

# 10th Conference on British and American Studies – Crossing Boundaries



10th Conference on British and American  
Studies – Crossing Boundaries:  
Approaches to the Contemporary  
Multicultural Discourse

Edited by

Marinela Burada and Oana Tatu

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**P U B L I S H I N G**

10th Conference on British and American Studies – Crossing Boundaries:  
Approaches to the Contemporary Multicultural Discourse  
Edited by Marinela Burada and Oana Tatu

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# **CHAPTER I**

## **FIRST LANGUAGE ANALYSIS**

## INTRODUCTION

The contributions included in this and the next chapter illustrate a number of outstanding concerns in linguistic research. They reflect the multiplicity of vantage points from which languages and language-related phenomena can be studied, conceptually and methodologically. With all the differences in focus and/or approach, however, the issues addressed in the papers collected in the first two chapters of this book converge in two main strands of research: first language analysis and, respectively, second language acquisition and teaching.

The first chapter brings together seven articles featuring in-depth investigations of particular aspects related to English and Romanian, approached as native idioms. They highlight various particularities identifiable in the structural (phonetic, grammatical, lexical) organization of the two languages, while the main focus of the last article falls on the rhetoric of argument in Romanian-language texts composed by expert writers.

The first study in this group, *Diagnostic Features in Four Eastern Caribbean English-Lexified Creoles* (Andrei A. Avram) is a foray into a less explored territory within the vast Contact Linguistics realm. Its scope is Antiguan, Trinitagonian, Virgin Islands English Creole, and Vincentian, four contact languages which have so far been underrepresented in studies of Atlantic English-based creoles. Based on both diachronic and synchronic data, the research described here maps the phonological, lexical, and grammatical deviations of these creoles from their superstrate language, together with the independent developments which occurred in the course of their evolution.

A report on a discrete-point analysis of phonological features is found in the article *On Some Features of the Vocalic System of Kenyan English* (Gabriela Anidora Brozbă). The author draws on data yielded by phonetic analysis to contend that Kenyan English is similar to other varieties spoken on the African continent in having a simplified vowel system. Unlike other African varieties, however, Kenyan English stands out in that it seems to display a comparatively higher degree of variation along the basilect-acrolect continuum manifest in the speech of individual language users.

The following five contributions concentrate on various aspects related to the formal (morphosyntactic, lexical) structure of Romanian. From a syntactic perspective, then, *Degrees of Nouniness of Romanian Cardinals* (Mihaela Tănase-Dogaru) considers the dual status of cardinal numbers in Romanian, arguing for a differential, dual-syntax analysis thereof. Given the fact that in Romanian cardinal numbers assume different syntactic roles in the larger context, the author posits that their degree of ‘nouniness’ provides a sounder basis for description than a uniform morphosyntactic analysis.

Premised on empirical evidence from Romanian and on research on other Balkan languages (e.g. Bulgarian, Greek), *Implicative Verbs and Their Subjunctive Complements in Romanian: Obligatory Control?* (Maria Aurelia Cotfas) shows that Romanian implicative verbs, which the GB tradition analyses as ‘control verbs’, display syntactic behaviour indicative of their non-obligatory control status.

At the junction of semantics, syntax, and pragmatics, *Positive Polarity Items in Romanian – Experimental Evidence* (Mihaela Zamfirescu) reports on a set of experiments aimed at determining the Positive Polarity status of a number of Romanian words and phrases. Native speakers’ intuitions were used to test the grammaticality and pragmatic value of syntactic contexts including Positive Polarity Items. Based on this evidential support, the author makes a case for the scale preserving potential of Romanian PPIs which allow for high to low value inferencing.

In a somewhat different vein, *A Semic Analysis of terms denoting physical defects in Romanian* (Alexandra Stan) includes a detailed lexico-semantic analysis of a set of Romanian adjectivals which refer to physical defects located by the author in three areas of incidence: body parts, sensory cognitive processes, and intellective cognitive processes. Anchored in a firm theoretical ground reviewed critically in the first part of the paper, the analysis in the second part deconstructs the relevant semantemes, isolating their common, variable, and residual semes, and thereby providing a clearer picture of their individualities, as well as their semantic networking.

