

**A PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF KENYAN ENGLISH**

**(KenE)**

**BY**

**FURAHA J. K. EMMANUEL**

**SSC/PGL/04/04**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN  
LINGUISTICS**

**SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES  
MOI UNIVERSITY**

**August, 2007**

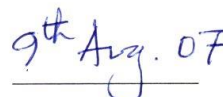
## DECLARATIONS

### DECLARATION BY THE STUDENT

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior permission of the author and/or Moi University.



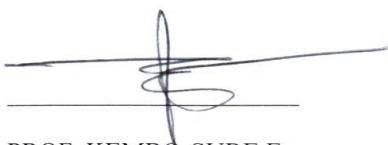
FURAHA J.K. EMMANUEL  
SSC/PGL/04/04



DATE

### DECLARATION BY SUPERVISORS

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as university supervisors.



PROF. KEMBO-SURE E.  
DEPT. OF LINGUISTICS &  
FOREIGN LANGUAGES,  
MOI UNIVERSITY



DATE



DR. SERAH MWANGI  
DEPT. OF LINGUISTICS &  
FOREIGN LANGUAGES,  
MOI UNIVERSITY



DATE

## **DEDICATION**

To my mother, and late father, **Faustine Nasimiyu Furaha** and **James Wangila Furaha**,  
my sister **Marissa** and my brother **TomPeter**.

## ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the phonological features of Kenyan English (KenE) defined as the variety of English spoken and written by educated Kenyans. Its objectives were: to identify the phonemic inventory of KenE; to show how this phonemic inventory differs from that of British English (BrE); to describe the stress system of KenE nouns, verbs and adjectives; and to explain, with the help of available literature in phonology, the possible factors leading to the emergence of a KenE pronunciation. The choice of word classes was motivated by their nature as content words, thus their critical role in communicating meaning.

The study was based on two theories: First, “The Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes” as propounded by Moag (1983) which demonstrates the existence of a non-native variety of English in Kenya –KenE, and second, Metrical Phonology Theory as advanced by Liberman and Prince (1977), which aids this study in formalizing KenE phonology in terms of stress placement.

Data was collected at Nairobi School, a marking centre for the Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) English language Paper 2005, through audio tape-recording of readings of prepared texts by 24 teachers of English of various first languages. Recorded data was then transcribed and analyzed for segmental features and stress placement in auditory (impressionistic) terms. Stress placement was then described using the propositions of Metrical Phonology.

The study revealed that there is a significant degree of variation between KenE and BrE in terms of phonemic inventory and stress assignment in words. Evidence from the data indicated that KenE differs from BrE due to three reasons: linguistic transfer occasioned by contact with local Kenyan languages; language learning strategies like overgeneralization and simplification; and the written linguistic input that most Kenyans learning English are exposed to. It is the contention in this study therefore, that KenE is a distinct variety of English and, as a local model that is widely acceptable to Kenyans, KenE could provide the standard for English teaching in the Kenyan educational curriculum.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATIONS</b> .....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>DEFINITION OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 English around the World .....	1
1.2 English in Kenya.....	8
1.3 Kenyan English.....	14
1.4 Statement of the Problem.....	17
1.5 Justification of the Study .....	18
1.6 Aim and Objectives.....	20
1.6.1 Aim .....	20
1.6.2 Objectives .....	20
1.7 Assumption .....	21
1.8 Scope and Limitations.....	21
<b>CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND</b> .....	<b>23</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>23</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	23
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	23
2.2.1 The Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes.....	23
2.2.2 Metrical Theory of Stress.....	31
2.3 Literature Review.....	33
2.3.1 Description of Sound Segments.....	34
2.3.2 Description of Stress Patterns .....	38
2.3.3 Studies on East African English .....	42

2.3.4 Previous Studies on Kenyan English .....	43
2.4 Summary .....	47
<b>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>48</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	48
3.2 Research Design .....	48
3.3 Population and Site .....	48
3.4 Sampling .....	50
3.5 Data Collection .....	51
3.6 Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation .....	52
3.7 Summary .....	53
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION .....</b>	<b>54</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	54
4.2 Segmental Features of KenE .....	54
4.2.1 KenE vowel system .....	54
4.2.2 KenE consonant system .....	61
4.2.3 KenE and BrE Phonemes Compared .....	72
4.3 Stress in KenE .....	89
4.3.1 Stress in KenE verbs .....	89
4.3.2 Stress in KenE nouns .....	93
4.3.3 Stress in KenE Adjectives .....	97
4.4 Summary .....	101
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND .....</b>	<b>102</b>
<b>RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>102</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	102
5.2 Summary of Findings .....	103
5.3 Conclusions .....	107
5.4 Implications .....	107
5.5 Recommendations for Further Research .....	108
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>109</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>122</b>

## DEFINITION OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

New Englishes	Varieties of English spoken as second languages in multilingual former colonies of Great Britain, also called Non-native Varieties of English
Educated Kenyans	Citizens of Kenya living in Kenya who are holders of at least a university education
British English (BrE)	A prestigious social accent associated with the BBC, Public Schools in England, and with members of the upper-middle and upper classes. Also referred to as RP (Received Pronunciation) or the Queen's English.
KenE	Kenyan English
E AfrE	East African English
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
KNEC	Kenya National Examinations Council
KCSE	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
KIE	Kenya Institute of Education
ESL	English as a Second Language
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ESNL	English as a Second Language Spoken as a Native Language
MP	Metrical Phonology

**LIST OF TABLES**

	<b>Page</b>
Table I: KenE Consonants.....	62
Table II: BrE and KenE diphthongs compared.....	80



## LIST OF FIGURES

		<b>Page</b>
Diagram 1:	Stress patterns for bisyllabic words.....	32
Diagram 2:	Metrical tree for ‘catastrophic’.....	32
Diagram 3:	Metrical grid for ‘catastrophic’.....	33
Diagram 4:	Primary cardinal vowels.....	35
Diagram 5:	Syllable structure for ‘conduct’.....	39
Diagram 6:	KenE vowels.....	55
Diagram 7:	KenE opening diphthongs.....	60
Diagram 8:	KenE closing diphthongs.....	61
Diagram 9:	Collapsing of BrE low, front and central vowels into KenE  / a / .....	76
Diagram 10:	Monophthongisation of BrE diphthongs in KenE.....	82

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Prof. Kembo-Sure and Dr. Serah Mwangi for their advice and encouragement during the writing of this thesis.

I am especially grateful to Dr. Martin Njoroge of Kenyatta University whose honest comments on my work, and brotherly advice on other areas of life helped to give me the clarity of mind to focus on my research. I cannot forget to thank his family too for their kindness in putting me up in their home on many occasions in the course of my research.

My appreciation also goes to my classmates, Ochieng, Monica, Rebecca, Emmy, Elizabeth and Mutua for their roles as “critical friends” which ensured candid exchange of ideas relevant to this work.

Without the co-operation of Kenya National Examinations Council examiners for the English Language paper (Paper 101/2), I may never have collected enough data for this study. I thank them sincerely for their acceptance to participate in this study.

More thanks go to the staff of the English Resource Centre of Kenyatta University for their permission to use the centre and especially Laban Kirui for his patience with me even after hours. I cannot forget thank Irene Tirop of Moi University for her patience and commitment to typing this work.

There are many other people who, in one way or the other, made it possible for me to complete this research: my relatives, friends and acquaintances. To you all, I say: Thank you for your prayers and may God bless you abundantly.

Finally, I do thank my mother, brother and sister for believing in me to successfully complete this work and for their support and encouragement in ways only they know about. It is to them that I dedicate this work.

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 English around the World

#### *The Spread of English*

The spread of English all over the world has been described as phenomenal for it has exceeded even the spread of Latin during the Roman Empire, particularly due to the widespread use of the language and the increase in the number of people learning it in the world. Strevens (1981) in Platt *et al.* (1984:2) reckons that, of all the users of English around the world, about half are native speakers and the rest speak it as either a second or a foreign language. By the late 1990s, according to Crystal (1997:5), the number of people who speak English around the world was estimated to be between 1.2 and 1.5 billion.

With its roots in just one small country, England, English first spread over the rest of the British Isles between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries, then to North America, known then as the New World, in late 16<sup>th</sup> century (ibid:25). It spread further to other parts of the world such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa with the migration of the English speakers as from late 18<sup>th</sup> century. English also found its way into other regions of the world which were under British Administration. These included India in early 17<sup>th</sup> Century, West Africa, South-east Asia and Islands in the Pacific in late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, the Caribbean in 17<sup>th</sup> Century and East Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, where a few British people settled permanently.

### *English as a Global Language*

Today, English is represented in every continent and in the islands of the three major oceans of the world –Atlantic (St Helena), Indian (Seychelles), Pacific (Fiji, Samoa and others). It is spoken as the primary language in the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In India, Singapore, Hong Kong, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, and about fifty other non-native settings, it is used as a second language whereas in countries such as China, Japan, Greece, Poland and many others, English is recognized for its importance as an international language and is taught as a foreign language.

With the number of its users between 1.2 and 1.5 billion people, English is numerically among the most widely used world languages such as Chinese, Hindu-Urdu, Russian and Spanish (Kachru, 1985; Graddol, 2000). The sheer numbers of the people, who speak English, together with the spread of representation of the language around the world, qualify English as a truly global language.

According to Crystal (1997:2) a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country. Such a role is most obvious in countries where large numbers of people speak the language as a mother tongue. For English, this would include countries like the USA, Canada, Ireland, Britain, Australia and South Africa. For countries with few, or no, mother- tongue speakers, a special role can be assigned to a language by making it the official language of the country, to be used as a medium of communication in such domains as government, the law courts, the

media, and the educational system. In the case of English, such countries include Kenya, India, Singapore, Jamaica and Hong Kong.

A language can also be given a special role even though it has no official status by being given priority in a country's foreign-language teaching. English is now taught as a foreign language in over 100 countries, including China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt and Brazil.

Crystal (1997:5) argues that why a language becomes a global language has little to do with the number of people who speak it. It is much more to do with who those speakers are. Without a strong power-base, whether political, military or economic, no language can make progress as an international medium of communication. He adds that a language has no independent existence, living in some sort of mystical space apart from the people who speak it. When speakers of a language succeed, on the international stage, their language succeeds. When they fail, their language fails. To him, therefore, a language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people – especially their military power. However, he is swift to add that while it may take a militarily powerful nation to establish a language, it takes an economically powerful one to maintain and expand it.

The preceding argument, to a large extent, accurately accounts for the global status of English today. British political imperialism was responsible for sending English around

the globe from as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> Century. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the world presence of English was maintained and promoted through the economic supremacy of the USA.

At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Britain was the world's leading industrial and trading nation with a gross national product rising at an average of 2% a year (Crystal 1997:71). Most of the Industrial Revolution innovations were of British origin: the printing press, the harnessing of coal and steam to drive heavy machinery, the emergence of new means of transportation and the production of manufactured goods, especially textiles for export.

These had linguistic consequences. The new terminology of technical and scientific advances added tens of thousands of words to the English vocabulary. Since these innovations were being imported by non-English speaking countries, it meant that in order to learn them well, those who wished to benefit had to learn English. And so English spread.

The position of English as the dominant language around the world was maintained after the 19<sup>th</sup> Century through the economic supremacy of the USA as the new superpower. This happened and continues to happen in many ways, two of which are discussed below.

After World War II the USA was the only major Western power whose educational and scientific infrastructure remained completely intact. Students from many third world countries, therefore, flocked academic institutions in the U.S. For this reason, US science and technology flowered in the post-war years. Kaplan (2001: 10) captures the impact

that this had on the English language. He says that it is a “law” of science that those doing the greatest amount of research, both require the greatest quantities of information from the information banks, and contribute the greatest quantities of new information to the information banks. A large number of scientists, including those who flocked the US from around the world, were trained in English, and vast quantities of information were written, abstracted, stored and disseminated in English.

The invention of the computer, the Internet and the growth of science and technology, both spearheaded by the US, have made English an important language in the world. A figure quoted in McCrum *et al.* (1986) cited in Graddol (2000:50) puts at 80% the total information stored in the world’s computers in the English medium. The growth of computer use and of the Internet in particular, has contributed to the spread of English around the world.

### *New Englishes*

Even after colonialism English has continued to spread worldwide as a language of commerce, science, technology and also international communication. It is the medium of instruction in education in many nations today. However, it still remains the main second language even in nations that use indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in schools. This widespread use of the language has given rise to “New Varieties of English” which Moag (1983), cited in Kachru (1983:270), describes as varieties of English spoken as second languages in multilingual former colonies of Great Britain, and are also referred to as non-native varieties of English.

These new varieties of English, it should be noted, have as their parent variety what is referred to in this study as British English, a prestigious social accent associated with the BBC, Public Schools in England, and with members of the upper-middle and upper classes, and is best known outside Britain as English English. It is also referred to as RP (Received Pronunciation), the King's (or Queen's) English or even "BBC English". Originally, this was the accent used by radio and television in Britain. However, there is now much more tolerance of variation than was in the past. Other accents are today accepted and frequently heard. These include Cockney, Estuary English, Kettering, and East Anglian.

Platt *et al.* (1984) define these new varieties as the more or less recognizable varieties spoken and/or written by groups of people, and which fulfill the following criteria:

- i. They have developed through the education system.
- ii. They have developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population.
- iii. They are used for a range of functions among those who speak or write them in the regions where they are used.
- iv. They have become "localized" or "nativized" by adapting some language features of their own such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words and expressions.

New Englishes that fit these criteria, according to Platt *et al.* (ibid), include Indian English, Philippine English, Singapore English and African Englishes of nations like



Nigeria and Ghana. African Englishes here refers to varieties of English spoken in Africa by non-native speakers of English. Kenyan English too is said to exist (cf. Zuengler, 1983; Muthwii, 1994; Kembo-Sure, 1997; 2004 and Mwangi, 2003). English was initially spoken and used mainly by native speakers from Britain and America in these countries, having been introduced during the colonial era. The need for local workers in government saw the establishment of schools in which English was taught. Christian missions too played a major role in setting up some of the schools that taught English. According to Kaplan (2001), it was necessary for the British to teach English throughout the widespread empire because they needed people in distant places to speak English so that soldiers could understand their British officers and so that a civil service could be developed to maintain civil order under the leadership of British administrators.

However, with increased school enrolment, in these English colonies, it became necessary to recruit teachers who were not native speakers of English especially those who had passed through the local schools. Although these local teachers attempted to use the English they had learnt from their teachers who were themselves native speakers of the language, it differed significantly from that of the latter (Muthwii and Kioko: 2001). Children taught in this way, therefore, spoke a form of English that was already modified and differed from the parent British or American variety. As these young learners rose through the education system from primary to secondary school, and perhaps even to tertiary institutions, exposure to the English language as a medium of instruction contributed to an increase in the range and functions of the new variety of English they were speaking. This variety was and is still being used by educated speakers for all their

everyday activities. It has even acquired its own lexical, grammatical and phonological characteristics that make it recognizable by its speakers as well as outsiders (Njoroge 2006; Muthwii 1994). It is this variety of English spoken by the educated Kenyans and, henceforth, referred to as Kenyan English (KenE) that is the focus of this study.

## **1.2 English in Kenya**

### *Before 1885*

The English spoken in Kenya today has British English (BrE) as its parent variety. Initial contact between Kenya and Britain occurred towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century when English ships visited the Eastern Africa coast. They continued to do so until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, British interest was largely limited to trade and, after the 1850s, to the expeditions of British explorers such as Richard Burton, David Livingstone and John Speke. Soon after, Britain along with Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, entered the “Scramble for Africa” and claimed part of eastern Africa. Most of eastern Africa was then divided between Britain and Germany with Kenya becoming a British protectorate in 1885.

### *Missionary Contribution (1900-1945)*

The completion of what was later to be called the Kenya-Uganda Railway in 1902 caused an influx of new British immigrants and saw the beginning of British settlement in the fertile “white” highlands north and west of Nairobi. Previously, before 1900, British settlement was restricted to the coast. British protectorate from coast to lakes Victoria and Turkana was declared a British colony in 1920 and named Kenya after the highest

mountain in the area, *Kere-Nyaga*. The large number of native speakers of English, then, many of whom were missionaries, provided a linguistic model for those Africans who learned the language, and helped to ensure that their usage stayed relatively close to the parent variety. That the English spoken by Africans in Kenya did not deviate much from the native speaker variety or develop pidgin varieties as it did in west Africa, is attributable to the fact that Swahili was already widespread as a lingua franca long before the first Europeans arrived, and also, to the formal teaching of Standard English by British missionaries from as early as the 1850s (Skandera, 2003). According to Whiteley (1974: 403), in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in the period preceding this, the obligation to provide educational facilities in Kenya was assumed almost entirely by missionary orders. However, the primary purposes of missionary activity, education and otherwise, were mostly religious. Kembo-Sure (1996:8) observes that this period of missionary Christian education dominance, in fact, continued up to 1945 and was characterized by incessant debate on the viable language policy for Kenya. It was later agreed that children receive their education in their mother tongue during the initial years of schooling and later in English. The missionaries, and later expatriate teachers, trained only a small African elite needed as administrators to carry out the British policy of indirect rule.

#### *Colonial Administration (1920-1963)*

The British colonial administration, employing the system of indirect rule, exploited the existing indigenous political structure to control the colonized people (ibid). The British colonial education system therefore, had as its goal the adaptation of new skills to suit the local cultural and social conditions. This meant that local people were to be trained

quickly and later used to train their fellow countrymen. An increase in school enrollment and establishment of more schools, for example, necessitated the recruitment of more teachers. The colonial government had to recruit Kenyans to fill these teaching positions and others such as clerical and administrative positions. This training was done using the English language.

The spread of English in Kenya before independence was boosted further by the political awakening of the time. Africans themselves began to “press for more English at an earlier stage in education because they needed English to participate in the Legislative Council” (Kioko and Muthwii, 2001: 203). Kioko and Muthwii go on to argue that association of English with individual, social, political and economic success was a motivating factor for the acquisition and subsequent spread of the language in Kenya, a view that Kembo-Sure (1996:8) shares when he too observes that Africans favored the introduction of English in their curriculum then, for they associated the language with independence and power.

