iii. Other ☐   **if Other,** please write here _____

2. Please indicate according to your answer above.
              if Kalenjin   i.Kipsigis ☐
                                  ii.Nandi ☐
                                  iii.Tugen ☐
                                  iv.Other _____
              if Luhya   i. Bukusu ☐
                                  ii.Maragoli ☐
                                  iii.Nyore ☐
                                  iv.Other _____

Appendix C: Questionnaire used to Elicit Evaluative Adjectives

Please listen to the four recorded voices and rate each voice on independent evaluative judgment. Write in the space provided for each voice the impressions that the voice evokes in you. Feel free to indicate the very first impression of the speaker after listening to the voice for the first time. Listen to the voice again and give all the other impressions that the voice evokes in you. Anything you note will be appreciated and highly confidential.

Appendix D: Guided Interview Questions for the Respondents

1. Where do you mostly speak English and why?
2. Are you aware of the influence that Mother Tongue (MT) has on your articulation of English? What makes you aware of this?
3. How does the awareness of MT influence on your English make you feel?
4. Do you find the previous question intimidating? Why?
5. In which part of Kenya do people speak English like you do?
6. How would you describe your own accent when speaking English? From light to strong or none?
7. How do you think your accent sounds?
8. When you speak, how easily do people identify your accent?
9. Have you ever received attention because of your accent? How has the attention been?
10. Have you attempted to alter your accent? Why so and has it changed by your intentional efforts?
11. If there were a way to change your accent without cost or effort (e.g. by magic), would you want to do so? If yes, which part of Kenya would you like to sound like?