The last article in this chapter, *The Dictionary Review in Romanian: A Rhetorical Analysis of Evaluative Texts* (Marinela Burada) is a corpus-based, context-sensitive, qualitative exploration of the manner in which expert writers formulate and support positive and/or negative evaluation in dictionary reviews composed in Romanian. The author starts by discussing the specificity of the dictionary review among the other review genres, highlighting a gap in the relevant body of research: while evaluation has been studied extensively and across a wide variety of (sub-)genres, it

appears that the kind of evaluation found in dictionary reviews has somehow been overlooked by Text Linguistics. The rhetorical analysis of twelve Romanian-language texts indicates that, despite the semi-occluded nature of this genre, there appears to be a certain recursiveness in the production of dictionary reviews, which renders them more predictable than originally expected.

# DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES IN FOUR EASTERN CARIBBEAN ENGLISH-LEXIFIED CREOLES

ANDREI A. AVRAM

## 1. Introduction

Antiguan (henceforth Atg), Trinbagonian (TT), Virgin Islands English Creole (VIEC) and Vincentian (Vin) have rarely figured in comparative studies of Atlantic English creoles. Previous work, e.g. Hancock (1987), Wells (1987), Winer and Gilbert (1987), Aceto (2008a and 2008b), focuses mostly on synchronic data, while Baker (1999) includes diachronic data from Atg and Vin only. As noted by Aceto (2008a, 2008b), Atg, VIEC and Vin are, like most Eastern Caribbean creoles, among the varieties which are still underresearched.

## 2. Methodology

The approach adopted makes use of the diagnostic features suggested by Baker and Huber (2001). Diagnostic features “represent significant phonological, lexical, or grammatical deviations from, or innovations to, varieties of British English – since British English was the major input in the restructuring process” (Baker and Huber 2001, 163). The 302 diagnostic features suggested by Baker and Huber (2001, 165) are divided into three groups: Atlantic (173), world-wide (75), and Pacific (54). Atlantic features are recorded in at least two Atlantic English-lexified pidgins and creoles; world-wide features are attested in at least one Atlantic and one Pacific variety; Pacific features are only found in Pacific varieties. The approach adopted here takes into account features recorded at any time in the history of these varieties, even though some of these may no longer be in use today. Consequently, it sheds light on the historical relationships among the various English-lexified pidgins and creoles. Finally, making use of Baker and Huber’s (2001) list of diagnostic features – already tested on a set of seven Atlantic and, respectively, six Pacific varieties – ensures comparability of the data.

The first attestations of diagnostic features have been collected from both published and unpublished textual sources. These include travel accounts, memoirs, diaries, letters, word lists, dictionaries, grammars, and literary works.

For ease of reference, each diagnostic feature is numbered and labeled and/or defined as in Baker and Huber (2001, 197-204). The entry for each feature includes the date of the first attestation. When an exact year cannot be established, the system used by Baker and Huber (2001, 164-165) has been adopted: a year preceded by a hyphen reads ‘in or before’, if preceded and followed by a hyphen ‘in or around’ and, if followed by a hyphen, ‘in or after’.

### 3. First Attestations

The list of first attestations below is based on data from Avram (2012b) for Atg, Avram (2012a) for TT, Avram (2011) for VIEC, and Avram (submitted) for Vin. The earliest attestation appears in bold characters, and an asterisk follows the varieties in which a diagnostic feature is not attested by currently available evidence.