The political awakening mentioned earlier led the colonial government to implement the recommendations of the Beecher report of 1942 on the teaching of languages in African schools. More emphasis was therefore laid on the teaching of mother tongue during the first four years of primary education in rural schools and Kiswahili in towns and settled areas. Also, English became the medium of instruction from the fifth year onwards (ibid: 9). This development led to the gradual replacement of Kiswahili, the colony’s lingua

franca, by English as the medium of instruction in the educational system (Mazrui and Mazrui: 1998: 144).

With the end of British imperial rule fast approaching, the key to close ties between an independent Africa and Britain was through the English language. It was only then that English was taught to a wider African population and the foundation of English as a second language was laid. Skandera (2003: 12) describes this English as a “school variety” since it was taught and learnt through books such as the works of Shakespeare and the Bible which learners encountered mainly in school.

#### *After Independence (1963-2006)*

The departure of many native speakers of English after Kenya gained independence in 1963 was not without its effects on the language. According to Muthwii and Kioko (2001: 203), “many learners aspired to speak English to the level of their (native-speaker-trained) African teachers. By this time, teachers on the spot who could speak English, whether trained or not, taught English and used it in the teaching of other subjects. In most cases, the trained teachers themselves had been taught and trained by non-native speakers of English and their English was not necessarily modeled on the native-speaker variety.”

With the attainment of independence came more tolerance of non-native usage of English (Whiteley, 1974). The speaking of English with a native speaker accent became stigmatized since it was associated with being brainwashed. This was in practice; however, theoretically British English still remained the norm by providing the

benchmark for correctness and appropriateness with regard to pronunciation, grammar and semantics in the education system. English in Kenya began to develop characteristic features, a phenomenon that gathered more momentum after about 1970, when the teaching of English was almost entirely in the hands of Africans (Schmied 1991).

In 1975 the government appointed The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies to study the recommendations of the UNESCO's International Commission on Educational Development (1962), which suggested reforms in education. According to Kembo-Sure (1996:12), the committee recommended the three language formula that was recommended by the Beecher report, reiterating the importance of the native language in basic education and its effect on the preservation of the country's cultural heritage. English and Kiswahili were to be introduced as subjects in Standard One and from the fourth year, mother tongue would give way to English as the medium of instruction. It was also recommended that Kiswahili be taught as a school and examination subject in both primary and secondary education. The recommendations were adopted by the government until 1984.

A presidential working party was appointed in 1981 to study the prevailing educational demands in the country and recommend the best way of starting a second university. In addition to its official mandate, the committee also suggested the reform of the whole education system. These recommendations led to the change from the 7-4-2-3 system to the 8-4-4 system of education: Kembo-Sure (ibid) explains the rationale for the new system as provided by the ministry of education when he says of it that it would respond

better to the pressing social and economic needs of the country, be more relevant to the needs of the learners, ensure equitable distribution of educational opportunities and resources, and provide the much-needed practical technical skills.

Curricular changes were thus introduced which had linguistic implications in the country. For example, Kiswahili was made compulsory in both primary and secondary examinations. In the old system it was not a compulsory subject. These changes saw Kiswahili given an equal number of lessons on the timetable as English. The status of Kiswahili in the country was therefore elevated. As Kembo-Sure (1996:13) correctly observes, although English still retains its prestige as the language of instruction and government administration, the deliberate promotion of the use of Kiswahili by the government has enhanced its social image hence putting it in competition with English.

### *Teaching of English*

As observed by Skandera (2003:10) in the previous section, the teaching of English in Kenya from as early as the 1850s up to the 1940s was largely in the hands of British missionaries whose efforts were later supplemented by expatriate teachers. This had the primary goal as evangelization or political and administrative expediency for government (Kembo Sure, 1996: 10).

The teaching of English in the period between 1945 and 1963 was carried out by teachers who were native speakers of English from Britain and who taught using the British standard of English. Those who went to school then were exposed to the British variety of English (Bulili, 2002:8). However, it was not possible for all the students to acquire

native speaker competence since the number of people exposed to the variety was small and the period in which to gain such competence was short as most learners encountered English mainly in the educational domain and only during their schooling years.

When the British expatriates left the country in the 1970s, their African students replaced them as teachers and as Kioko and Muthwii (2001:203) observe, many of the teachers that have been trained since then have been taught by non-native speakers of English and their English has not necessarily been modeled on the native speaker variety.

It is not surprising therefore, that there have been numerous claims of “falling standards” of English in educational institutions as well as society at large (Mazrui and Mazrui, 1988:148). Because the standard used to examine students in terminal examinations in Kenya by KNEC is largely the British English one (Kembo-Sure, 2004), such claims will continue being made for this standard is not practically attainable in Kenya today.

### **1.3 Kenyan English**

There has been a debate in recent years on whether or not KenE really exists. Mair (1995:37) cited in Mwangi (2003:10) argues that, “the fact that English is used as a second or official language in say, Kenya, does not automatically imply that there is a definable variety ‘Kenyan English’.” Mwangi (ibid) also quotes Görlach (1991:141) who doubts whether “we are justified in speaking of local varieties of English having developed or as emerging in East Africa.” One might even be forgiven for wondering



how, with the various ethnic language groups in Kenya and their accompanying first language interferences we can talk of there being a uniform Kenyan variety of English.

This study recognizes the existence of other varieties of English in Kenya which can be linked to local ethnic groups such as Luo English, Kikuyu English, Luhya English, Kalenjin English etc, each of which has unique phonological features. Bamgbose (1983: 102) captures this situation clearly when he says of Nigerian English that “there are features which are typical of the pronunciation of most Nigerian speakers of English irrespective of their first-language background.” With this in mind, this study will assume that besides these ethnic related varieties of English, there is a national variety that is uniform enough to be distinguished from other World Englishes. This assumption will be based on the fact that there is a larger “ethnic” group that speakers of KenE all belong to: that of similar educational, socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic experiences in Kenya (Skandera, 2003). For example, most educated Kenyans go through the same education system i.e. curriculum, in schools and colleges. Also, in many schools classmates are mocked by fellow students for exhibiting, in their English, phonological features transferred from mother tongue, popularly called “shrubbing.” When public figures or local comedians exhibit such linguistic behavior, the audience finds it humorous. While it may evoke amusement or laughter, it will rarely pass as acceptable behavior since speaking English with a strong mother tongue influence is ridiculed. A Kenyan who speaks English with a foreign accent will be regarded as conceited. However, one who speaks “accent free” KenE is admired and his or her English regarded as “good English”

(Mwangi 2003). Kioko and Muthwii (2004:34) refer to this variety preferred by most Kenyans as non-ethnic-marked (Non E-Marked) variety of Kenyan English.

Muthwii (1994) argues that “English as used in Kenya... is developing distinct linguistic and cultural aspects which are patterned in accordance with the social and cultural expectations of the Kenyan population. Inevitably, the resulting features are linguistically and socio-culturally Kenyan.” As a speaker of KenE, she observes, as Mwangi (2003) does, that Kenyans hold in high esteem speakers of “good” English which they regard as a mark of being “educated” and which carries prestige. Kenyans appear not to strive to speak English like native speakers and those who do so are looked down upon.

She goes on to argue that most varieties of English in Kenya bear marks of the different indigenous languages with which English has come into contact. A spoken text in English is easily identifiable as one by a Kikuyu, Kamba, Kalenjin or otherwise but these differences are not institutionalized and tend to disappear at a higher level of language proficiency which is largely governed by an individual’s educational experience and interaction with people from other ethnic groups who exert pressure on the individual to adopt the linguistic norms of the wider Kenyan community.

The emergence of a common variety of English in Kenya is, therefore, encouraged by the standardizing influence of the common school syllabuses and texts. The existence of these varieties of English along the socio-educational continuum is accurately captured by Kachru (1987:219) who describes the varieties of English found in non-native

contexts as “having acquired a ‘cone-shaped’ structure, showing considerable diversification at the base, or colloquial level, and less diversity as one advances to the apex, or educated level.” According to Muthwii, the variety of English spoken by the most educated sector of the community may then be considered the standard Kenyan English.

From the foregoing, it can thus be argued that despite the various accents with which English is spoken in Kenya, there do exist certain aspects of pronunciation that are common to the English spoken by educated Kenyans and which altogether qualify and characterize the variety as Kenyan English because it is acceptable to most Kenyans due to these shared linguistic features thereby setting it apart from say, Nigerian English, American English, Ugandan English and British English.

#### **1.4 Statement of the Problem**

The English language spoken in Kenya today closely resembles British English with regard to grammar and vocabulary due to the fact that Kenya was a British colony. However, the variety of English spoken in Kenya differs somewhat in phonology from its parent variety. Schmied (2004), for instance, observes that East African varieties of English deviate from the RP long central vowel [ɜ] as in *nurse* [n ɜ: s] towards the front vowel [a] as in [n a: s]. Kanyoro (1991) in her exploration of KenE observes that vowels, for example, in KenE are not distinguished for length or for quality.

Many teachers of English in Kenya will often classify such deviations from British English as “broken English” thereby clinging onto British English pronunciation as a standard to be approximated, albeit a very elusive one to attain for the majority of Kenyans (Kembo-Sure, 2004). Although scholars have alluded to the existence of a variety of English spoken in Kenya that deviates from the British norms, this form of English has not been adequately described and codified. This study, therefore, set forth to seal this gap by identifying and explaining the phonological features of Kenyan English and was guided by the following questions:

- I. What are the phonological features that characterize the educated Kenyan variety of English?
- II. How do these features deviate from the British standard?
- III. What are the possible factors leading to the emergence of a Kenyan English pronunciation?

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

Over the years, the Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) has tested the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) candidates in the English Language paper using British English norms. The Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) has also used the same norms in formulating the syllabus for English language teaching. Not only is this unfair to the candidate but it is also most unfortunate on the part of the council since only few teachers and students speak British English. The reason for this being, as Kioko and Muthwii (2001: 206) observe, that since majority of language teachers are non-native

speakers of English who have been taught and trained by non-native users of the language, the task of teaching the British Standard variety, especially speech skills, becomes a very difficult one indeed for them. The KIE assumes that the teachers of English can speak British English when in fact they cannot. The teachers end up leaving out the pronunciation drill exercise to the students' disadvantage. This, it can be argued, partly explains the "poor" results of the students in the language paper.

The question below, extracted from the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) English Language paper (Paper 2) 2003, set by the Kenya National Examination Council (KNEC) is a case in point. It requires knowledge of BrE pronunciation which not many teachers of English in Kenya have. Other questions of this kind are to be found in Appendix 1.

*Question 3 (f)*

Identify and underline the word that is pronounced differently in each of the following sets

(5mks)

- |       |       |        |        |
|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| (I)   | sew   | sue    | sow    |
| (II)  | hair  | air    | heir   |
| (III) | hard  | heard  | herd   |
| (IV)  | fort  | forty  | fought |
| (v)   | cause | coarse | course |

In the first set of words, for instance, many students -and other Kenyans too- would probably underline the word *sow* as the odd one out. The "correct" answer, however, is *sue* [su:] since *sew* and *sow* are both pronounced as [səʊ] in BrE.

This data based phonological description of the local form of English spoken in Kenya is a significant stride towards the process of standardizing KenE since one of the steps involved in standardization is codification: writing of grammar books and dictionaries “...to ‘fix’ the language so that everyone knows what is ‘correct’ ” (Webb and Kembo-Sure, 2000:65). A local model, because of its widespread acceptability and cultural relevance would have the greatest advantage of being realistic since it is achievable by the learner, demonstrable by the teacher, and easy to identify with by the learner (Kembo-Sure, 2004). By formalizing KenE, this study provides a local model that if adopted in education could be reinforced in and outside the classroom.

## **1.6 Aim and Objectives**

### **1.6.1 Aim**

The aim of this study is to identify and explain the phonological features of KenE.

### **1.6.2 Objectives**

1. To identify the phonemic inventory of Kenyan English.
2. To show how the phonemic inventory of KenE differs from that of standard British English.
3. To describe the stress system of Kenyan English.
4. To explain the factors leading to the emergence of a KenE pronunciation. .

### **1.7 Assumption**

There exists a variety of English in Kenya which has distinct phonological features and could be characterized as Kenyan English.

### **1.8 Scope and Limitations**

This study specifically focuses on analyzing spoken English as used by educated Kenyans. As Kanyoro (1991) cited in Njoroge (2006:16) observes, spoken language presents a good starting point for identifying specific patterns, which might be labeled Kenyan English.

The target population of the study was educated second language speakers of English in Kenya. Secondary school teachers of English were thus chosen since teachers of English are the learners' linguistic models (Chaudron, 1995 as cited in Njoroge 2006) and they are expected to impart the standard variety to be used in schools in Kenya. They also make up a more homogenous socio-educational group and as English language promoters, according to Schmied (1991) cited in Kanyoro (1991: 421), their pronunciation is more likely to represent the acrolectal variety of KenE. The acrolect, according to Bamgbose (1983), is the variety to be standardized since it is generally acceptable locally and is intelligible internationally.

This research examines the phonological characteristics of KenE. To enable a description of these characteristics, features observed in the language of teachers as role models are

compared with those of British English (BrE) as described by Roach (2000). The study limits itself to describing the vowels, consonants and stress placement in words. The rationale for the choice of pronunciation is based on Labov's (2003) (cited in Njoroge (2006)) observation that pronunciation and grammar are more crucial indicators of variation than vocabulary.

The data collected was analyzed for phonological features in auditory (impressionistic) terms due to lack of acoustic equipment, a fact attributable to the limited resources at the researcher's disposal. Further analysis of data was restricted to the principles of Metrical Phonology in order to capture the stress placement patterns in KenE.



## **CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter first introduces, explains and justifies the choice of the theories used to inform this research. It then offers a critical review of other studies that are relevant to the current one on KenE phonology. It also examines literature on description of sound segments and stress patterns. Finally, it looks at studies on East African and Kenyan varieties of English. In the end, an academic gap is seen to emerge which this study attempts to seal in subsequent chapters.

### **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

Two theories are used to inform this study: “*The Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes*”, a model propounded by Rodney F. Moag (1983), and the *Metrical Theory of Stress* advanced by Liberman and Prince (1977).

#### **2.2.1 The Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes**

In this model, Moag (1983) describes the process by which a variety begins as a Foreign Language (FL), becomes a Second Language (SL), and reverts to Foreign Language status again. Four processes are posited as significant constituents of the life cycle: *transportation, indigenization, expansion in use and function, and institutionalization*. A fifth, *restriction of use and function*, does not apply in all cases.

It is not possible to regard these as stages in the strict sense, since they are not fully consecutive. Each process begins in the order stated, but once underway, it overlaps with succeeding processes. *Indigenization*, for example, precedes, but runs concurrently with *expansion of use and function*, and well into *institutionalization*.

### ***Transportation***

This process involves bringing English into a new environment for purposes of a more or less permanent nature, such as colonial administration. Contact between English-speaking aliens and some segments of the local population, usually a very limited one, will be frequent and recurrent enough, and the dominance of the visitors will be clear enough to require that the locals learn English. In the case of Kenya, as mentioned earlier in Chapter One, English was transported into the country by early explorers, missionaries and later colonial masters from Britain. Later, a class of clerks were trained and retained to assist the colonial British administration. This was possible through missionaries, and later expatriate language teachers who trained only a small African elite needed as administrators to carry out the British policy of indirect rule. The vast majority of Africans did not speak English at all.

### ***Indigenization***

Indigenization is a process of language change by which the new variety of English becomes distinct from the parent-imported variety, and from other indigenized varieties elsewhere. According to Moag (ibid), the first step occurs when English-speaking newcomers come into contact with items of the local material and material culture for which there are no equivalents in their home environment or language. Zuengler (1983: 115) reckons that this process in Kenyan English includes direct lexical transfer, usually

of single items, from Kenyan languages because they lack exact equivalents in English. They include *ugali*, *sukumawiki*, *githeri*, *busaa*, *baraza*, *harambee*, *uhuru* and *rungu* among others. Schmied (2004) explains this process of indigenization from a phonological perspective. He argues that in East Africa, the transfer of mother-tongue features like the five-vowel system into English spoken as a second language in the region could cause it to deviate from the English spoken as a native language.

The second phase of the indigenization process comes when members of the local colonial elite begin to use English for communication among themselves. This phase sees the transfer of more native features into English, as locals bring familiar items and conventions in their own languages and cultures into play. These include additional lexemes, grammatical features through direct transfer or overgeneralization. This particular phase tends to have considerable longevity, persisting as long as English education remains an elitist phenomenon.

Kachru (1983:283-284) however, raises questions about this process of indigenization which marks the ESL stage in the life cycle. He wonders if the ESL phase is just but a passing phase with English in non-native contexts inevitably becoming a native language in these societies. He cites Fiji, an ESL society, where the present generation of Chinese has already switched to English. This possibility is supported by Mwangi (2003:6) who while describing such a variety as “English as a Second language spoken as a Native Language” (ESNL), predicts its occurrence in Kenya especially due to the increase in the use of English in the home. Subsequent phases of the indigenization process run concurrently with latter processes in the life cycle.

### *Expansion in Use and Function*

This process begins with the extension of English (or the degree of its use) to new domains, particularly education, the media, and government services. English may have been used in these domains previously, but only by an elite group of locals.

Obviously, expansion must first take place in the domain of education, since the requisite skills of literacy and aural comprehension must be acquired before the populace can use English for paper work and face-to-face contact with clerks and government officials.

The expansion process, if fully run, sees the role of English shift from that of a foreign to a second language. In the case of Kenya, the elevation of English to the level of official language, besides being a major step in the expansion in the function of the language, also had the political advantage of giving no ethnic group the advantage of having its own language singled out for official status. The neutrality of English made it generally acceptable across ethnic groups and substantially aided in its expansion process.

Expansion in the use and function of English often leads to the birth of an informal variety which lacks internal variation thus making the non-native variety of English a social as well as political leveler. However, with indigenization and expansion, there is an increase in internal variation through the creation of a separate stylistic variant used for informal purposes. Such varieties are well reported for West Africa, India, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines but not in the Caribbean since the informal variety came first and became the mother tongue for imported plantation workers.

### *Institutionalization of the New Varieties*

This is a gradual process, and it is not easy to pin point precisely when it begins. Several factors play an important role in the process.