2.	<i>after</i> ‘given that’	Atg 2012 VIEC * TT * <b>Vin 2011</b>
3.	<i>aki</i> (fruit/tree)	Atg * TT 2008 VIEC * Vin 1996
4.	<i>akra</i> (a savoury cake)	Atg * <b>TT 1919</b> VIEC 1996 Vin *
5.	<i>all we</i> (1PL)	Atg 1837 <b>TT -1825-</b> VIEC 1878 <b>Vin 1793</b>
6.	<i>all you</i> (2PL)	Atg -1844 <b>TT 1838</b> VIEC 1975 Vin 1950-
7.	<i>Anancy</i> (folktale character)	<b>Atg -1840</b> TT 1858 VIEC 1925 Vin 1925
8.	<i>bad mouth</i> ‘speak ill of, curse’	Atg 2012 <b>TT 1935</b> VIEC 1996 Vin 2011
9.	<i>bakra</i> ‘European, white person’	<b>Atg 1774</b> TT 1802 VIEC -1794 Vin 1791
10.	<i>bang</i> ‘hit’ (as punishment)	Atg 1989 TT * <b>VI EC 1925</b> Vin 2004
11.	<i>banja</i> ‘banjo’	Atg -1788 TT 1883 VIEC * Vin 1834
13.	<i>bateau</i> ‘boat’	Atg * TT * <b>VIEC 1981</b> Vin *
15.	<i>big eye</i> ‘greed(y)’	Atg 2009 <b>TT 1883</b> VIEC 1996 Vin 1996
16.	<i>binness</i> ‘business’	Atg * <b>TT 1854</b> VIEC * Vin *
19.	<i>bonikleba</i> ‘sour milk’	Atg * <b>TT -1825-</b> VIEC 1925 Vin *
20.	<i>book</i> ‘letter, knowledge, literacy’	Atg * TT * VIEC * <b>Vin 1821-</b>
22.	<i>bra</i> ‘brother’	<b>Atg -1844</b> TT * VIEC 1975 Vin 1950-
23.	<i>bubby</i> ‘woman’s breast’	<b>Atg 1920</b> TT 1987 VIEC 1975 Vin 2008
24.	<i>buddy</i> ‘(egalitarian address for a male)’	Atg 1834 <b>TT 1827</b> VIEC 1843 Vin 2011
25.	<i>bumbo</i> ‘vulva’	Atg 1996 <b>TT 1974</b> VIEC * Vin *
26.	<i>cacabelly</i> (fish sp.)	Atg * TT * VIEC * <b>Vin 1996</b>
27.	<i>calaloo</i> ‘a rich soup or stew’	Atg 2004 TT 1843 VIEC 1927 <b>Vin 1821-</b>
29.	<i>chigger</i> ‘chigoe’	<b>Atg -1788</b> TT 1827 VIEC 1843 Vin 1821-
30.	<i>copper</i> ‘money’	Atg 2012 <b>TT 2005</b> VIEC * Vin 2011
31.	<i>crapaud</i> ‘frog’	Atg 2009 <b>TT 1827</b> VIEC 1975 Vin 1836
33.	<i>cutacoo</i> ‘basket’	<b>Atg -1840</b> TT * VIEC 1843 Vin *
34.	<i>da, de</i> (progressive)	Atg 1825 TT -1825- VIEC 1925 <b>Vin 1821-</b>
36.	<i>day clean</i> ‘daybreak’	Atg 2012 <b>TT 1939</b> VIEC 1981 Vin *