#### *The role of local creative writers*

Local literary activity becomes institutionalized when it becomes regenerative. The first generation of creative writers in former British colonies received their secondary or tertiary education abroad, in native English-speaking countries. Their works play a large part in the English curriculum at local universities as well as secondary school levels. These titles include *Petals of Blood*, *A Grain of Wheat* and *Weep Not Child* by Ngugi wa Thiongo; *The Promised Land* by Grace Ogot; *The Burning of Rags* and *Betrayal in the City* by Francis Imbuga; and *The River and the Source* by Margaret Ogola. This literature serves two functions. First, it motivates students to take up the pen themselves, and second, it provides a model for accepted norms when they do so. A distinctly regional character is found in such works, in terms of both themes and linguistic norms. Zuengler (1983) gives *Shamba*, *thingira*, and *jembe* as examples of KenE lexemes used in *The River Between* (1965) by James Ngugi. Others include *matatu*, *wananchi*, *sufuria*, *jiko*, *mandazi* and *jua kali*.

#### *The role of localization of teachers*

In the colonial period, the local elite, taught and trained by expatriate English speaking teachers, usually finished their education abroad, in native English speaking countries such as the United States, Canada or Britain. The bulk of the population acquired no

meaningful competence in Standard English during their few years of primary education. Today, more secondary schools have been built, and teacher training institutions established; a generation of students has thus arisen which has been taught completely by Kenyan teachers, and which has received all of its training in the home country. This phenomenon has no doubt increased divergence from British English. Most teachers of secondary schools and tertiary institutions, including university lecturers in Kenya, are locally trained, largely by English as Second Language (ESL) teachers.

The end result of localization of teachers is a stable situation in which the young people of the society learn the formal variety of English from second-language speakers. There is negligible input from native speaker models, particularly aural ones. It is from this observation that the assumption of this study is made. This study assumes that the pronunciation of Kenyan English differs from that of British English. It is also from the role outlined above, of local teachers, that this study sets out to isolate secondary school teachers as its target population since they are role models in society and the other people in the society will fashion their pronunciation around that of such models.

#### *The role of the media*

The press and radio play a part in the legitimization of the new non-native Englishes. This is especially in regard to a spoken model. In Kenya today, almost all media personnel are local. Local English program personnel have generally not received their language training overseas. The print media, unlike the aural one, is more likely to have a higher proportion of native-speaker material since newspapers use numerous items from international news services, and popular books and magazines abound in the bookstores.

Because of their clear lack of relevance to the local context, the English-language movies imported from native-speaking countries have little influence as a model on the local Kenyan population. The local news items will therefore be read or listened to with greatest attention, and the local themes, cultural assumptions, and local styles will have the greatest real impact.

Within this context, the localization of media staff becomes clearly significant both as a creative force and as a reinforcing one. This explains why the speech of news reporters partly provided the basis for identification of words that the researcher considered as exhibiting a pronunciation that deviates from BrE.

#### *The role of vernacular use and policy*

The place of the vernacular languages in the overall language use pattern has a direct bearing on the role that English can assume. Official policies can be modified so as to advance English and downgrade vernaculars. In Kenya, vernaculars are used as media of instruction with accompanying ESL classes for the first three years of primary school. Only in ethnically mixed areas, where the choice of one vernacular would threaten the sense of unity and equality, is the ethnically more neutral Swahili language used instead. Many schools, especially in urban areas are in fact using English in Standard One, Two and Three today. For the remaining years of primary school, in secondary school and tertiary institutions, English is the medium of instruction. The vernaculars and Kiswahili therefore, do not threaten the place of English in Kenya but do, in fact, play a significant role in the development of the variety of English spoken in the country today.

### ***Restriction of the Use and Function of English***

This final stage in the life cycle is evident in very few nations. Tanzania is such a nation. It involves the displacement of English by a local official language, usually through the processes of language planning, in those very domains of government activities, education, and the media that had permitted English to rise to a position of dominance in the first place. When governments mount vigorous campaigns promoting the national language, English is bound, in time, to revert to the status of a foreign language studied and used by a small elite - the status it held much earlier in the life cycle. During the colonial period in Tanzania, English was the medium of education in the last three years of primary school onwards, and also the language of administration. Kiswahili, a local Bantu language, was a lingua franca. However, after independence in 1961, Kiswahili was adopted as the national language and enthusiastically promoted particularly during Tanzania's period of *Ujamaa na Kujitegemea* (*Socialism and Self-reliance* introduced by the Arusha Declaration of 1967). Kiswahili became the medium of education in primary schools and was declared the official language while the use of English was actively discouraged (Barrett, 1994).

This new EFL stage contrasts with the EFL stage at the beginning of the cycle, in that the use of English is more limited. The elites in the new independent nations use English only in technical and scientific subjects at the university level, and for some professional activities, whereas formerly the local colonial elite used the language in all activities relating to school and work.



The concept of life cycle implies that there is both a beginning and an end to the process and organization under study. Once the local national language is firmly established, the creative writing, media activities, and other support mechanisms in English will fade. There could then be re-orientation away from the indigenized non-native model and toward an external native model of English. This potential death has not happened in any country, but may be on the cards for Malaysia, the Philippines, and perhaps even India.

Guided by this model of '*The Life Cycle of Non-Native English*' this study endeavors to demonstrate the existence of a non-native variety of English in Kenya – Kenyan English, which is at the ESL stage largely due to the influence of education and the media.

### **2.2.2 Metrical Theory of Stress**

Metrical Phonology Theory has its origins in a doctoral dissertation (Lieberman, 1977) cited in Archibald (1993:34). It was then advanced by Lieberman and Prince (1977). Other linguists like Hogg and McCully (1987), Hayes (1980) and Durand (1990) have since written on the theory. Metrical phonology starts from the assumption that stress patterns reflect an underlying structure in which stronger and weaker constituents are juxtaposed. To say that a certain syllable is stressed is to make a judgment about its strength relative to adjacent syllables. We can, therefore display the stress patterns of disyllabic words as either a) or b) in Diagram 1 below.

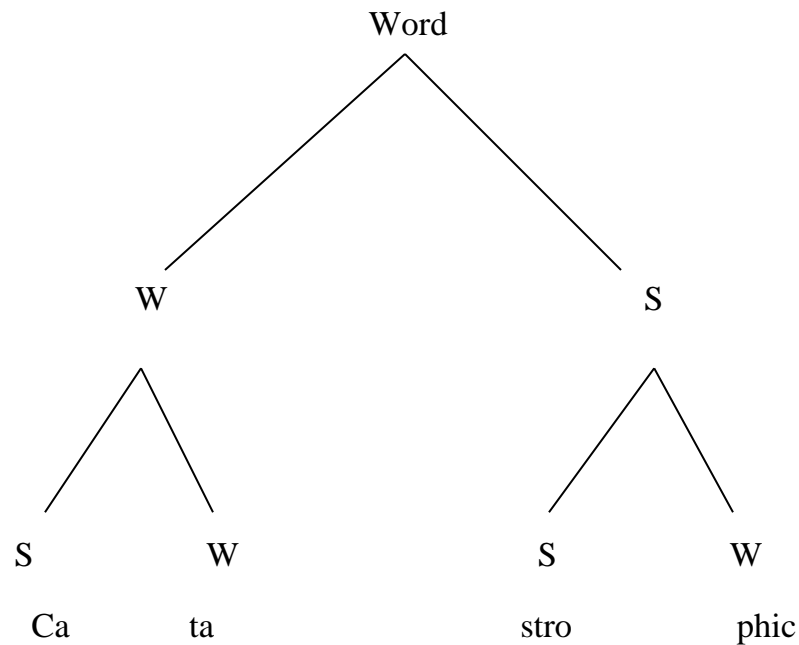
**Diagram 1: Stress patterns for bisyllabic words**



S and W simply indicate stronger and weaker constituents. Metrical Phonology (MP) is devoted to explaining how more complex patterns are derived from these basic patterns within certain postulated constraints.

For example, the relationship between S and W is assumed to be binary as in the word ‘catastrophic’.

**Diagram 2: Metrical Tree for “Catastrophic”**



MP has a way of expressing the stress pattern involved in the pronunciation of the word above with greatest stress on the third syllable, and minimal stress on second and fourth syllables using a metrical grid. This then provides a visual display of the stress pattern with the greatest degree of stress represented by the column having the greatest number of entries or nodes, thus:

**Diagram 3: Metrical Grid for “Catastrophic”**

(		*	)	Word level				
(	*	.	)	(	*	.	)	Foot level
σ	σ	σ	σ	Syllable level				
kæ	tə	strʊ	fɪk	Segment level				

Using metrical grids and other propositions of MP, this study attempts to formalize KenE phonology in terms of stress placement and make a case for the argument for the existence of KenE.

**2.3 Literature Review**

A number of studies have alluded to the existence of what can be referred to as Kenyan English. These include Hocking (1974), Hancock and Angogo (1982), Zuengler (1983),

Okoth-Okombo (1986), Kanyoro (1991), and more recently Muthwii (1994), Kembo-Sure (1997, 2004), Kioko and Muthwii (2001), Bulili (2002), Skandera (2003), Mwangi (2003), Mesthrie (2004), Schmied (1991;2004) and Njoroge (2006). Of the works listed, only few like Okombo (1986), Kanyoro (1991), Muthwii (1994), Schmied (2004), and Njoroge (2006) describe the phonology of Kenyan English. These works will be reviewed later in this chapter. Other literature has also been written on phonology and especially on the description of individual sound segments.

### **2.3.1 Description of Sound Segments**

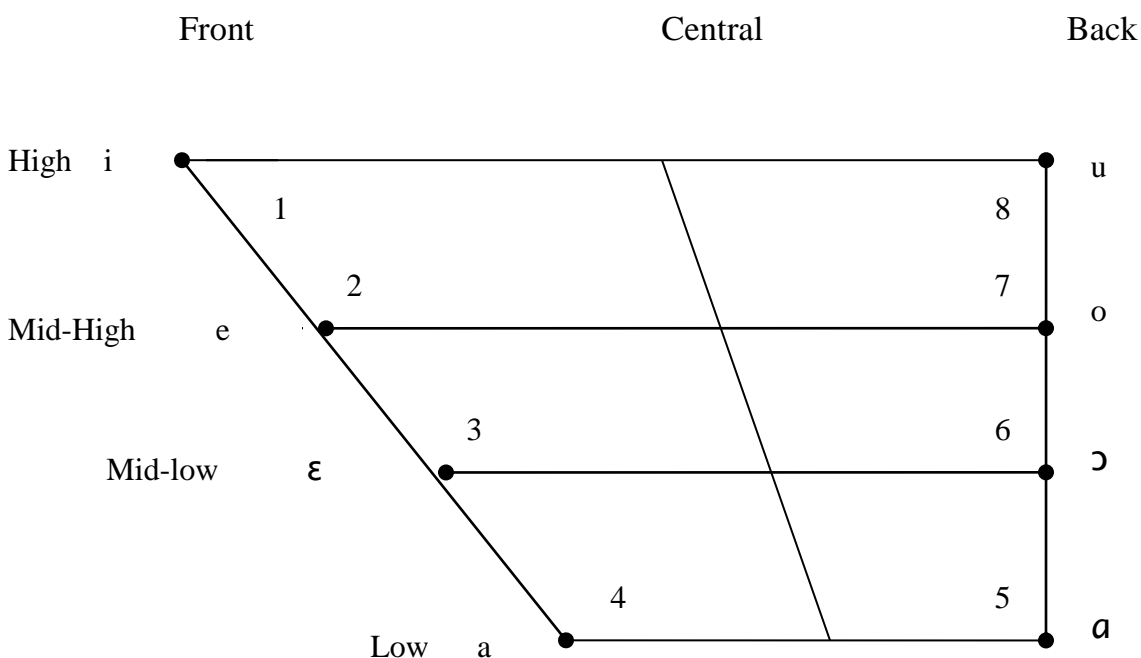
#### *Vowels*

A vowel is a sound in which there is no obstruction to the flow of air as it passes from the larynx to the lips (Roach 2000:10). Vowels are therefore sonorous since they are relatively loud. Different vowel sounds (qualities) are produced by varying the placement of the body of the tongue and shaping of the lips. When the quality of a vowel sound remains constant, the vowel can be described as a pure vowel, simple vowel or monophthong. However, when the sound consists of a movement or glide from one vowel to another resulting in a change in quality, the vowel sound is called a diphthong (O'Grady, et al, 1996: 36). There can also be a glide from one vowel to another and then to a third resulting in a triphthong (Roach 2000: 24).

In order to describe the vowel sounds of a language as accurately as possible, reference is made to the set of cardinal vowels whose values are relatively stable (Hawkins, 1984: 234). These Cardinal vowels are a standard referencing system and don't belong to any

particular language (Roach, 2000: 13). The most familiar of these vowels are called Primary Cardinal Vowels and are located on the quadrilateral below as diagram 4.

**Diagram 4: Primary Cardinal Vowels**



Vowels are generally described using two main parameters: first, the vertical distance between the upper surface of the tongue and the palate (roof of the mouth) and, secondly, the part of the tongue, between the front and back which is raised highest (Roach, 2000:12). These dimensions can be described briefly as *tongue height* and *part of the tongue* respectively. The vowel /i/, for example can be described as *high* and *front*.

Another dimension, *lip-rounding*, is also used in the description of vowels. The shape of the lips in the production of a vowel sound can be *rounded*, *spread* or *neutral*. Cardinal

Vowels no. 1 [ i ] and no. 8 [ u ] can be described as *spread* and *rounded* respectively. (ibid: 15).

### ***Consonants***

A consonant, also referred to as a non-syllabic element, is a sound produced with a narrow or complete closure in the vocal tract making it less sonorous than a vowel sound (O'Grady, 1996: 24). Consonants can be described using three basic parameters: state of the glottis (voiced or voiceless due to vibration, or lack of it, of the vocal cords), place of articulation (location of closure in the oral tract), and manner of articulation (nature of interruption of air flow).

Consonants can be divided into 7 major categories based on their manner of articulation:

A plosive, also called a stop, is produced by the formation and rapid release of a complete closure at any point in the vocal tract from the glottis to the lips. The airflow is thus interrupted (Clark and Yallop, 1995: 44). Plosives include / p / and / d /.

Fricatives are consonants which when produced; air escapes through a small passage and makes a hissing sound. These sounds are continuant consonants, which means that you can continue making them without interruption as long as you have enough air in your lungs (Roach, 2000:48). Fricatives include /s/ and /z /.

According to Roach (2000:48) affricates are complex consonants since they begin as plosives and end up as fricatives. These plosives and fricatives however, must be

homorganic i.e. they must be made with the same articulators. When the articulators release a closure through a controlled friction phase, an affricate, or affricative, is produced. Affricates include /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

The basic characteristic of a nasal according to Roach (2000:58) is that air escapes through the nose. For this to happen, air is prevented from passing through the mouth by a complete closure in the mouth at some point. Nasals include /m/ and /ŋ/.

A lateral is a consonant sound produced when the air stream is diverted from the centre of the oral tract and flows to one or both sides (Clark and Yallop, 1995:51). This diversion is as a result of a complete closure between the centre of the tongue and the part of the roof of the mouth where contact is to be made (Roach, 2000:61). The lateral /l/ is found in English.

A trill is an articulation produced by vibration of an articulator when air passes by it. The air stream is repeatedly interrupted at a rapid rate. The most common trill, /r/, uses the tip of the tongue held close to the alveolar ridge. This series of vibrations is what is called trill (Clark and Yallop, 1995:49).

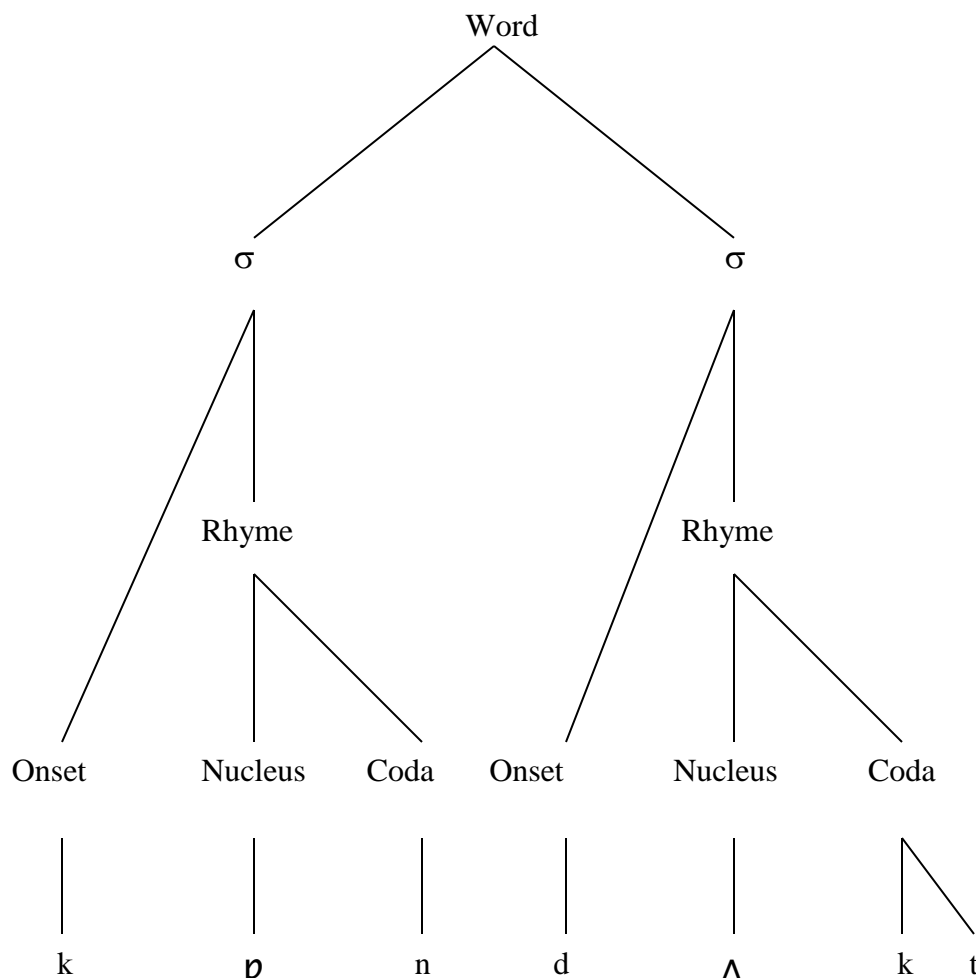
A glide, also referred to as an approximant or a semivowel, is produced when the air stream is obstructed slightly. This constriction is normally greater than in a vowel, but not great enough to produce turbulence at the point of constriction (Clark and Yallop, 1995:47). The glides of English are /j/ and /w/.

### 2.3.2 Description of Stress Patterns

A proper description of stress patterns will always refer to the linguistic unit of the syllable. The syllable is significant since it is the Stress Bearing Unit. It is the link between the segments and the supra-segments in language study. O'Connor (2000:150) describes the syllable as a unit consisting of one vowel or syllabic consonant (sound) which may be preceded and/ or followed by a consonant or consonants. The syllable is a phonological unit, just like a phoneme, a phonological word or phrase (Clark and Yallop: 1995). The syllable is significant in bringing about a difference in meaning in otherwise similar words. Consider the English word *conduct*. It is a sequence of seven sounds on one level. On another level, it is a sequence of two syllables, and on yet another level, it is a single unit, a word. The two syllables ( $\sigma$ ), *con* and *duct*, can be represented as follows:



**Diagram 5: Syllable Structure for  
'conduct'**



This word has two patterns of stress; one signaling a verb and the other a noun. To isolate these patterns, we need not refer to individual phonemes but to the syllable. The syllable is significant since it helps to explain patterns of stress in English. It is the Stress Bearing Unit since stress cannot be placed on individual or all phonemes of a word. In stress assignment, the units that are skipped over are always complete syllables (Goldsmith, 1995).

Stress is a cover term for the combined efforts of pitch, loudness, and length -the result of which is relative syllabic segment prominence (Dobrovolsky and Katamba, 1996:48). Languages use only a limited number of different stress systems.

According to Vaux and Cooper (1999: 84-85) there are three basic stress systems: alternating, non-alternating, and lexical. In lexical stress systems, each word has an idiosyncratic stress, and it is therefore difficult or impossible to predict where the stress will fall in a given word. In non-alternating systems, there is only one stress per word - primary stress- which always falls on the same syllable regardless of the length of the word. This particular syllable is always either the first, second, last or second-to-last (penultimate) syllable. In French and Armenian, for example, stress always falls on the last syllable of a word (*ibid*). In alternating stress systems, words have one main stress, and secondary stresses are assigned to alternating syllables before or after the primary stress. In Kiswahili, for instance, main stress falls on the penultimate syllable (O'Grady, *et al.* 1996:120).

Each of these three stress types can be sensitive to prosodic weight; in other words, it can treat heavy syllables differently from light syllables. It is possible to come up with a stress pattern for a given language using the Metrical Parameters approach proposed by Dresher and Kaye (1990) cited in Archibald (1993: 41) and also in Dobrovolsky and Katamba (1996: 118). These parameters are a set of universally available options for languages to select from in order to constitute a stress assignment system and are part of Universal Grammar. They are:

- P1 Binary / unbounded
- P2 Left- / Right-headed feet
- P3 Directionality: left-to-right / right-to-left
- P4 Feet are quantity-sensitive: Yes / No
- P5 There is an extrametrical syllable: Yes / No
- P6 It is extrametrical on the left / right

Within this framework, rather than merely create unconstrained hypotheses on stress patterns, an attempt is made to answer a few simple questions such as these: Do feet have two members (one strong and one weak) that are bound together, or are they unbound such that they may have any number of members (one strong and any number of weak) (cf. P1)? Which of the two syllables in a foot is strong, the one on the left or the one on the right (cf. p2)? Is foot assignment done from the left edge of the word towards the right or from the right edge towards the left (cf. P3)? Does foot construction take into consideration certain aspects of the make up of syllables such as vowel quality, vowel length open or closed syllables etc (cf. P4)? Are there syllables that are invisible to foot assignment rules (cf. P5)? Finally, is the syllable that is insensitive to stress assignment located on the left or on the right edge of a word (cf. P6)?

Archibald (1983) described the metrical parameter settings of Polish and Hungarian, and the errors made by Polish and Hungarian subjects when they speak English as a second language. For example, both English and Polish have word trees strong on the right; both

have binary feet which are built from the right but strong on the left. However, while feet are Quantity Sensitive (QS) in English, they are not in Polish. This study by Archibald also provides a basis for the present study especially with regard to methodology and analysis.

### **2.3.3 Studies on East African English**

Mesthrie (2004) gives a general overview of the phonological characteristics of varieties of English in Africa and South and Southeast Asia. He gives emphasis to those characteristics that differ from Received Pronunciation (RP) and General American. These two idealized varieties are chosen as a convenient means of comparison and also for the fact that they do have some prestige in former colonies. Mesthrie, however, doesn't describe KenE per se, but rather captures it generally under East African English (EAfrE). He dwells mostly on giving a phonemic inventory of the vowels and consonants of EAfrE. A passing mention is given to stress and intonation. It is also worth noting that Mesthrie does not mention the methodology used in his study. We can therefore reasonably conclude that he relies exclusively on his own observations of EAfrE.

Schmied (2004) describes the history of English in East Africa generally and in each of the three countries, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, in particular. He goes further than just tabulating the phonemic inventory of EAfrE, by describing its supra-segmental patterns, such as phonotactic patterns, word stress and rhythm, albeit briefly and without explaining his methodology. Part of his more comprehensive description of EAfrE includes a section on the attitudes of East Africans towards English. He reckons that

attitudes toward English are generally stereotyped notions that are usually extremely positive. English is seen largely as “sophisticated” and “superior”, but also “difficult” and “formal”. He also attempts an explanation for the rise of an East African form of English and cites influence of mother tongue, general language learning strategies, and exposure to written forms of English as possible explanations for deviation from BrE. It is this particular study that inspired the present study. The present study, however, narrows its focus on KenE to describing the phonological features that set it apart from other Englishes, particularly stress placement.

#### **2.3.4 Previous Studies on Kenyan English**

Hocking (1974), acknowledges possible development of an East African variety of English. However, his work does not encourage its development for the book was largely prescriptive. Using his knowledge as an expatriate English teacher, Hocking listed common errors in the English of Africans. However, he notes that what he calls errors may eventually be legitimate features of Kenyan English one day.

Zuengler (1983) was the first to write extensively on KenE. She lists the sources of her data as being creative literary texts published between 1965 and 1977, and newspaper reports from 1978. However, she steers clear of KenE phonology, preferring instead to account for the development of KenE as a non-native variety of English. Zuengler cites nativization, the process of transferring cultural and linguistic patterns into English across registers and contexts, as the main reason for the existence of KenE lexical items. She

gives direct lexical transfer, semantic shift and syntactic shift as constituent processes of nativization.

Okoth-Okombo (1986) concludes that the variety of KenE used by educated Kenyans differs from that of native speakers of English in the areas of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The present study generally takes off from this premise. This particular study, however, does not mention the methodology used in data collection.

Muthwii (1994) looks at how an ethnic language interacts with two lingua franca; namely, Kiswahili and English in Kenya. She analyzes the speech of educated Kalenjin speakers and seeks to find out how the languages of a Kenyan trilingual are distinct from one another; what it is about an individual's speech that identifies him/her as being Kalenjin, Kikuyu, Luo and so forth in another language; and also how linguistic variation correlates with the social characteristics of the speakers. Her main concern, therefore, is on the way linguistic variables are used as a means of identifying with different social groups. She observes that ethnic variants represent an ethnic identity and English and Kiswahili variants represent an extra-group identity. The amounts of ethnic languages features in the speech of an individual, she explains, reflects the degree to which s/he has shifted from one set of norms to another: the less ethnic features in speech the more a speaker has moved from ethnic norms and ethnicity towards extra-group norms and an extra-group identity.

Kembo-Sure (1997), confirms the assumption of this study by saying that the form of English being spoken in Kenya today is neither the British nor the American standard. He adds that Kenyans speak English that is uniquely Kenyan. Standardizing this variety, he says, will make the goals of English instruction realistic since set standards will be within the capability of teachers and learners as opposed to external norms that are unattainable even by teachers. Also, it will make learning easier since the variety of English used for instruction will have evolved within the cultural and cognitive environment that is familiar to learners themselves. In his more recent work, Kembo-Sure (2004) furthers his argument of the adoption and standardization of a local model of English by proposing a curriculum reform that would make teaching of English in Africa effective and profitable. He argues that multiple standards of English around the world will not necessarily foster intercultural misunderstanding but would in fact enhance mutual respect and increase intercultural interaction. He illustrates this point using an extract from a renowned humor columnist with *The Sunday Nation*, Wahome Mutahi, which contains Kenyan English with sociolinguistic and cultural features that characterize its users. Even a non-Kenyan, he argues, can understand the extract if they gloss the many Kenyan expressions because they are context-bound. He finally gives a few examples of expressions that appear in carefully edited texts and speech by fairly educated Kenyans with active experience in Kenya such as ‘avail’ (make available), ‘at par’ (on a par), ‘leave alone’ (let alone), ‘clean heart’ (without ill motive), ‘fill’ (fill in) and ‘pick’ (pick up). However, he doesn’t examine pronunciation in Kenyan English.

Mwangi's (2003) study is a description of prepositional usage in KenE with an aim of finding out the extent to which that usage differs from that of BrE. Her study also aimed at finding out the extent to which sociolinguistic context influences the development of different patterns of prepositional usage in KenE. Her study found out that there are no significant differences in prepositional usage between BrE and KenE, but some individual prepositions show significant differences in their frequency of occurrence and patterns of usage. This, she reckons, underscores the importance of analyzing individual prepositions rather than using the entire class of propositions to make judgments of similarity or differences between or among varieties of a language. She observes, for instance, that there is a tendency in KenE to level out semantic distinctions between prepositions of position and those of direction unlike in BrE. This explains the high frequency of prepositions of position such as *in* and *on* and the resultant lower frequency of those of direction, for instance, *into* and *onto*. This is a phenomenon, she argues, that is attributable to substrate influence from two of the major local languages spoken in Kenya, namely Swahili and Kikuyu.

Also noteworthy is her observation that KenE differs from BrE more in speech than in writing. This is evident in the frequent use of complex prepositions, such as *by virtue of*, *in reference to* and *with regard to* in KenE speech. These are otherwise formal and are to be found more in BrE writing than in BrE speech. It is this variation, she observes, between BrE and KenE speech that partly motivated this researcher to study the phonology of KenE.



Njoroge (2006) examines the phonological and grammatical variations in the English spoken by teachers at primary school level in Kenya. His general finding is that the English spoken by teachers at primary school level in Kenya varies from the British standard variety -the model that is supposed to be used at all the education tiers in Kenya. Ethnicity, he observes, impacts heavily on both phonological and grammatical systems in the spoken English that the sampled teachers used. Education was also found to influence the variations. Graduate teachers, for instance, had fewer variations in their spoken English. This observation formed part of the rationale for the adoption of secondary school teachers of English as the target population in this study.

## **2.4 Summary**

Chapter Two has presented the two frames on which this study is hinged and has also reviewed relevant literature. The first theory, "*The Life Cycle of Non-native Englishes*", demonstrates the existence of a non-native variety of English in Kenya -Kenyan English, which is at the ESL stage and whose characteristic features are largely due to the indigenization process. The second, Metrical Phonology Theory provides a basis on which stress placement in KenE is discussed. The section on the literature review has highlighted other phonological studies on non-native varieties of English found in East Africa in general and Kenya in particular, and also studies on other languages in the world along the lines of metrical phonology. It is clear from the foregoing that a comprehensive study is yet to be conducted on KenE phonology with an elaborate methodology along Metrical Phonology lines. This study attempts to seal this academic gap.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the research design employed in the study and examines the methods and instruments used in collecting linguistic data. It also looks at the methods employed in analyzing and discussing the data. The data collected was primary source data from speakers of KenE as a second language.

### **3.2 Research Design**

This study employed a qualitative research design that enabled the researcher to describe the phonology of KenE; its sound segments, stress placement patterns and factors accounting for its emergence. In addition, the study also used descriptive statistics to show the percentages of the subjects' frequency of stress placement that characterizes KenE.

### **3.3 Population and Site**

The research targeted educated Kenyan speakers of English as a Second Language with at least university education and whose ages range between twenty-five and fifty years. This was in line with similar studies conducted elsewhere. Bamgbose (1983) on Standard Nigerian English based his general observations on usages by speakers with university education. Schmied (1991) based his quantitative study of Kenyan English on certificate level trainee teachers.

The upper age limit of this study was meant to exclude the older subjects who were probably taught by native speakers. This study assumed that these subjects' English resembled British English more closely. The sample comprised secondary school teachers of English who were also Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) examiners of the English Language paper in Kenya. The rationale for the choice of population was the fact that secondary school teachers make up a homogenous socio-educational group of English language 'promoters' (Schmied, 1991) since they have been to universities where English is the medium of instruction; they have all been examined and passed by KNEC; they have followed similar syllabi prepared by the KIE in secondary school; and finally, they have the same employer, the Teachers Service Commission, that is responsible for deploying teachers in any location within the republic. As role models and opinion leaders in society, other Kenyans will fashion their pronunciation around that of their teachers. These teachers' pronunciation is more likely to represent the acrolectal variety of Kenyan English since their high "educational experience and interaction with people from other ethnic groups exerts pressure on them to 'adopt the linguistic norms of the wider Kenyan community'" (Muthwii, 1994). Their English is likely to have very few ethnic markers and is generally acceptable to most Kenyans.

Data was collected at Nairobi School, a marking centre for the Kenya National Examinations Council (KNEC) English Language paper (Paper 2) in December 2005. Such a setting provided an opportunity for data to be collected from teachers of English of various first languages from across the country.

### 3.4 Sampling

Judgmental sampling (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999) yielded 24 informants in total. The principle underlying this selection method entails identifying in advance the target variables. This then presupposes the type of respondents to be studied. The research sample comprised 24 secondary school teachers who were drawn from the four major language groups in Kenya with equal gender representation. These groups were Kikuyu (Central Bantu) 6, Luo (Lake Nilotes) 6, Kalenjin (Highland Nilotes) 6 and Luhya (Western Bantu) 6. Of these six teachers per cell, three were men and the remaining three were women.

To arrive at the 24 member sample, the Social Network approach (Milroy 1987) was used. The method entails entering the fieldwork as “a friend of a friend”. Through establishing a relationship with a member from each of the four ethnic groups, the researcher was able to get five other members. Thus, in each cell, the members were six. This is an approach used by other linguists in Kenya (Muthwii, 1994; Njoroge 2006).

Labov (1982) cited in Njoroge (2006: 72) points out that linguistic studies do not require the statistical analysis of hundreds of speakers' records. He says that variations can emerge even from samples as small as twenty-five speakers. In the light of such views, a sample drawn from twenty-four respondents was deemed sufficient to enable an exhaustive study of segmental features and stress placement patterns of KenE.

It was the reasoning in this study that the samples from the four major language groups would reflect the general linguistic patterns of the vast majority of Kenyans across the country. According to the 1999 Population Census, the 4 (out of 40) major indigenous languages combined are spoken by about 16 (out of 28) million people which translates into 55% of Kenyan population. In addition to having one of the four major languages as their first language, informants were also required to be holders of a university degree.

### **3.5 Data Collection**

The techniques used for language data collection were audio tape recording and note-making. Subjects were assigned a production task by being asked to read out loud into a tape recorder a list of 60 sentences (ff. Appendix 2), which contained carefully selected target words in order to elicit typically Kenyan pronunciation features. As a speaker of KenE and also having studied English up to university level and taught it in secondary school for several years, the researcher was able to compile a list of target words that he suspected exhibit phonological characteristics -with regard to stress placement- that differ from the British norm. These carefully selected words were sourced from notes the researcher made on conversations the researcher held with, and heard from lecturers and students in Moi University, and from the speech of news reporters on local T.V. and radio stations. It was necessary to “hide” these words in the context of sentences in order that the subjects could not recognize them as target words thereby increasing the chances of the subjects producing them naturally. In order to make the study manageable, the target words were limited to nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Each subject was presented with a sheet of paper on which were written sentences containing the target words. Alone with the researcher in an empty hall, each subject was required to read the sentences aloud into a tape recorder. Before each recording session, the researcher engaged the subjects in an informal general chat on the challenges teachers face in teaching pronunciation in schools and gave a candid explanation of the aim and objectives of the research and how they stand to benefit from the study. This, coupled with the camaraderie that existed between the researcher and the subjects as fellow examiners with the Kenya National Examinations Council for 8 years, helped to significantly lessen the effect of observers' paradox.

The subjects' production of target words was later phonemically transcribed. This also included stress placement and was done in auditory (impressionistic) terms. This means that the researcher based his transcription on what he heard the subjects produce.

### **3.6 Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation**

The data elicited was analyzed into two main categories: a) segmental features of KenE, and b) stress in KenE. The segmental features were further analyzed into three categories of pure vowels, diphthongs and consonants in order to identify the phonemic inventory of KenE. A vowel trapezium and a consonant chart were then employed to give a summary of KenE phonemes. The category on stress was analyzed into three groups reflecting the three word classes of nouns, verbs and adjectives.

Data on KenE are presented in the form of lists of words with their phonemic transcriptions under the categories mentioned above. For the section on stress placement, a list of BrE transcription of the words is given alongside that of KenE to illustrate the difference between the two varieties.

The stress placement patterns in each of the classes were described in terms of whether the stress in KenE occurs on an earlier or later syllable than it does in BrE. A general paradigm for stress placement in KenE words is attempted using the theoretical propositions of Metrical Phonology.

### **3.7 Summary**

Chapter Three has focused on describing the research design adopted by the study. In addition, it has explained the rationale behind the choice of the study's target population, and finally, introduced and explained the research instruments and methods used in the collection, analysis and discussion of the data.

## CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter basically presents and discusses the data collected on segmental and supra-segmental features of KenE through audio tape-recording and note-making. First, the phonemes of KenE are identified and described. Second, the stress assignment patterns in KenE verbs, nouns and adjectives are described using the *metrical parameters approach* proposed by Dresher and Kaye (1990) cited in Archibald (1993:41). Finally, a discussion on the characteristic features of KenE observed in the data is presented by making a comparison between KenE and BrE. A brief explanation to account for the variations observed in the two varieties is also given.