37. *de, da, na, a* (equative copula) Atg 1987 TT 1827 **VIEC 1834** Vin 1987  
 38. *de* (locative copula) Atg 1972 **TT 1845** VIEC 1975 Vin 1987  
 39. *dead house* 'mortuary' Atg 1997 **TT 1849** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 40. *dem* (article, demonstrative) Atg -1844 TT 1845 **VIEC -1794** Vin 1821-  
 41. postposed *dem* (nominal plural) Atg 1964 **TT 1883** VIEC 1957 Vin \*  
 42. preposed *dem* (nominal plural) Atg 1920 TT \* VIEC 1975 **Vin 1904**  
 43. *dem* (3PL POSS) Atg 1989 **TT 1847** VIEC 2011 Vin 2009  
 44. *do* (clause-initial entreaty) **Atg -1834** TT 1839 VIEC 1925 Vin \*  
 45. *dokunu/dukna* (kind of starchy food) **Atg -1844** TT 1883 VIEC 1996 Vin 1996  
 46. final *done* (completive) **Atg 2011** TT \* VI \* Vin \*  
 47. *done* VERB (completive) Atg 1920 **TT 1845** VIEC 1925 Vin 1925  
 48. *doormouth* 'threshold' Atg 2012 **TT 1883** VIEC 1979 Vin 1980  
 49. *dohiti* 'earth, dirt' **Atg -1844** TT 1883 VI \* Vin \*  
 51. *duppy* 'zombie' Atg \* **TT 1883** VIEC 1981 Vin 2006  
 52. *eddoe/ede* 'taro' Atg -1844 TT -1825- VIEC 1834 **Vin 1821-**  
 55. *eyewater* 'tear' Atg 1996 **TT 1933** VIEC 1996 Vin 2011  
 58. *for* PRON NP (genitive) Atg 1972 **TT 1827** VIEC \* Vin 1987  
 59. *for* VERB (modal) **Atg 1825** TT 1843 VIEC 2011 Vin 2009  
 60. *for true* 'truly' Atg 1991 **TT 1827** VIEC 1843 Vin 1837  
 61. *fufu* (starch food, boiled and pounded) Atg 1996 **TT 1974** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 62. *fullup* 'fill, be-full' Atg 1996 **TT 1940** VIEC 2008 Vin \*  
 63. *fum* 'beat' Atg \* **TT \* VIEC \* Vin 1792**  
 64. *funji* 'corn meal' **Atg 1789** TT 1974 VI 1900 Vin 1996  
 65. *goatmouth* 'a Cassandra' Atg \* **TT 1827** VIEC 1975 Vin 1996  
 66. *gongosha* 'deceit; gossip' Atg 1996 **TT 1945** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 67. *gumbay* 'drum' Atg \* **TT \* VIEC \* Vin 1836**  
 68. *heart burn* 'be angry' Atg \* **TT 1827** VIEC \* Vin 2011  
 70. *how come* 'why' Atg \* **TT \* VI \* Vin 1972**  
 71. *hungry* 'hunger, starvation' Atg 2010 **TT 1883** VIEC \* Vin 2011  
 72. *ina, na* (locative preposition) Atg 1987 TT 1827 VIEC 1927 **Vin 1821-**  
 73. *Irish potato* 'potato' Atg -1840 TT 1917 VIEC \* **Vin 1821-**  
 75. *jackspaniard* 'wasp' Atg 2009 **TT -1825-** VIEC 1834 Vin 1836  
 76. *john crow* (bird sp.) Atg \* **TT 1888** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 77. *jook* 'pierce, stab etc.' Atg 1996 **TT 1827** VIEC 1967 Vin 2006  
 79. *jumbee* 'malevolent spirit, zombie' Atg -1844 TT 1827 VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**  
 80. k/g affricated to ch/j Atg \* **TT \* VIEC 2010** Vin \*  
 81. k/g palatalized before /a/ **Atg 1925** TT 1939 **VIEC 1925 Vin 1925**  
 82. *kaanki* (corn dish) Atg 1996 **TT 1974** VIEC 1981 Vin 2008  
 83. *kaban/cabin* 'bed' Atg \* **TT 1800** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 84. *kaka* 'shit, excrement' Atg \* **TT 1933** VIEC 1981 Vin 2011  
 86. *kasada* 'cassava' **Atg 1774** TT 1802 VIEC -1794 Vin 1821-  
 87. *kata* 'head-pad' Atg 1996 **TT 1881** VIEC 1996 Vin 1996  
 88. *ki!* (exclamation) **Atg 1825** TT 1846 VIEC 1843 Vin \*  
 89. *kiba* 'cover' **Atg 1920** TT \* VIEC \* Vin \*  
 90. *kill devil* 'rum' Atg \* **TT \* VIEC 1971** Vin \*  
 91. *kokobe* 'leper, leprosy' Atg 1920 **TT 1852** VIEC 1927 Vin \*  
 94. *kunumunu* 'stupid person' Atg 2004 TT 1939 **VIEC 1927** Vin 2011  
 98. *maga* 'thin' Atg 2008 **TT 1845** VIEC 1981 Vin 2008  
 99. *magass* 'crushed cane' Atg 1837 TT -1825- **VIEC -1794** Vin 1821-  
 100. *married* 'marry' Atg 2011 **TT 1904** VIEC 1980 Vin 1904  
 102. *mauby* 'drink from potatoes' Atg -1840 TT 1833 VIEC 1981 **Vin 1821-**  
 104. *me one* 'just me' Atg 2012 TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 2011**