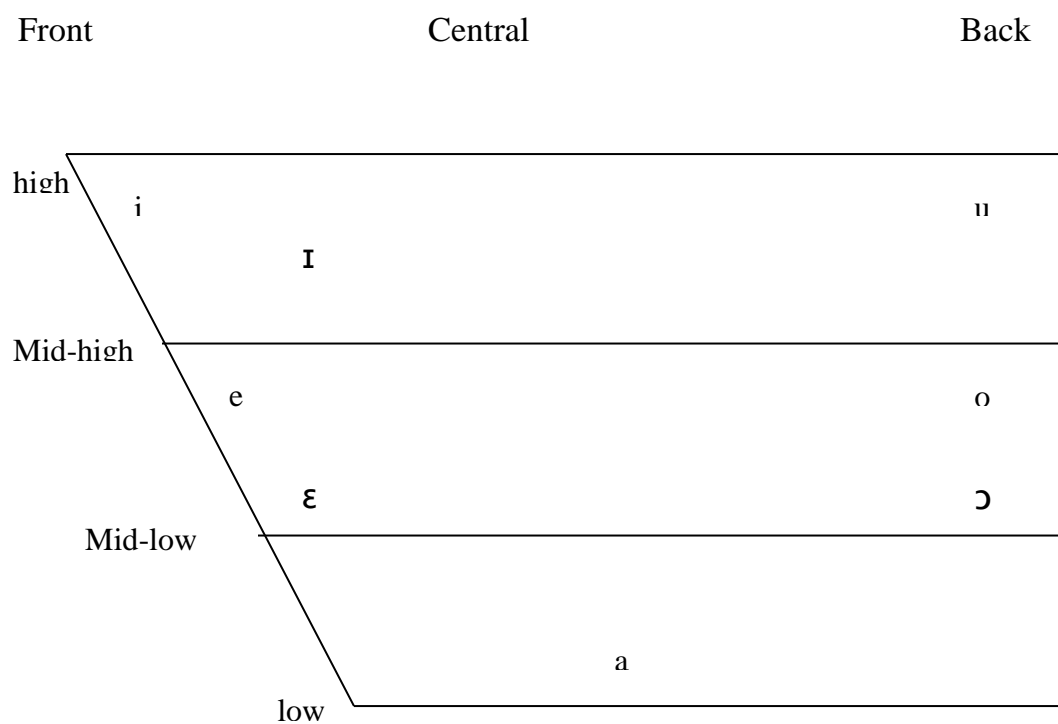
### 4.2 Segmental Features of KenE

#### 4.2.1 KenE vowel system

##### 4.2.1.1 Pure vowels

The KenE phonemic inventory has 8 pure vowels [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, o, ɔ, u]. These vowels have been described in relation to the cardinal vowels (cf. 2.3.1). Diagram 5 below introduces the vowels of KenE.



**Diagram 6: KenE Vowels****The vowel [i]**

This is a high, front, spread vowel which is near to, but slightly lower than cardinal vowel no. 1 [i]. The following words illustrate its occurrence:

field        [f i l d]

please      [p l i z]

teach       [t i tʃ]

easy        [ˈi z i]

team        [t i m]

**The vowel [ɪ]**

This is a high, front, spread vowel, which is near to, but much lower than cardinal vowel no. 1 [i]. Illustrations of its occurrence include the following words:

will            [w ɪ l]

it                [ɪ t]

**The vowel [e]**

This is a mid-high, front spread vowel that is slightly lower than cardinal vowel no. 2 [e].

Examples depicting its occurrence include the following:

amaze            [a<sup>1</sup> m e z]

educate          [e d j u<sup>1</sup> k e t]

tale              [t e l]

case              [k e s]

same             [s e m]

**The vowel [ɛ]**

This is a mid-low, front, spread vowel that is slightly higher than cardinal vowel no. 3

[ɛ]. Examples of words in which it occurs include the following:

comment            [k ɔ<sup>1</sup> m ɛ n t]

Kenya              [ˈk ɛ n a]

access	[a k 's ε s]
presence	[ 'p r ε z ε n s]
semester	[ 's ε m ε s t a]

### **The vowel [a]**

This is a low, central, neutral vowel that is slightly higher than cardinal vowel no. 4 [a].

Illustrations of its occurrence are as follows:

madam	[ 'm a d a m]
guard	[g a d]
company	[ 'k a m p a n i]
love	[l a v]
work	[w a k]

### **V. The vowel [o]**

This is a mid-high, back, rounded vowel which is slightly lower than cardinal vowel no. 7

[ o ]. Examples depicting its occurrence are as follows:

story	[ 's t o r i]
police	[p o 'l i s]
clothes	[k l o θ s]
hope	[h o p]

transformation      [t r a n s f o 'm ε ʃ o n]

### **The vowel [ɔ]**

This vowel is a mid-low, back, rounded one. It is slightly higher than cardinal vowel no.

6. It occurs in words such as:

on                      [ɔ n]

fall                    [f ɔ l]

opportune            [ɔ p ɔ 't j u n]

covet                  [k ɔ 'v ε t]

talk                    [t ɔ k]

### **The vowel [u]**

This is a high, back rounded vowel that is slightly lower than cardinal vowel no. 8 [u].

Words that exemplify its occurrence include the following:

you                    [j u]

flew                   [f l u]

dispute              ['d i s p j u t]

security              [s e 'k j u r i t i]

do                     [d u]

### 4.2.1.2 Diphthongs

The KenE phonemic inventory has 7 diphthongs: [ ia, ea, ua, eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ, ao,]

which can be divided into 2 main groups: opening and closing diphthongs.

#### 4.2.1.2.1 *Opening Diphthongs*

##### **The diphthong [ ia ]**

dear                [d i a]

year                [j i a]

idea                [a ɪ d i a]

##### **The diphthong [ea]**

their                [ð e a]

where                [w e a]

chair                [tʃ e a]

##### **The diphthong [ua]**

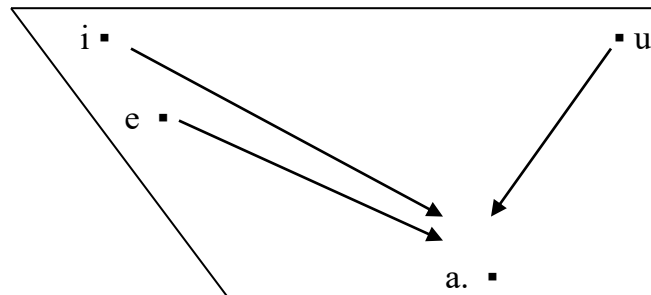
your                [j u a]

pure                [p j u a]

conjure            [k ɔ n 'dʒ u a]

The vowel trapezium below demonstrates the glide from one vowel to another resulting in KenE opening diphthongs.

**Diagram 7: KenE opening diphthongs**



**4.2.1.2.2 Closing diphthongs**

**The diphthong [aɪ]**

bible	[ <sup>1</sup> b a ɪ b ɔ l]
advertise	[a d v a <sup>1</sup> t a ɪ s]
like	[l a ɪ k]
buy	[b a ɪ]
library	[ <sup>1</sup> l a ɪ b r a r i]

**The diphthong [ɔɪ]**

voice	[v ɔ ɪ s]
boy	[b ɔ ɪ]
point	[p ɔ ɪ n t]

**The diphthong [aɔ]**

allow [a l a ɔ]

how [h a ɔ]

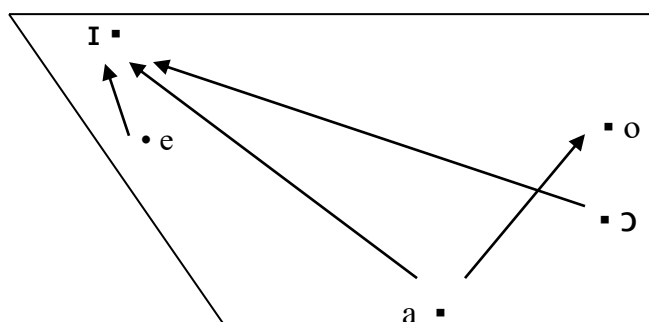
**The diphthong [eɪ]**

display [ˈd i s p l e ɪ]

they [ð e ɪ]

day [d e ɪ]

The vowel trapezium below demonstrates the glide from one vowel to another resulting in KenE closing diphthongs.

**Diagram 8: Vowel trapezium for KenE closing diphthongs****4.2.2 KenE consonant system**

KenE has a total of 24 consonant phonemes (cf. 2.3.1) which are introduced in Table I below.

**Table I: KenE Consonant Chart**

	Voiceless	Voiced	Example
Plosive	p		<b>P</b> eople
	t		<b>T</b> eacher
	k		<b>C</b> lass
Fricative		b	<b>B</b> ible
		d	<b>A</b> ddress
		g	<b>C</b> ategory
	f		<b>R</b> efuse
	θ		<b>T</b> hink
	s		<b>S</b> emester
	ʃ		<b>S</b> hould
	h		<b>H</b> alf
		v	<b>C</b> ovet
		ð	<b>T</b> heir
Affricate		z	<b>A</b> maze
	tʃ		<b>C</b> hildren
Nasal		dʒ	<b>A</b> rrange
		m	<b>M</b> adam
		n	<b>N</b> arrator
		ŋ	<b>K</b> ing
Lateral		n	<b>C</b> onjure
Trill		l	<b>L</b> ove
Glide		r	<b>L</b> ibrary
		w	<b>W</b> onder
		j	<b>Y</b> ou



### 4.2.2.1 Plosives

KenE has the plosives [p, t, k, b, d, g]. The following words illustrate their occurrence:

*The voiceless bilabial plosive [p]*

The following words illustrate its occurrence:

publish            [ˈp a b l i ʃ]

principal        [ˈp r i n s i p o l]

display           [ˈd i s p l e ɪ]

*The voiceless alveolar plosive [t]*

teacher           [ˈt i tʃ a]

try                [t r a ɪ]

story             [ˈs t o r i]

isolate           [a ɪ s ə ˈl e t]

protestant       [p r ə ˈt ε s t a n t]

*The voiceless velar plosive [k]*

class [k l a s]

category [k a 't e g ɔ r i]

circulate [s a k j u 'l e t]

work [w a k]

*The voiced bilabial plosive [b]*

beads [b i d s]

able ['e b ɔ l]

nobody ['n o b o d i]

been [b i n]

bad [b a d]

*The voiced alveolar plosive [d]*

address ['a d r ε s]

children ['tʃ i l d r ε n]

does [d a s]

difficult      ['d i f i k a l t]

guard          [g a d]

*The voiced velar plosive [g]*

give            [g i v]

graduation    [g r a dʒ u 'w e ʃ ɔ n]

cigarette      ['s i g a r e t]

Gigiri          [g i 'g i r i]

#### **4.2.2.2 Fricatives**

KenE phonetic inventory contains the fricatives [f, θ, s, ʃ, h, v, ð, z]. Examples of words

in which they occur are as follows:

*The voiceless labio-dental fricative [f]*

refuse          [r i 'f j u s]

folk            [f ɔ k]

field           [f i l d]

safari          [s a 'f a r i]

relief            [r i 'l i f]

*The voiceless dental fricative [θ]*

three            [θ r i]

thief            [θ i f]

maths            [m a θ s]

Thursday        ['θ a s d e ɪ]

*The voiceless alveolar fricative [s]*

semantics        [s ε 'm a n t i k s]

semicircle       [s ε m i 's a k ɔ l]

absolute        [a b s o 'l j u t]

supervisor      [s u p a 'v a ɪ s a]

*The voiceless palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ]*

should           [ʃ u d]

she              [ʃ i]

measure [ˈmɛʃə]

*The voiceless glottal fricative [h]*

half [hɑf]

hand [hænd]

heavy hearted [ˈhɛvɪhɑtɛd]

have [hæv]

her [hɜ]

*The voiced labio-dental fricative [v]*

adverse [ədˈvɜs]

voice [vɔɪs]

investigate [ɪnˈvɛstɪˈɡeɪt]

*The voiced dental fricative [ð]*

the [ðe]

their [ðeə]

this [ðɪs]

that [ð a t]

they [ð e ɪ]

*The voiced alveolar fricative [z]*

recognize [r e 'k ɔŋ n a ɪ z]

zone [z o n]

gazette [g a 'z ɛ t]

#### **4.2.2.3 Affricates**

KenE has the affricates [tʃ, dʒ] as in the following words:

*The voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ]*

chair [tʃ e a]

manchester [m a n 'tʃ ɛ s t a]

actual ['a k tʃ w ɔ l]

*The voiced palato -alveolar affricate [dʒ]*

arrange [a 'r e n dʒ]

conjure            [k ɔ̃ n 'dʒ u a]

imagine            [i 'm a dʒ i n]

#### 4.2.2.4 Nasals

KenE has four nasals [m, n, ŋ, ŋ]. The following examples show their occurrence:

*The bilabial nasal [m]*

company            ['k a m p a n i]

me                    [m i]

moment            ['m ɔ̃ m ε n t]

team                 [t i m]

*The alveolar nasal [n]*

narrator            [n a 'r e t a]

dominate            [d o m i 'n e t]

inventory            [i n 'v ε n t ɔ̃ r i]

medicine            ['m ε d i s i n]

*The velar nasal [ŋ]*

king	[k i ŋ]
interesting	[ˈi n t r ɛ s t i ŋ]
undertaking	[a n d a ˈt e k i ŋ]

*The palatal nasal [ɲ]*

congested	[k ɔ n ˈdʒ ɛ s t ɛ d]
Kenya	[ˈk ɛ n a]
arrange	[a ˈr e n dʒ]

**4.2.2.5 The lateral [l]**

The following words depict the occurrence of this sound in KenE:

clothes	[k l o θ s]
clause	[k l ɔ s]
will	[w ɪ l]
love	[l a v]



#### 4.2.2.6 The alveolar trill [r]

The occurrence of the alveolar trill is exemplified in the following words:

request                    [r i 'k w ε s t]

illustrate                [i l a 's t r e t]

contribute                [k ɔ n t r i 'b j u t]

great                      [g r e t]

#### 4.2.2.7 The glides

KenE phonemic inventory contains 2 glides [j, w] as illustrated in the following words:

*The palatal glide [j]*

year                      [j i a]

you                        [j u]

dispute                  ['d i s p j u t]

usual                      ['j u ʃ w ɔ l]

calculate                [k a l k j u 'l e t]

*The bilabial glide [w]*

wonder                    ['w a n d a]

power                    ['p a w a]

was                        [w ɔ s]

we                         [w i]

### **4.2.3 KenE and BrE Phonemes Compared**

#### **4.2.3.1 Pure Vowels**

Compared to BrE, the KenE vowel inventory is greatly reduced. BrE has 7 short vowels [ɪ, e, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ, ə] and 5 long vowels [i:, ɜ:, ɑ:, ɔ:, u:] (Roach, 2000). BrE therefore, has a total of 12 pure vowels while KenE has only 8: [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, o, ɔ, u]. This is mainly due to 3 reasons.

First, a range of BrE vowels are collapsed into a single vowel in KenE. The vowels [ɜ, ɑ, æ, ʌ] are generally realized as [a] in KenE since their quality is not distinguished. The following examples illustrate this:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
<b>[æ]</b>		
madam	[ <sup>1</sup> m æ d ə m]	[ <sup>1</sup> m a d a m]
had	[h æ d]	[h a d]
grant	[g r æ n t]	[g r a n t]
<b>[ɜ]</b>		
circle	[s ɜ: k l]	[ <sup>1</sup> s a k ɔ l]
adverse	[ <sup>1</sup> æ d v ɜ: s]	[a d <sup>1</sup> v a s]
work	[w ɜ: k]	[w a k]
<b>[ʌ]</b>		
undertaking	[ <sup>1</sup> ʌ n d ə t eɪ kɪ ŋ]	[a n d a <sup>1</sup> t e k i ŋ]
must	[m ʌ s t]	[m a s t]

**[a]**

card	[k <b>a:</b> d]	[k a d]
heart	[h <b>a:</b> t]	[h a t]

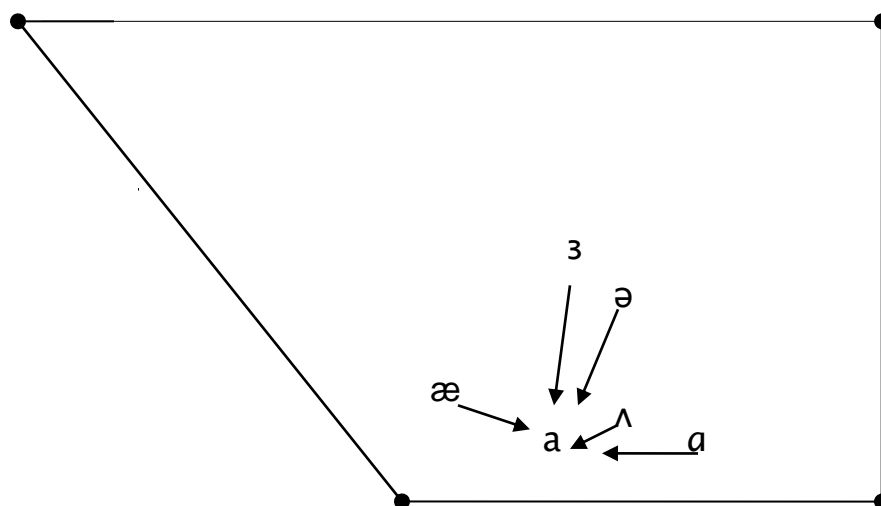
This lack of distinction can be explained as being attributable to the influence of mother tongue and other local languages spoken in Kenya. Schmied (2004: 924) argues that since English is learnt as a second language in East Africa it is likely that features from first language are transferred through a process called interference.

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000:61) refer to this process as *negative transfer* and explain that when people know two languages very well, they may construct forms in one of these languages on the basis of the sentence formation rules of the other. They further argue that when people learn a second language, the grammar of their first language interferes with that of the one they are acquiring and this is how the varieties of English spoken by many African communities have acquired their characteristic forms.

While referring to this process as linguistic interference, Batibo (2000) explains it as involving speaking a foreign language on the basis of the grammar of one's first language and adds that this explains why many Africans find it difficult to pronounce the sounds of foreign languages like the native speakers of these languages do.

It seems reasonable to attribute the reduced number of vowel sounds in KenE, compared to BrE, to the relatively smaller vowel inventories of the local languages spoken in Kenya. For example, all Luhya dialects have 5 vowels: [i, e, a, u, o] (Ochwaya, 1992:65; Simiyu, 2000: 103), Dholuo has 9: [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, ʊ, u] (Ngala, 1994: 50), Kikuyu 7: [a, ɛ, e, i, ɔ, o, u] (Webb and Kembo- Sure, 2000: 140; Mbugua, 1990: 54), the Kalenjin dialects 10: [i, ɪ, e, ɛ, u, ʊ, o, ɔ, a, ɑ] (Creider and Creider, 1989: 17) and Swahili 5: [i, e, a, o, u] ( Buliba, 1995: 38; Muhashamy, 1995: 209). The BrE vowels absent in KenE, namely: [æ, ʌ, ɒ, ə, ɜ], are generally absent in most Kenyan local languages.

Because some of the vowel sounds of BrE do not exist in the local languages spoken in Kenya, speakers of KenE generally substitute these sounds with the closest sounds in their mother tongues. This is why [æ ʌ ɜ ɑ] are all realized as their nearest common phoneme [a] with which they all share the quality of either openness or centrality. Diagram 8 summarizes this phenomenon.

**Diagram 9: Collapsing of BrE low, front and central vowels into KenE****[a]**

Secondly, KenE makes no distinction between [i:] and [ɪ] in terms of length, and between [ʌ] and [ɑ:] in terms of both quality and length. The first set of sounds is realized as [ɪ] and [ɪ], while the second as [a] in KenE. Also [u:] and [ʊ] are realized as [u]. This is exemplified in the following words.

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
	<b>[ɑ:, ʌ] → [a]</b>	
some	[s ʌ m]	[s a m]
love	[l ʌ v]	[l a v]

guard	[g a: d]	[g a d]
-------	----------	---------

arthur	[ɑ: θ ə]	[a θ a]
--------	----------	---------

**[ɪ, i:] → [ɪ,i]**

eat	[i: t]	[i t]
-----	--------	-------

it	[ɪ t]	[ɪ t]
----	-------	-------

wheel	[w i: l]	[w i l]
-------	----------	---------

will	[w ɪ l]	[w ɪ l]
------	---------	---------

please	[p l i: z]	[p l i z]
--------	------------	-----------

**BrE**

**KenE**

**[u:, ʊ] → [u]**

book	[b ʊ k]	[b u k]
------	---------	---------

food	[f u: d]	[f u d]
------	----------	---------

cook	[k ʊ k]	[k u k]
------	---------	---------

## [ɒ]→[ɔ]

comment	[ <sup>l</sup> k ɒ m ə n t]	[k ɔ <sup>l</sup> m ε n t]
opportune	[ <sup>l</sup> ɒ p ə t j u n]	[ɔ p ɔ <sup>l</sup> t j u n]
protestant	[ <sup>l</sup> p r ɒ t e s t a n t]	[p r ɔ <sup>l</sup> t ε s t a n t]
controversy	[ <sup>l</sup> k ɒ n t r ə v : s ɪ]	[k ɔ n <sup>l</sup> t r ɔ v a s i]
of	[ɒ v]	[ɔ f]
on	[ɒ n]	[ɔ n]
helicopter	[ <sup>l</sup> h e l ɪ k ɒ p t ə]	[h ε l i <sup>l</sup> k ɔ p t ə]
not	[n ɒ t]	[n ɔ t]

From these data, besides a lack of distinction between the above-mentioned vowel qualities, it also appears that vowel length is not a distinctive feature in KenE for it does not have the function of contrasting meaning in otherwise similar words. This is similar to findings of other studies in non-native Englishes such as Mesthrie (2004) on South-East Asian varieties, and Simo Bobda (1995) in Bamgbose *et al.* (1995) on Cameroon and Nigerian varieties of English. South-East Asian Englishes, for instance, pronounce the vowels in the following sets of words: *kit/ fleece, foot/ goose* and *lot/ thought* as [i, u, ɔ] respectively. Nigerian and Cameroon Englishes merge RP [i:] and [ɪ] into [i] as in *beat* and *bit* as they do [u:] and [ʊ] into [u] as in *fool* and *full*.



Finally, the schwa [ə] is non-existent in KenE and will take different forms instead depending on the spelling of a word. The following words illustrate this:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
	<b>[ə] → [a], [ɛ]</b>	
gazette	[g ə 'z ɛ t]	[g a 'z ɛ t]
madam	[ 'm æ d ə m]	[ 'm a d a m]
semester	[s ə 'm ɛ s t ə]	[ 's ɛ m ɛ s t a]
inventory	[ 'ɪ n v ə n t ə r i]	[i n 'v ɛ n t ɔ r i]
	<b>[ə] → [o], [ɔ]</b>	
isolate	[ 'aɪ s ə l eɪ t]	[aɪ s ɔ 'l eɪ t]
opportune	[ 'ɒ p ə t j u: n]	[ɔ p ɔ 't j u n]

#### 4.2.3.2 Diphthongs

Whereas BrE has 8 diphthongs, KenE has 7. The absence of the schwa in KenE means that there are no centering diphthongs in KenE, unlike BrE where they are present. Table II lists BrE diphthongs according to Roach (2000:21), and compares them with those of KenE.

**Table II: BrE and KenE diphthongs compared**

	<b>BrE (Centering)</b>	<b>KenE (Opening)</b>
beard	ɪə	ia
aired	eə	ea
tour	ʊə	ua
	<b>(Closing)</b>	<b>(Closing)</b>
they	eɪ	eɪ
time	aɪ	aɪ
voice	ɔɪ	ɔɪ
home	əʊ	-
loud	aʊ	aʊ

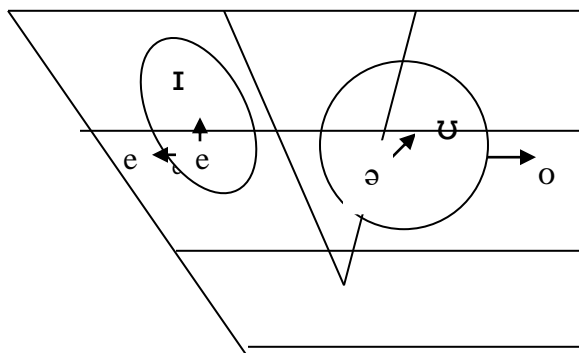
Many BrE diphthongs are changed into monophthongs in KenE. This is especially so when the diphthong is represented orthographically by a single letter such as ‘a’ and ‘o’.

The following words are pronounced with a diphthong in BrE but with a monophthong in KenE.

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
<b>[eɪ] → [e]</b>		
am <u>aze</u>	[ə 'm eɪ z]	[a 'm e z]
<u>ab</u> le	[eɪ b l]	[e b ɔ l]
<u>Jane</u>	[dʒ eɪ n]	[dʒ e n]
<u>ma</u> ke	[m eɪ k]	[m e k]
arr <u>an</u> ge	[ə 'r eɪ n dʒ]	[a 'r e n dʒ]
<u>ca</u> se	[k eɪ s]	[k e s]
<u>sa</u> me	[s eɪ m]	[s e m]
narr <u>ate</u>	[n ə 'r eɪ t]	[n a 'r e t]
investig <u>ate</u>	[ɪ n 'v e s tɪ g eɪ t]	[ɪ n v e s tɪ 'g e t]
<b>[əʊ] → [o]</b>		
<u>ho</u> pe	[h ə ʊ p]	[h o p]
<u>kn</u> ow	[n ə ʊ]	[n o]
al <u>o</u> ne	[a l ə ʊ n]	[a l o n]
<u>bo</u> th	[b ə ʊ θ]	[b o θ]
<u>g</u> o	[g ə ʊ]	[g o]

From the data just presented, it appears that the BrE diphthong [eɪ], whenever it is represented orthographically by the letter “a” as in *case* and *able*, is rendered as [e] in KenE. Similarly, the BrE diphthong [əʊ] is monophthongised and realized as [o] in KenE. Diagram 9 summarizes this phenomenon.

**Diagram 10: Monophthongisation of BrE diphthongs in KenE**



This monophthongisation is probably occasioned by the relatively short distance to glide from one sound to the other comprising the diphthong. This together with the relative closeness in quality of the two sounds could explain why speakers of KenE settle for monophthongs as a compromise for ease of articulation especially in rapid speech.

The phenomenon observed above could also be attributable partly to spelling pronunciation; a source of language change whereby a new pronunciation arises that reflects more closely the spelling of a word (O’Grady, *et al.* 1996:730). This occurs when learners of a language are exposed to it mainly by way of written material. Because

many Kenyans learn English through books written in the language, their speech tends to exhibit characteristics of written English. This accounts for the [o] in *hope* and the [ɔ] in *protestant*. In BrE however, the orthographic “o” would have various realizations such as [əʊ], [ə], [ɒ] and [ʌ] as in the words *home*, *oppress*, *God* and *won* respectively.

The patterns mentioned above on the relationship between orthographic representation and phonemic realization appear to underscore the fact that KenE pronunciation is to a large extent, influenced by word spelling. This seems to agree with what Schmied (2004) (cf. section 2.3.3) gives as one of the reasons for East African forms of English when he says that African speakers of English tend to produce characteristics of written English even in the spoken form.

There is also a tendency for speakers of KenE to levelize the diphthong [eɪ] to a long monophthong [e:] especially when the vowel occurs in word-medial position. The following examples demonstrate this:

always                    [ˈɔ l w e: s]

said                        [s e: d]

vein                        [v e: n]

However, there are a few examples where the diphthong [eɪ] can be heard. Where the diphthong occurs in word-final position, the tendency is to have it as [eɪ]. The following words illustrate this:

display            [ˈdɪspleɪ]

they                [ðeɪ]

day                 [deɪ]

#### 4.2.3.3 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a phonological process that inserts a segment within an existing string of segments (O’Grady et al, 1996). It involves reconfiguring the syllable structure of a word for ease of articulation.

##### *Glide Epenthesis*

BrE triphthongs are generally split by a glide in a process known as glide insertion or glide epenthesis. Kenstowicz (1994:23) explains that vowel sequences are phonologically unstable and that whenever they occur, they get separated by a consonant. In the case of KenE, this consonant is a glide. The examples below are evidence of this:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
player	[pleɪə]	[ˈplejə]

desire	[dɪˈz aɪ ə]	[dɪˈz a j ə]
graduation	[g r æ dʒ u 'eɪ f n]	[g r a dʒ u 'w e f ʊ n]
lower	[l ə ʊ ə]	[ˈl o w ə]
power	[p a ʊ ə]	[ˈp a w ə]
situate	[ˈsɪ t j u eɪ t]	[sɪ tʃ u 'w e t]

The fact that the epenthetic glide in the above phonological realizations is also present in the orthographic representation of the words above, e.g. *player*, *lower*, and *power*, could be viewed as further evidence for the influence of spelling pronunciation on KenE.

The choice of glide to be inserted in KenE to break the BrE triphthong is not arbitrary. Kenstowicz (ibid) further explains that the features of the preceding vowel determine which glide, between [j] and [w], is to be epenthesized. Intuitively, he adds, [j] and [w] are consonantal variants of the vowels [i] and [u] respectively. One can therefore reason that the choice of [j] depends on the presence of [i] or other vowels with which it shares the feature of *spread* or *front* (cf. 2.3.1). Similarly, the choice of [w] depends on the presence of [u] or other vowels with which it shares the feature of *rounded* or *back*.

A careful look at the data above, points at the inherent similarity between [j] and [e] since the latter is a front, spread vowel just like [i]. Another correlation obtains between [w] and [o] since the latter is a back rounded vowel just like [u]. The vowel [a] can combine

with both [j] and [w] since it is a central and neutral vowel. This explains the [ej] sequence in *player*, [aj] in *desire*, [uw] in *graduation* and *situate*, and [ow] in *lower*.

### *Vowel Epenthesis*

Vowel epenthesis occurs in KenE especially in the environment of word final consonant clusters containing syllabic nasals. The following words demonstrate this phenomenon:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
people	[p i: p l]	[ˈp i p ɔ̃ (l)]
bible	[b a ɪ b l]	[ˈb a ɪ b ɔ̃ (l)]
principal	[ˈp r ɪ n s ə p l]	[ˈp r i n s i p ɔ̃ (l)]
circle	[s ɜ: k l]	[ˈs a k ɔ̃ (l)]
shouldn't	[ʃ u d n t]	[ˈʃ u d ɛ n t]
transformation	[ˈt r æ n s f ə m e ɪ ʃ n]	[t r a n s f o 'm ɛ ʃ o n]

It appears that the consonant cluster of a lateral preceded by a stop in word final position as in *bible* [b a ɪ b l] is not permissible in KenE. The cluster of a nasal preceded by a fricative, as in *transformation* [t r a n s f o 'm ɛ ʃ o n], is also not allowed. This vocalic process has also been reported in other studies on New Englishes. For instance, Simo



Bobda (1985) cited in Bamgbose (1985: 263) gives the words *resignation* [rezigineɪʃən], *single* [sɪŋɡul] and *article* [atɪkʊl] in Nigerian English (NigE). He attributes the vowel insertion to the tendency that some African languages have to vocalize the final pre-consonantal /l/ of English words. Vowel epenthesis, therefore, appears to be a feature of African Englishes (cf. 1.1) as illustrated by the data on KenE above.

Vowel epenthesis, together with glide insertion and also consonant cluster reduction (elision), appears to be motivated by the need to restructure the BrE syllable by simplifying it in order that it may fit into the KenE syllable typology which does not seem to allow for triple vowel sequences or, in word-final position, triple consonant clusters. This is attributable to the dominant syllable structure CV associated with Bantu languages.

#### 4.2.3.4 Consonants

The KenE inventory has a total of 24 consonant sounds, just like BrE. However, the voiced palato-alveolar fricative [ʒ] which occurs in BrE is absent in KenE. Instead its voiceless counterpart [ʃ] is used as in the following words:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
vision	[vɪʒn]	[ <sup>1</sup> vɪʃɔn]

measure	[ <sup>1</sup> m e ʒ ə]	[ <sup>1</sup> m ε ʃ a]
---------	-------------------------	-------------------------

The discrepancy in the number of consonants between BrE and KenE is eliminated by the palatal nasal [ɲ] which is absent in the former but present in the latter as in the following words:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
arrange	[ə <sup>1</sup> r e ɪ n dʒ]	[a <sup>1</sup> r e n dʒ]
congested	[k ə n <sup>1</sup> dʒ e s t ɪ d]	[k ɔ n <sup>1</sup> dʒ ε s t ε d]

The distribution of KenE consonant phonemes is such that most of them can occur in all environments: word-initial, middle and final. However, [h, r, j, w] do not occur word finally in both BrE and KenE. There are exceptions, however, for [r] when it is used as a “linking” or “intrusive r” (Roach 2000: 144) as in *four eggs* [fɔ:regz] or *media event* [mi:diəɪvent]. This is mainly due to what Clark and Yallop (1995: 74) describe as structural possibilities. In many languages, they argue, sequences where a high vowel is followed by a semivowel, it is unlikely that the sequence will be distinct from a long vowel. Hence, [ij] = [i:] and [uw] = [u:].

The absence of [r], in final position and before a consonant, is a characteristic of BrE. BrE can thus be described as non-rhotic (Roach 2000: 63), a feature it shares with KenE by virtue of the former variety being the parent variety of KenE.

The velar nasal [ŋ] occurs word-medially and word-finally in KenE as in *interesting* and *banged*, just as it does in BrE, but never word-initially. The palatal nasal [ɲ] on the other hand occurs only word-medially in KenE as illustrated in the data immediately above.

### 4.3 Stress in KenE

KenE has an alternating stress system (cf. 2.3.2) as in [i n t a 'n e ʃ o ,n ɔ l] and [a d m i n 's t r e t i v] which can be represented by the following schema:

[... 'X X ,X X ,X X ,X X...]

#### 4.3.1 Stress in KenE verbs

The following examples (ff. Appendix 4) demonstrate the difference in stress placement between KenE and BrE verbs:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
covet	[k ʌ v ɪ t]	[k ɔ 'v ɛ t]
comment	[k ɒ m e n t]	[k ɔ 'm ɛ n t]

reprimand	[ˈrɛprɪmɑːnd]	[rɪprɪˈmɑnd]
contribute	[kənˈtrɪbjut]	[kɔntrɪˈbjut]
eradicate	[ɪˈrædɪkeɪt]	[ɛrædɪˈkeɪt]

In order to determine the parameter settings for KenE verbs, metrical grids (cf. 2.2.2) have to be employed.

### 1. Covet [kɔˈvɛt]

(	*	word level	(primary stress)
(▪	*	Foot level	(secondary stress)
σ	σ	syllable level	
kɔ	vɛt	segment level	

### 2. Contribute [kɔntrɪˈbjut]

(		*	W
(*)	(▪	*	F
kɔn	trɪ	bjut	

### 3. Reprimand [rɪprɪˈmɑnd]

(		*	W
(*)	(▪	*	F
rɪ	prɪ	mand	

## 4. Eradicate [e r a d i 'k e t]

(		*	)	W
(	▪	*	)	F
	e	r a	d i	k e t

From the grids above, the following parameter settings were worked out based on the Metrical Parameters approach as proposed by Dresher and Kaye (1990) and cited in Archibald (1993: 41) (cf. 2.3.2).

*Metrical parameter settings for KenE verbs*

- P1: Binary / unbounded feet  
 P2: Left-/ Right-headed feet  
 P3: Directionality: left-to-right / right-to-left  
 P4: Feet are quantity-sensitive: Yes / No  
 P5: There is an extrametrical syllable: Yes / No

A generalization can therefore be made based on these parameter settings: Word-final syllables in KenE verbs are stressed if they are strong, i.e. if they have either a branching rhyme (a coda or closed syllable) or a branching nucleus (a diphthong or a long vowel).

Otherwise, the penult is stressed as in:

counter            [ˈk a o n t a]

differ             [ˈd i f a]

register                   [r ɛ 'g i s t ə]

torture                   ['t ɔ tʃ ə]

From the data on verbs, it can be observed that stress placement in KenE generally differs from that of BrE. KenE tends to shift its stress a syllable or two to the right of that of BrE. This observation seems to be in agreement with what Muthwii (1994: 210) says on stress in KenE from her experience in listening to, and speaking of KenE that in words with more than two syllables, there is a tendency for stress to occur later in the word than the syllable which would have been stressed in BrE as in: *edu'cated*, *com'parable* and *distri'buted*. The stressed syllable is often the penultimate one. It can be argued that this shift is due to the influence of Kiswahili, a Bantu language spoken by a vast majority of Kenyans, which places main stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *chura* ['tʃ u r ə], *karatasi* [k a r ə 't ə s i] (O'Grady, *et al.*1996: 120). The stress appears to be generally placed towards the right end of Kiswahili words. One can, therefore, argue that stress placement in KenE verbs is influenced by the negative transfer of the stress pattern of Kiswahili. Education, it can further be argued, emerges as a levelizer. The higher one climbs the educational ladder, the more one's pronunciation features resemble those of one's peers. Ethnic based features disappear at this high educational level and since Kiswahili is the only other language most speakers at this level have in common, its prosodic feature of stress is transferred into their spoken English.