106. *mouth* 'word, language' Atg \* **TT 1956** VIEC \* Vin \*
107. *mouth water* 'saliva' Atg 2012 **TT 1945** VIEC \* Vin 1996
108. *mumu* 'dumb' Atg \* **TT 1883** VIEC 1927 Vin \*
110. *no more* 'merely' Atg \* **TT 1858** VIEC \* Vin \*
111. *nose hole* 'nostril' Atg 2012 **TT 1940** VIEC \* Vin 2011
112. NP1 for NP2 (possessive N2's N1) Atg \* **TT 1845** VIEC 1981 Vin \*
114. *nufnuf* 'many, plenty of' Atg \* **TT -1996** VIEC \* Vin \*
115. *(n)yam* 'eat food' Atg 1925 TT 1827 VIEC 1927 Vin **1821-**
116. *(n)yampi* 'dirt in the eyes' Atg 1996 TT 1961 **VIEC 1927** Vin 1996
118. *(n)(y)anga* 'proud; pride; ostentation' Atg \* **TT 1827** VIEC \* Vin 1904
119. *n(y)ung* 'young' **Atg 1834** TT 1883 VIEC \* Vin 1904
120. *obeah* 'kind of magic' Atg 1834 **TT 1800** VIEC 1843 Vin 1821-
121. *palaver* 'dispute, discourse, matter' Atg \* **TT 1843** VIEC \* Vin \*
122. *pantap* 'on' Atg 2012 **TT 2008** VIEC \* Vin 2011
125. *pikin* 'small; child, offspring' Atg \* **TT 1883** VIEC \* Vin \*
126. *pikinea* 'black child' Atg **1989** TT \* VIEC \* Vin \*
127. *pikni* 'small; child, offspring' **Atg -1840** TT 1883 VIEC 1927 Vin \* 1925
128. *pinda* 'peanut' Atg \* **TT \* VIEC -1794** Vin \*
129. *(make) play* '(to have a) party, dance, amusement' Atg \* **TT \* VIEC \* Vin 1812**
132. *potapota* 'mud; muddy' Atg \* **TT 1883** VIEC \* Vin \*
133. *rata* 'rat' Atg 1920 TT -1825- VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**
134. *rockstone* 'stone' **Atg -1840** TT 1845 VIEC 1981 Vin 2011
135. *(for) sake (of)* 'because' Atg \* **TT 1884 VIEC 1843** Vin \*
137. *santapi* 'centipede' Atg 1925 TT -1905- **VIEC -1794** Vin 2011
138. *sapata* 'footwear' Atg \* **TT 1849** VIEC 1981 Vin \*
139. *say* (complementizer) Atg 1925 TT 1827 VIEC \* **Vin 1812**
140. *self* 'even; (emphasis)' Atg -1844 **TT 1827** VIEC 1975 Vin 1987
143. *soso* 'only' Atg \* **TT -1996** VIEC \* Vin \*
144. *so te(l)* 'until; a long time' **Atg -1840** TT 1845 VIEC \* Vin 1904
146. *strong ears/hard ears* 'stubbornness' Atg \* **TT 1883** VIEC \* Vin 2011
147. *sweet* 'tasty; please (v)' Atg 1962 **TT 1883** VIEC \* Vin 2010
148. *sweetmouth* 'flattery' Atg 2009 82 TT 1993 VIEC 1981 **Vin 1996**
149. *Takoma* 'Anansi's son' Atg 1920 **TT 1883** VIEC 1925 Vin 1925
150. *tan lek* 'be like, resemble' Atg 2012 **TT 1827** VIEC \* Vin 1904
151. *tata* 'father' Atg 1996 TT \* VIEC 1996 Vin \*
152. *tief* 'steal' **Atg -1840 TT -1825-** VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**
154. *too* (preverbal) 'very, exceeding' Atg 2012 TT 1975 VIEC \* Vin \*
155. *tote* 'carry': Atg \* **TT 1904** VIEC \* Vin \*
156. *tother, tara* 'other' Atg -1844 TT 1845 VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**
157. *tumtum = fufu* Atg \* **TT-1825-** VIEC \* **Vin 1821-**
158. *ugly* 'evil' Atg 2012 TT \* **VIEC 1981** Vin \*
159. *una* (2PL) Atg \* **TT \* VIEC \* Vin 2008**
160. *unu* (2PL) **Atg 1964** TT \* VIEC \* Vin \*
161. *vex* 'be-angry' Atg 1920 **TT 1827** VIEC 1925 Vin 1972
162. *wari* (African board game) Atg 1991 TT \* **VIEC 1927** Vin \*
164. *we* (1PL POSS) Atg 2008 TT 1883 VIEC 1957 **Vin 1821-**
165. *we* (1PL OBL) **Atg 1837** TT 1849 VIEC 1957 Vin 1838
166. *WH make* 'why' Atg 1972 **TT 1845** VIEC 1975 Vin 1972
169. *woodslave* (lizard sp.) Atg -1844 TT 1894 **VIEC -1794** Vin 1834
171. *yabba* (kind of pot) **Atg -1844** TT \* VIEC 1996 Vin \*
172. *yai* 'eye' Atg -1844 **TT 1827** VIEC 1925 Vin 1904
173. *yerri* 'hear' Atg \* **TT 1845** VIEC \* Vin \*



174. *all about* 'everywhere'  
 176. *be* (equative copula)  
 177. *be* (predicative copula)  
 178. *been* (past/anterior)  
 179. *before time* 'formerly'  
 180. *born* 'give birth'  
 181. *bruck* 'break'  
 182. *byandby* (adv.) 'soon'  
 184. *catch* 'get, obtain reach'  
 185. *comeout* 'go out, detach' (reanalysis)  
 186. *da(t)* (definite article)  
 187. *dead* 'die'  
 188. *dem* (3PL)  
 190. *fashion* 'manner, way'  
 192. *for* (infinitive)  
 193. *go* (future)  
 194. *got* 'have'  
 195. *grande* 'big'  
 196. *he* (resumptive)  
 197. *he* (3SG OBL)  
 198. *he* (3SG POSS)  
 199. *him* (3SG POSS)  
 200. *him* (3SG)  
 201. *lick* 'flog'  
 202. *lili* 'little'  
 203. *little bit* 'slightly'  
 205. *make* (causative/imperative)  
 206. *make haste* 'hurry'  
 207. *-man* (agentive suffix)  
 208. *me* (1SG)  
 209. *me* (1SG POSS)  
 211. *more better*  
 212. *most* 'almost'  
 213. NP1NP2 (possessive N1'SN2)  
 214. *never* (negative-completive)  
 215. *no* (negator)  
 216. *nogood* 'bad'  
 218. *one* (indefinite article)  
 219. *one time* '(at) once'  
 220. paragogic vowels  
 221. *piccaninny* 'small; child'  
 222. *plenty* NOUN 'a lot of'  
 223. *plenty* (postverbal) 'a lot'  
 225. *sabby* 'know'  
 226. *-side* (locative suffix)  
 227. *sitdown* 'sit, reside' (reanalysis)  
 228. word derived from *something* 'thing'  
 230. *stop* (locative verb)  
 231. *suppose* 'if'  
 232. *that time* 'when'  
 235. *too much* ADJ/VERB 'a lot'  
 236. ADJ/VERB *too much* 'a lot'
- Atg -1844 **TT 1843** VIEC \* Vin 1011  
 Atg 1987 TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg 1834 TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg -1840 **TT 1827** VIEC 1925 Vin 1904  
 Atg 2009 **TT 1985** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg 2012 TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 2011**  
 Atg 1989 **TT 1883** VIEC 1925 Vin 1904  
 Atg 1837 **TT -1825-** VIEC 1967 Vin \*  
 Atg \* TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 1925**  
 Atg 2010 TT \* **VIEC 1925** Vin \*  
 Atg \* **TT -1825-** VIEC 1996 Vin \*  
 Atg 1920 TT 1884 VIEC 2008 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg 1834 TT 1827 VIEC 1925 **Vin 1812**  
 Atg 2010 TT \* **VIEC 2005** Vin \*  
 Atg 1834 **TT 1809** VIEC 1834 Vin 1821-  
 Atg -1832 TT 1809 VIEC 1896 **Vin 1791**  
 Atg 1920 TT 1839 VIEC 1957 **Vin 1849**  
 Atg 1787 TT 1833 VIEC \* **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg **1825** TT 1843 VIEC 1925 Vin 1834  
 Atg **-1840** TT 1854 VIEC 1878 Vin 1904  
 Atg -1844 TT -1825- VIEC 1834 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg 2009 TT 1827 VIEC 1843 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg 1834 TT 1827 VIEC 1834 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg -1828 TT -1825- VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg **1834** TT 1847 VIEC 1981 **Vin 1834**  
 Atg \* **TT 1853** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg -1840 **TT -1825-** VIEC \* Vin 1996  
 Atg **-1844** TT 2003 VIEC 1925 Vin 2011  
 Atg \* TT 1939 **VIEC 1925** Vin 2004  
 Atg -1810- TT 1802 VIEC -1794 **Vin 1791**  
 Atg 1834 TT 1827 VIEC 1896 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg 2012 **TT 1904** VIEC \* Vin 2011  
 Atg **-1840** TT 1952 VIEC 1975 Vin 1925  
 Atg **1774** TT 1827 VIEC 1834 Vin 1821-  
 Atg \* TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 1950-**  
 Atg 1825 TT 1802 **VIEC -1794** Vin 1812  
 Atg -1844 TT \* VIEC \* **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg -1840 TT -1825- VIEC 1896 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg 2010 **TT 1904** VIEC 1925 Vin 1925  
 Atg -1840 **TT 1802** VIEC 1843 Vin 1980  
 Atg **1681** TT -1825- VIEC 1843 Vin 1821-  
 Atg -1840 TT 1846 VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg \* **TT -1825-** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg **1834** TT 1809 VIEC 1843 Vin \*  
 Atg \* **TT 1854** VIEC \* Vin 2011  
 Atg 2009 **TT 1845** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg **-1844** TT 1888 VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg -1844 TT \* **VIEC 1834** Vin \*  
 Atg -1844 TT 1827 VIEC 1925 **Vin 1821-**  
 Atg -1844 **TT 1827** VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg **-1840** TT \* VIEC \* Vin \*  
 Atg \* TT -1825- VIEC 1843 **Vin 1821-**