### 4.3.2 Stress in KenE nouns

The following examples (ff. Appendix 4) demonstrate the difference in stress placement between KenE and BrE nouns:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
effect	[ɪ 'f e k t]	['i f ε k t]
display	[dɪ 's p l eɪ]	['dɪ s p l eɪ]
semester	[s ə 'm e s t ə]	['s ε m ε s t ə]
supervisor	['s u: p ə v aɪ z ə]	[s u p ə 'v aɪ z ə]
inventory	['ɪ n v ə n t ə rɪ]	[ɪ n 'v ε n t ɔ rɪ]
narrator	[n ə 'r eɪ t ə]	[n ə 'r e t ə]

The following metrical grids, based on the above data, can derive 2 possible parameter settings for KenE nouns:

#### *Option 1*

1. Effect [i f ε k t]

( \*                    )

( \*                    ▪ )

σ                    σ

i                    f ε k t

## 2. Semester [ˈsɛmɛstə]

( *	)	
( *	▪ )	( *)
σ	σ	σ
s ɛ	m ɛ	sta

## 3 Supervisor [sʊpəˈvɑɪzə]

(	*	)	
( *	▪ )	( *	▪ )
σ	σ	σ	σ
s u	p a	v a I	z a

The following parameter settings are derived from the grids above:

*Metrical parameter settings for KenE nouns (Option 1)*

P1: Binary / unbounded

P2: Left- / right-headed feet

P3: Directionality: left- to right / right-to-left

P4: Feet are quantity- sensitive: Yes / No

P5: There is an extrametrical syllable: Yes / No



*Option 2*

1. Display ['dɪspleɪ]

( \* ) W

( \* ) F

σ σ

dɪ spleɪ

2. Narrator [nə'reɪtə]

( \* ) W

( ▪ \* ) F

nə reɪ tə

3. Supervisor [sʊpə'v aɪ z ə]

( \* ) W

( \* ) ( ▪ \* ) F

sʊ p ə v aɪ z ə

The following parameter settings are derived from the grids above:

*Metrical parameter settings for KenE nouns (Option 2)*

P1: Binary/ unbounded

P2: Left-/right-headed feet

P3: Directionality: left- to- right/ right-to-left

P4: Feet are quantity- sensitive: Yes/ No

P5: There is an extrametrical syllable: Yes/ No

P6: Extrametrical on the left/ right

A general rule for KenE nouns would therefore be: the penultimate syllable is stressed if it is strong i.e. if it has a branching nucleus or rhyme. Otherwise, the antepenult is stressed. For example in:

helicopter            [h ɛ l i 'k ɔ p t a]

semester             [ˈs ɛ m ɛ s t a]

controversy          [k ɔ n 't r ɔ v a s i]

From the data on nouns, it can be observed, like was the case for KenE verbs, that stress placement for KenE nouns is generally towards the right of that of BrE by a syllable or two, a phenomenon that can be linked to linguistic interference from Kiswahili, which is taught as an examinable subject in the national curriculum (cf.1.2).

However, for some nouns, like the ones listed below, the stress is instead shifted towards the left of that of BrE.

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
effect	[ɪ 'f e k t]	['i f ɛ k t]
address	[ə 'd r e s]	['a d r ɛ s]
display	[d ɪ 's p l e ɪ]	['d i s p l e ɪ]

dispute                      [dɪ 'spju:t]                      ['dɪspju:t]

This phenomenon can be attributed to the second language acquisition strategy of overgeneralization. Ellis (1994: 59) explains that overgeneralization arises when a language learner creates a deviant structure on the basis of other previously learnt structures in the target language.

It can be assumed here that speakers of KenE have learnt the rule of stress placement in English which requires that a distinction be made between word classes by shifting the stress in bisyllabic words. Nouns will be formed in this way by assigning stress on the first syllable, and verbs, on the last. However, this does not apply to all bisyllabic words. For example, in the words *conduct* and *export*, stress on the first syllable will produce the nouns [ˈkɒndʌkt] and [ˈɛkspɔ:t]. However, stress on the second syllable produces the verbs [kɒnˈdʌkt] and [ɛkˈspɔ:t]. When speakers of KenE over generalize this rule they use it on words to which it does not apply, thus creating a pronunciation that differs from BrE. For example, the word *display* in KenE will be pronounced [ˈdispleɪ] as a noun and [diˈspleɪ] as a verb yet in BrE the word is an exception to this rule.

### 4.3.3 Stress in KenE Adjectives

The following words demonstrate the difference in stress placement between KenE and BrE adjectives (ff. Appendix 4):



## 3. Heavy-handed ['h ε v i h a n d e d]

( *	)	( *	)
σ	σ	σ	σ
h ε	v i	h a n	d e d

*Metrical parameter settings for KenE Adjectives*P1: Binary / UnboundedP2: Left- / Right-headed feetP3: Directionality: Left-to-right / Right-to-leftP4: Feet are quantity- sensitive: Yes / NoP5: There is an extrametrical syllable: Yes / No

A general rule for stress in KenE verbs would therefore be: stress the penultimate syllable if it is strong; that is, if it has a branching rhyme. Otherwise stress the antepenultimate syllable.

Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this rule which were observed in the data below:

	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>
infamous	['ɪ n f ə m ə s]	[i n 'f e m ə s]
adverse	['æ d v ɜː s]	[a d 'v ə s]

These exceptions can be explained as having been caused by association with previously learnt pronunciations. This learning strategy has been referred to earlier as overgeneralization (cf. 4.3.3); the creation of deviant structures (pronunciation) by language learners due to over-use of previously learnt structures (pronunciation) (Ellis, 1994).

The stress placement in *adverse* [ a d 'v a s ] seems to be influenced by its association to previously learnt words like *verse* [ v ɜ : s ], a monosyllabic word that is stressed; *infamous* [ i n 'f e m a s ] is learnt from *famous* [ 'f e ɪ m a s ]; and *admirable* [ a d 'm a j a r e b ɔ l ] from *admire* [ a d 'm a j a ]. Even when these words get affixed and therefore shift their stress patterns in BrE, speakers of KenE still maintain the stress on the original syllables thereby yielding a typical KenE pronunciation.

However it should be noted that for compound words, primary stress falls on the first word. The rule above then determines the syllable to bear the stress in KenE, e.g.

bad-tempered                      [ 'b a d t e m p a d ]

half-hearted                      [ 'h a f h a t e d ]

heavy-handed                      [ 'h e v i h a n d e d ]

#### **4.4 Summary**

Chapter Four has highlighted data analysis, presentation and discussion. In addition, it has discussed the emerging sound segments and stress patterns that characterize the English spoken by the educated teacher sample focused on in the study. It has emerged that the segmental features and stress placement patterns of KenE are greatly influenced by the local languages spoken in Kenya, especially Kiswahili; the general language learning strategies of overgeneralization and simplification; and exposure of learners to written English.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study. Conclusions will be drawn from a summary of the findings. Finally, recommendations for future studies will be made.

It was the aim of this study to analyze the phonological features of Kenyan English (KenE), defined as the variety of Kenyan English spoken and written by educated Kenyans. The objectives of this study were: 1) to identify the phonemic inventory of KenE; 2) to show how this phonemic inventory differs from that of British English (BrE); 3) to describe the stress system of KenE nouns, verbs and adjectives; and 4) to explain the factors leading to the emergence of a KenE pronunciation. The questions that the study sought to answer therefore were:

1. What are the phonological features that characterize the educated Kenyan variety of English?
2. How do these features deviate from British Standard English?
3. What are the possible factors leading to the emergence of a Kenyan English pronunciation?



This study was based on the assumption that there exists a variety of English in Kenya which has distinct phonological features and could be characterized as Kenyan English.

## **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The findings that have emerged from the data analysis have been presented and discussed in the previous chapter under two broad headings: segmental features of KenE, and stress placement patterns of KenE. The segmental features were analyzed into vowels and consonants. The section on vowels was discussed under pure vowels and diphthongs. The second section examined stress placement and analyzed data under the categories of verbs, nouns and adjectives. The following were the findings of the study:

1. KenE has a 32-phoneme inventory: 8 pure vowels, and 24 consonants. It therefore differs from BrE which has 36 phonemes: 12 pure vowels and 24 consonants. It should also be noted that while KenE has 7 diphthongs, BrE has 8.
2. The vowels of KenE are the same vowels found in local languages such as Kiswahili, Kikuyu, Dholuo, Nandi and the Luhya dialects. Some central and back vowels of BrE, [ɜ, ɑ, æ, ʌ, ə], were found to be absent in KenE and other local Languages as well. This is evidence of linguistic interference or transfer.

3. The pronunciation of vowels in KenE in words like *comment* [kɔ̃mɛnt] (BrE [kɒmənt]) and *power* [pawa] (BrE [paʊə]) is to an extent influenced by the spelling of a word. This could be attributed to the learning of English in Kenya through exposure to written English material as opposed to spoken English material a view expressed by Schmied (2004) on EAFrE (cf. 4.2.3.2).
4. Also emerging from the data is the non-distinctive function of vowel length in KenE. It would appear therefore, that vowel length is not phonemic in KenE as its presence or absence does not bring out a difference in meaning in otherwise similar words. A case in point is the word *please* [pliz] pronounced [pli:z] in BrE.
5. KenE has no triphthongs. BrE triphthongs are split by the phonological process of glide insertion, for example, *desire* [dizaja]. Whereas there is evidence for the presence of diphthongs in KenE in words like *display* [displeɪ], a few of them appear to be levelized into monophthongs. An example of this is the word *hope* [hop]. This epenthesis and leveling could be explained as evidence of simplification in order to have a general syllabic structure that exhibits reduced vowel sequences for easy articulation (cf. 4.2.3.3).
6. The voiced palatal fricative [ʒ] is present in BrE but absent in KenE, while the palatal nasal [ɲ] which is present in KenE is absent in BrE. This is attributable to

the substratum influence of the local languages on KenE: none of them have the voiced palatal fricative [ʒ].

7. There seems to be a tendency for KenE clusters to be split by an epenthetic vowel, especially in the environment of syllabic nasals. The cluster of a nasal preceded by a fricative also seems not to be permissible in KenE unlike in BrE. This phenomenon has been viewed as evidence for simplification of the complex syllable structure of BrE due to the influence of local languages, especially Kiswahili which is spoken by many Kenyans and is taught in the school curriculum. It has a syllable structure that is basically CVCV. This explains the occurrence of the vowel [ɛ] in the word *shouldn't* [ʃudɛnt].
  
8. Stress assignment in KenE words differs significantly from BrE. In all the three word categories examined in the study. Stress placement in KenE tends to generally shift a syllable or two to the right of that of BrE. For instance, *helicopter* [hɛli'kɔptɔ] for BrE ['helɪkɒptə]. This suggests that stress in KenE is generally towards the right edge of a word. It can be argued that this shift is due to the influence of Kiswahili, a Bantu language spoken by a vast majority of Kenyans, which places main stress on the penultimate syllable. This argument could, again, support the claim that negative transfer of features from local languages gives KenE its characteristic features.

9. There are however, exceptions to the generalization on stress placement in KenE. For example, it has been observed in some KenE nouns that the stress shifts towards the left edge of the word from its location in BrE as in the noun *address* ['adrɛs] for BrE [ə'dres]. This could be accounted for by the second language acquisition strategy of overgeneralization. In bisyllabic English words, for instance, a distinction can be made between word classes (noun and verbs) by shifting the stress. Since the learner of English had earlier learnt that otherwise similar words have the first syllable stressed for a noun, and the second for a verb, this previously learnt knowledge is over-used without any regard to the exceptions of the rule. This could be the reason why bisyllabic nouns with the second syllable stressed in BrE like *dispute* [dɪ'spjʊt] have the first syllable stressed instead in KenE as in ['dispjʊt]. A similar argument holds true for adjectives which also appear to flout the generalization for stress in KenE. By associating previously learnt words such as *famous* with newly learnt ones like *infamous*, one then transfers the stress placement on *fa-* in *famous* to the same syllable in *infamous* yet in BrE it is supposed to fall on the first syllable *in-*.

This study therefore, has revealed characteristic phonological features of KenE that set it apart from BrE.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

Based on the findings of this study, certain conclusions can be arrived at. First, there is a significant degree of variation between KenE and BrE in terms of phonetic inventory and stress assignment in words. This difference can be described as systemic since, as Hawkins (1984:238) explains “a systemic difference arises when two accents have a different number of phonemes in their system, or rather some part of their system, i.e., a phoneme contrast which is made in one accent is not made in the other”. KenE is, therefore, a variety of English distinct from other Englishes spoken around the world with regard to its phonology. This difference is largely as a result of its contact with local Kenyan languages; general language learning strategies like overgeneralization and simplification; and the written linguistic input that most Kenyans learning English are exposed to.

### **5.4 Implications**

The uniqueness of KenE, therefore, has pedagogical implications for policy-makers, curriculum designers, learners, teachers and KNEC. As this study has demonstrated, there is a mismatch between the theoretical norm of English language use in education (BrE) and the actual language use in Kenya (KenE). This discrepancy needs to be addressed. The BrE norms proposed by education planners are idealistic. There is need, therefore, to address the issue of a realistic standard variety to provide the norm for instruction and examination in schools in Kenya. Since the educated variety of English spoken in Kenya, also referred to as Non-ethnically Marked English (Muthwii and Kioko, 2004), is generally acceptable to most Kenyans, it could provide the norms for the teaching of

English pronunciation in Kenyan schools for as a local model that is realistic, it is achievable by the learner; demonstrable by the teacher; and easy to identify with by the learners (Kembo-Sure, 2004:105).

### **5.5 Recommendations for Further Research.**

Since the scope of this study was limited to describing the segmental features of KenE, and stress placement patterns in KenE nouns, verbs and adjectives and how they differ from BrE, this implies that there are other related areas on which future research work could focus. These would include:

- (a) Other prosodic features of KenE, for instance, rhythm and intonation.
- (b) An examination of stress placement in adverbs. This would make the focus on all content words in KenE complete.
- (c) Sentence stress.
- (d) Other categories of educated Kenyans apart from teachers including broadcasters, doctors and lawyers. After such a study, a comprehensive codification of stress patterns in KenE will become a reality.
- (e) The influence of American English (AmE) on KenE pronunciation.

**APPENDICES****Appendix 1: Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KSCE) English Paper 2  
past paper questions on pronunciation.****2004***Question 3 (f)*

Give another word which is pronounced the same as the word given (5 marks)

- (i) gnaw.....
- (ii) boar.....
- (iii) groan.....
- (iv) toe.....
- (v) pail.....

**2003***Question 3 (f)*

Identify and underline the word that is pronounced differently in each of the following sets (5marks)

- (i)    sew            sue            sow
- (ii)   hair           air            heir
- (iii)   hard           heard        herd
- (iv)   fort            forty        fought
- (v)    cause         coarse       course

**2002***Question 3 (e)*

For each of the following words, provide another word that has an *identical pronunciation* (5 marks)

- (i)    breath -----
- (ii)   flour  -----
- (iii)   queue -----
- (iv)   heir  -----
- (v)    won  -----

**Source: The Kenya National Examination Council.**

**Appendix 2: Reading list presented to secondary school teachers of English to elicit phonological data.**

*Thank you for accepting to be part of this study on Kenyan English Phonology. Your co-operation is invaluable. Please read the following list of 60 sentences out loud as naturally as possible.*

1. I was amazed by the story you were able to conjure.
2. The bible says we shouldn't covet.
3. All the ministers refused to comment.
4. It was published in the Kenya Gazette.
5. The Principal requested me to talk to madam.
6. The presence of the police produced the desired effect.
7. The security guard refused to grant us access.
8. Please ensure you give me your address.
9. Some of the clothes are on display.
10. Mrs. Manda had to settle the dispute.
11. The effects of the medicine were adverse
12. I hope she will recognize me.
13. The teacher has to reprimand the three students.
14. Companies should advertise their products.
15. I wonder how many children he's been able to educate.
16. That clause is not easy to interpret.
17. She requested us all to contribute.
18. Candidates must illustrate their answers.
19. Jane likes to isolate herself from the crowd.
20. I will teach the semantics class next semester.
21. Several people attended her graduation.
22. I love the voice of the narrator.
23. Please buy me a cigarette.
24. Folk tales are usually interesting.
25. The thief tried telling a story but she wasn't interested.



26. The president has absolute power.
27. It was an opportune moment to make her request.
28. The incumbent president will chair the meeting on Thursday.
29. King Arthur made the infamous quote.
30. Simon is bad-tempered.
31. As he assisted her measure her dress he was half-hearted.
32. The king is heavy-handed.
33. Beatrice does not know how to calculate.
34. The leaflets were not allowed to circulate.
35. Nobody knows where the new company will situate its headquarters.
36. Please dear I am trying to concentrate.
37. You cannot do it alone, we will have to alternate.
38. Manchester United always dominates the mid-field.
39. Arrange the beads into a semi-circle.
40. She has always banged the typewriter.
41. The building remained intact.
42. The eligible bachelor is a protestant.
43. That is a case for the police to investigate.
44. I must congratulate her on her graduation.
45. All the Maths teacher does is to intimidate.
46. Poverty is not easy to eradicate.
47. The team tried to accumulate as many points as possible.
48. She was not involved in the controversy last year.
49. They both fall into the same category.
50. He flew here by helicopter that day.
51. I was assisted by my supervisor.
52. This difficult undertaking is not in vain.
53. What you've said is an understatement.
54. Every library has an inventory.
55. I love the Safaricom advertisement.
56. The boy is in his adolescence.

57. It was mandatory for her to pass the exam.
58. I have never imagined such a transformation.
59. We were all heavy-hearted for we had not won.
60. His work is purely administrative.