239.	<i>walkabout</i> ‘wander’	Atg 2009 <b>TT 1904</b> VIEC * Vin *
240.	<i>we</i> (relativizer)	Atg * <b>TT 1845</b> VIEC 1925 Vin 1973
241.	<i>WH for</i> ‘why’	Atg 1825 TT 1827 VIEC 1834 <b>Vin 1821-</b>
243.	<i>WH place</i> ‘where’	Atg * <b>TT 1845</b> VIEC * Vin *
244.	<i>WH side</i> ‘where’	Atg * <b>TT 1972</b> VIEC * Vin 2011
246.	<i>WH time</i> ‘when’	Atg * <b>TT 1845</b> VIEC * Vin *
247.	ZERO (equative copula)	Atg -1840 TT 1845 VIEC * <b>Vin 1821-</b>
248.	ZERO (predicative copula)	Atg 1834 TT 1827 VIEC 1834 <b>Vin 1821-</b>
259.	<i>calico</i> ‘cloth(es)’	Atg 1834 TT -1825- VIEC * <b>Vin 1821-</b>
268.	<i>first time</i> ‘ahead, formerly’	Atg * TT 2003 VIEC * <b>Vin 1996</b>
277.	<i>look see</i> ‘inspect, see’	Atg * <b>TT 1845</b> VIEC * Vin *
287.	<i>saltwater</i> ‘sea; coastal’	Atg 2012 TT 1850 VIEC * <b>Vin 1834</b>
288.	<i>sing out</i> ‘shout’	Atg 2012 TT * VIEC * <b>Vin 1925</b>
295.	VERB-VM (transitive suffix)	Atg * <b>TT 1888</b> VIEC * Vin *