### Appendix 3: Transcribed Data on Segmental Features of KenE.

able	[e b ɔ l]	conjure	[k ɔ n dʒ u a]
absolute	[a b s o l j u t]	contribute	[k ɔ n t r i b j u t]
access	[a k s ε s]	covet	[k ɔ v ε t]
actual	[a k tʃ w ɔ l]	day	[d e ɪ]
address	[a d r ε s]	dear	[d i a]
adolescence	[ a d o l e s e n s ]	difficult	[d i f i k a l t]
adverse	[a d v a s]	display	[d i s p l e ɪ]
advertise	[a d v a t a ɪ s]	dispute	[d i s p j u t]
allow	[a l a o]	do	[d u]
always	[ɔ l w e: s]	does	[d a s]
amaze	[a m e z]	dominate	[d o m i n e t]
arrange	[a r e n dʒ]	year	[j i a]
attend	[a t ε n d]	easy	[i z i]
bad	[b a d]	educate	[e d j u k e t]
bead	[b i d]	effect	[i f ε k t]
been	[b i n]	ensure	[ε n ʃ u a]
bible	[b a ɪ b ɔ l]	fall	[f ɔ l]
boy	[b ɔ ɪ]	field	[f i l d]
buy	[b a ɪ]	flew	[f l u]
calculate	[k a l k j u l e t]	folk	[f ɔ k]
case	[k e s]	gazette	[g a z e t]
category	[k a t e g ɔ r i]	Gigiri	[g i g i r i]
chair	[tʃ e a]	give	[g i v]
children	[tʃ i l d r ε n]	graduation	[g r a dʒ u w eʃ ɔ n]
cigarette	[s i g a r e t]	grant	[g r a n t]
circle	[s a k ɔ l]	great	[g r e t]
circulate	[s a k j u l e t]	guard	[g a d]
class	[k l a s]	half	[h a f]
clause	[k l ɔ s]	half-hearted	[h a f h a t ε d]
clothes	[k l o θ s]	hand	[h a n d]
comment	[k ɔ m ε n t]	have	[ h a v]
company	[k a m p a n i]	heat	[h i t]
congested	[k ɔ n dʒ ε s t ε d]	heavy hearted	[h e v i h a t e d]
		helicopter	[h ε l i k ɔ p t a]

her	[h a]	power	[p a w a]
hope	[h o p]		
idea	[a I d i a]	presence	[p r e z ε n s]
illustrate	[i l a s t r e t]	principal	[p r i n s i p o l]
imagine	[i m a dʒ I n]	produce	[p r o d j u s]
interesting	[i n t r ε s t i ŋ]	protestant	[p r o t ε s t a n t]
interpret	[i n t a p r e t]	publish	[p a b l i ʃ]
inventory	[i n v ε n t o r i]	pure	[p j u a]
investigate	[i n v e s t i g e t]	request	[r i k w ε s t]
isolate	[a I s o l e t]	recognize	[r e k o g n a I z]
it	[I t]	refuse	[r i f j u s]
Jane	[dʒ e n]	relief	[r i l i f]
Kenya	[k ε n a]	request	[r i k w ε s t]
king	[k i ŋ]	safari	[s a f a r i]
leaflets	[l i f l ε t s]	said	[s e: d]
leg	[l e g]	same	[s e m]
library	[l a I b r a r i]	security	[s e k j u r i t i]
love	[l a v]	semantics	[s ε m a n t i k s]
madam	[m a d a m]	semester	[s ε m ε s t a]
Manchester	[m a n tʃ ε s t a]	semicircle	[s ε m i s a k o l]
maths	[m a θ s]	settle	[s ε t o l]
me	[m i]	several	[s ε v e r o l]
measure	[m ε ʃ a]	shouldn't	[ʃ u d ε n t]
medicine	[m ε d i s i n]	Simon	[s a I m o n]
moment	[m o m ε n t]	situate	[s I tʃ u w e t]
mouth	[m a o θ]	soil	[s o I l]
narrator	[n a r e t a]	some	[s a m]
next	[n ε k s t]	story	[s t o r i]
nobody	[n o b o d i]	student	[s t j u d e n t]
noise	[n o I s]	supervisor	[s u p a v a I s a]
on	[o n]	tale	[t e l]
opportune	[o p o t j u n]	talk	[t o k]
people	[p i p o l]	teach	[t i tʃ]
Please	[p l i z]	teacher	[t i tʃ a]
point	[p o I n t]	team	[t i m]
police	[p o l i s]	that	[ð a t]
poverty	[p o v a t i]	their	[ð e a]
		they	[ð e I]

thief	[θ i f]	was	[w ɔ s]
this	[ð i s]	we	[w i]
three	[θ r i]	where	[w e ə]
Thursday	[θ a s d eɪ]	will	[wɪ l]
transformation	[t r a n s f o m eɪʃ ə n]	wonder	[w a n d ə]
tried	[t r aɪ d]	work	[w ə k]
try	[t r aɪ]	year	[j i ə]
typewriter	[t aɪ p r aɪ t ə]	you	[j u]
undertaking	[a n d eɪ kɪ ŋ]	your	[j u ə]
unite	[j u n aɪ t]	zone	[z o n]
usual	[j u ʃ w ə l]		
voice	[v ɔɪ s]		

#### Appendix 4: Subjects' stress placement frequency and percentage

Verb	BrE	KenE	Stressed Syllable	Frequency (n= 24)	%
conjure	['kʌndʒə]	[kɔn'dʒuə]	last	17	71
			Other	7	29
covet	['kʌvɪt]	[kɔ'vɛt]	Last	23	96
			Other	1	4
comment	['kɒmənt]	[kɔ'mɛnt]	last	24	100
			Other	0	0
reprimand	['rɛprɪmɑːnd]	[rɪprɪ'mænd]	Last	22	92
			Other	2	8
advertise	['ædvətɑɪz]	[ædvətɑɪz]	last	16	67
			Other	8	33
educate	['ɛdjʊkeɪt]	[ɛdju'keɪt]	Last	18	75
			Other	6	25
interpret	[ɪn'tɜːprɪt]	[ɪntə'prɛt]	last	19	79
			Other	5	21
contribute	[kən'trɪbjʊt]	[kɔntri'bjʊt]	Last	21	88
			other	3	12
isolate	['aɪsələɪt]	[aɪso'leɪt]	last	20	
			Other	4	83

illustrate	['ɪləstreɪt]	[ilə'stret]	Last	21	17
			other	3	88
calculate	['kælkjuleɪt]	[kalkju'let]	last	17	12
			Other	7	71
situate	['sɪtju:eɪt]	[sɪtʃu'wet]	Last	19	29
			Other	5	79
alternate	['ɔ:lterneɪt]	[ɔlta'net]	last	20	21
			Other	4	83
circulate	['sɜ:kjuleɪt]	[sækju'let]	Last	22	17
			Other	2	92
concentrate	['kɒntsəntreɪt]	[kɒnsen'tret]	last	19	8
			Other	5	79
intimidate	[ɪn'tɪmɪdeɪt]	[ɪntɪmi'det]	Last	19	21
			Other	5	79
eradicate	[ɪ'rædɪkeɪt]	[eradiket]	last	17	21
			Other	7	71
					29

<b>Noun</b>	<b>BrE</b>	<b>KenE</b>	<b>Stressed syllable</b>	<b>Frequency (n = 24)</b>	<b>%</b>
madam	[ˈm æ d ə m]	[ˈm a d ə m]	1 <sup>st</sup>	18	75
			Other	6	25
effect	[ɪ ˈf e k t]	[ˈi f ɛ k t]	1 <sup>st</sup>	16	67
			other	8	33
address	[ə ˈd r e s]	[ˈa d r ɛ s]	1 <sup>st</sup>	21	88
			Other	3	12
display	[d ɪ ˈs p l e ɪ]	[ˈd ɪ s p l e ɪ]	1 <sup>st</sup>	19	79
			Other	5	21
dispute	[d ɪ ˈs p j uː t]	[ˈd ɪ s p j u t]	1 <sup>st</sup>	23	96
			Other	1	4
semester	[s ə ˈm e s t ə]	[ˈs ɛ m ɛ s t ə]	1 <sup>st</sup>	18	75
			other	6	25
typewriter	[ˈt a ɪ p r a ɪ t ə]	[t a ɪ p ˈr a ɪ t ə]	Penult	16	67
			other	8	33
narrator	[n a ˈr e ɪ t ə]	[n a ˈr e t ə]	Penult	15	63
			other	9	37
headquarters	[h e d ˈk w ɔː t ə z]	[h ɛ d ˈk w ɔ t ə z]	Penult	18	75
			other	6	25
controversy	[ˈk ɒ n t r ə v ɜː s ɪ]	[k ɔ n ˈt r ɔ v ə s ɪ]	Antepenult	24	100
			other	0	0
category	[ˈk æ t ə g (ə) r ɪ]	[k a ˈt ɛ g ɔ r ɪ]	Antepenult	18	75
			other	6	25



helicopter	[ˈhɛlɪkɒptə]	[hɛliˈkɒptə]	Penult	17	71
			other	7	29
supervisor	[ˈsʊ:pəvaɪzə]	[sʊpəˈvaɪzə]	Penult	17	71
			other	7	29
undertaking	[ˈʌndəteɪkɪŋ]	[ʌndəˈteɪkɪŋ]	Penult	24	100
			other	0	0
understatement	[ˈʌndəsteɪtmənt]	[ʌndəˈsteɪtmənt]	Penult	21	88
			other	3	12
inventory	[ˈɪnvəntərɪ]	[ɪnˈvɛntɔri]	Antepenult	23	96
			other	1	4
advertisement	[ədˈvɜ:tɪsmənt]	[ədvaˈtaɪzmənt]	Penult	17	71
			other	7	29
adolescence	[ədəˈlesns]	[əˈdɒlesns]	Antepenult	18	75
			other	6	25
semicircle	[semɪˈsɜ:kəl]	[semɪˈsɜ:kəl]	Penult		
			other	21	88
graduation	[grædʒuˈeɪʃn]	[grædʒuˈweɪʃn]	other	3	12
			Penult		
graduation	[grædʒuˈeɪʃn]	[grædʒuˈweɪʃn]	Penult	24	100
			other	0	0

Adjective	BrE	KenE	Stressed Syllable	Frequency (n=24)	%
adverse	[ˈæd v ɜː s]	[a d 'v a s]	Last	19	79
			Other	5	21
intact	[ɪ n 't æ k t]	[i n t a k t]	1 <sup>st</sup>	23	96
			Other	1	4
interesting	[ˈɪ n t r ə s t ɪ ŋ]	[i n t r ə s t i ŋ]	1 <sup>st</sup>	16	67
			Other	8	33
interested	[ˈɪ n t r ə s t ɪ d]	[i n t r ə s t ɛ d]	1 <sup>st</sup>	15	63
			Other	9	37
absolute	[ˈæ b s ə l j uː t]	[a b s ɔ 'l u t]	Last	17	71
			Other	7	29
opportune	[ˈɒ p ə t j uː n]	[ɔ p ɔ 't j u n]	Last	19	79
			other	5	21
incumbent	[ɪ n 'kʌ mb ə nt]	[in 'kamb ə nt]	1 <sup>st</sup>	17	71
			Other	7	29
infamous	[ˈɪ n f ə m ə s]	[i n 'f e m ə s]	Penult	23	96
			Other	1	4
bad-tempered	[bæd'te:mpəd]	[ˈbæd'tempəd]	1 <sup>st</sup>	22	92
			Other	2	8

half- hearted	[hɑ:f 'hɑ:tɪd]	['h a f h a t e d]	1 <sup>st</sup> Other	22 2	92 8
heavy- handed	[hevɪ'hændɪd]	['hevihanded]	1 <sup>st</sup> Other	21 3	88 12
heavy- hearted	[hevɪ'hɑ:tɪd]	['h ε v i h a t e d]	1 <sup>st</sup> Other	20 4	83 17
eligible	['e l ɪ dʒ ə b l]	[ε 'l i dʒ i b ɔ l]	1 <sup>st</sup> Other	23 1	96 4
mandatory	['mændət (ə)r ɪ]	[ma n'detori]	Antepenult Other	22 2	92 8

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Archibald, J. (1993) *Language Learnability and L2 Phonology: The Acquisition of Metrical Parameters*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Bamgbose, A. (1983) Standard Nigerian English: Issues of Identification. In Kachru, B. (1983) *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. PP 99-111.
- Bamgbose, A. *et al.* (eds.) (1995) *New Englishes: A West African Perspective*. The British Council.
- Barret, J. (1994) Why is English Still the Medium of Education in Tanzanian Secondary schools? *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. Vol. 7: 1- 4. Multilingual Matters.
- Batibo, H. (2000) The Sounds of Africa: Their Phonetic Characteristics. In Webb, V. and Kembo-Sure (ed.) (2000) *African Voices: An Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bulili, E. (2002) A Lexico-Semantic Analysis of Kenyan English. M.Phil Thesis. Moi University. (Unpublished)

Clark, J. and Yallop, C. (1995) *An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology-  
Second Edition*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Creider, C.A. and Creider, J.T. (1989) *A Grammar of Nandi*. Hamburg: Buske.

Crystal, D. (1997) *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge  
University Press.

Ellis, R. (1994) *The Study of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford  
University Press.

Giegerich, H. J. (1992) *English Phonology: An Introduction*. Cambridge:  
Cambridge University Press.

Goldsmith, J.A. (ed.) (1995) *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*. Oxford:  
Basil Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Graddol, D (2000) *The Future of English? A Guide to Forecasting the  
Popularity of the English Language in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. The  
British Council.

Greenbaum, S. (1985) *The English Language Today*. Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd.

Hawkins, P. (1984) *Introducing Phonology*. London: Hutchinson.

Hocking B.D.W. (1974) *All What I Was Taught and Other Mistakes: A Handbook of Common Errors in English*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Kachru, B.B. (ed.) (1983) *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press Ltd.

Kanyoro, M.R.A. (1991) The Politics of the English Language in Kenya and Tanzania. In Chesire, J. (ed.) (1991) *English Around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kaplan, R.B (2001) English -The Accidental Language of Science. In Amon U. (ed.) (2001) *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science: Effect on Other Languages and Language Communities*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kembo-Sure, E. (1996) *Language Attitudes, Use and Proficiency: A Sociolinguistic Study of English in Kenya*. D.Phil. Thesis. Moi University. (Unpublished)

Kembo-Sure, E. (1997) *English in Kenya. Proceedings of the University of Pretoria Seminar: South Africa, March 6, 1997*. PP. 24-31.

Kembo-Sure, (2004) *Establishing a National Standard and English Language Curriculum Change in Kenya*. In Muthwii, M.J. and Kioko, A.N. (eds.) (2004) *New Language Bearings in Africa: A Fresh Quest*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kenstowicz, M. (1994) *Phonology in Generative Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Kioko, A. and Muthwii, M. (2001) *The Demands of a Changing Society: English Today. Language, Culture and Curriculum*. Vol.14:3, 201-213.

Laver, J. (1994) *Principles of Phonetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, J. (1981) *Language and Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mazrui A. A. and Mazrui, M.M. (1988) *The Power of Babel: Language and Government in the African Experience*. East African Educational Publishers: Nairobi.

Mbugua, A. N. (1990) A Phonological Reality of the Syllable. Ph.D. Thesis. Kenyatta University. (Unpublished)

Mesthrie, R. (2004) The Phonology of English in Africa and South and Southeast Asia. In Schneider, E. *et al.* (eds) (2004) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Milroy, L. (1987) *Language and Social Networks*. London: Basil Blackwell.

Moag, R.F. (1983) The Life Cycle of Non-native Englishes. In Kachru, B. (ed.) (1983) *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press. Pp. 271-301.



Muhashamy, S. (1995) *Intonation as an Expression of Affective Meaning in English and Kiswahili*. M. Phil Thesis. Moi University (Unpublished)

Muthwii M. and Kioko A. (2004) *New Language Bearings in Africa: A Fresh Quest*. Multilingual matters.

Muthwii, M.J. (1994) *Variability in Language Use: A Study of Kalenjin Speakers of English and Kiswahili in Kenya*: D.Phil. Thesis. University of East Anglia. (Unpublished)

Mwangi, S. (2003) *Prepositions in Kenyan English: A Corpus-Based Study in Lexico-Grammatical Variation*. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

Ngala, J.A. (1994) *A Contrastive Analysis of the English (RP) and Dholuo Syllable Structures*. M.Phil Thesis. Moi University. (Unpublished)

Njoroge, M.C. (2006) *Linguistic Variation in Spoken English as Used by Teachers in Kenyan Primary Schools*. D.Phil. Thesis. Kenyatta University. (Unpublished)

Ochwaya, Y.E. (1992) *The Influence of English on the Phonological Features of Lunyala*. M.Phil. Thesis. Moi University. (Unpublished)

O'Connor, J.D. (2000) *Better English Pronunciation –Second Edition*. Cambridge University Press.

O'Grady, *et al.* (eds.) (1996) *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*. London: Longman.

Okoth-Okombo, D. (1986) *English in East Africa: Some Efforts Towards Indigenization. Proceedings of the British Council Conference: Nairobi, April 24-27, 1986.*

Platt, J. *et al.* (1984) *The New Englishes*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Republic of Kenya, (1999) *National and Housing Census*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Roach, P. (2000) *English Phonetics and Phonology –Third Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmied, J. J. (1991) *English in Africa: An Introduction*. London: Longman.

- Schmied, J. (2004) East African English (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania): Phonology. In Schneider, E. *et al.* (eds.) (2004) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Simiyu, H.N. (2000) Dependency Phonology Theory and its Implication in Lubukusu: A Non-linear Approach. M.Phil. Thesis. Moi University. (Unpublished)
- Simo Bobda, A. (1995) The Phonologies of Nigerian and Cameroon English. In Bamgbose, A. *et al.* (eds.) (1995). *New English: A West African Perspective*. The British Council.
- Skandera, P. (2003) *Drawing a Map of Africa: Idiom in Kenyan English*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Vaux, B. and Cooper, J. (1999) *Introduction to Linguistic Field Methods*. München: LINCOM EUROPA.
- Webb, V. and Kembo-Sure, (eds.) (2000) *African Voices: An Introduction to the Languages and Linguistics of Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whiteley, W.H. (1974) *Language in Kenya*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Zuengler, J. (1983) Kenyan English. In Kachru B. (ed.) (1983) *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.