According to Baker and Huber (2001, 159), the discovery of pre-1900 first attestations “minimizes the effect of later, non-diffusionist cross-influences” between the Atlantic English-lexified creoles, “e.g. through the media, modern communication or increased mobility in the 20<sup>th</sup> century”. The number of pre-1900 first attestations is relatively low: Atg 72 (48.6%), TT 120 (74.5%), VIEC 40 (33.0%), Vin 61 (44.5%). The notable exception of TT is due to the far larger number of available pre-1900 textual sources.

4. Some Characteristics

Baker and Huber (2001, 171) show that “a fundamental difference between the Atlantic and Pacific varieties” is that “the absolute number of features in the latter is generally lower, with the average in the Atlantic being more than twice as high than that in the Pacific”. This is confirmed by the data set out in Table 1:

Table 1: Absolute number of diagnostic features

<b>(Baker and Huber 2001, 171)</b>	
Average in Pacific varieties	63.3
Average in Atlantic varieties	145.4
Atg	147.0
TT	161.0
VIEC	121.0
Vin	137.0

Note that even in VIEC – which has the lowest score – the number of recorded diagnostic features is almost twice as high as in the Pacific.

Consider next the number of world-wide features (abbreviations used in Tables 2, 3 and 9: Bjn = Bajan; Gul = Gullah; I-G = Indo-Guyanese; Jam = Jamaican; Kri = Krio; PN = Pitkern and Norf<sup>o</sup>k; SKi = Kittitian; Srn = Suriname; Waf = West African Pidgin English; the creoles of Suriname are treated as a single entity by Baker and Huber 2001):

**Table 2: World-wide features in Atlantic varieties**

<b>(Baker and Huber 2001, 171)</b>	
Srn	44.5
Bjn	36.0
SKi	38.0
Jam	52.5
Gul	42.0
Kri	63.0
Waf	63.0
Atg	49.0
TT	50.0
VIEC	38.0
Vin	43.0

As can be seen, the figures for Atg, TT, VIEC and Vin would fall within the range of Atlantic varieties (from 36 to 63). Table 3 shows the proportion of world-wide features:

**Table 3: Percentage of world-wide features in Atlantic varieties**

<b>(Baker and Huber 2001, 172)</b>	
Srn	33.2
Bjn	30.9
SKi	28.4
Jam	28.8
Gul	34.6
Kri	35.4
Waf	41.6
Atg	33.3
TT	31.0
VIEC	31.4
Vin	31.3

Again, Atg, TT, VIEC and Vin would be situated within the Atlantic varieties range (from 28.4% to 41.6%).

**Table 4: Average percentage of world-wide features**

<b>(Baker and Huber 2001, 173)</b>	
Average in Pacific varieties	66.6
Average in Atlantic varieties	33.0
Average in Atg, TT, VI, Vin	31.7

The average for the varieties considered confirms Baker and Huber's (2001, 174) claim that "the New World Creoles have a considerably lower percentage" of world-wide features.

## 5. Affinities between Atlantic English-Lexified Creoles

The affinities between the various Atlantic English-lexified creoles can be quantified by applying the statistical method used by Baker (1999, 337) and by Baker and Huber (2001, 181). First, the number of diagnostic features a pair of varieties would share if the distribution of these were random is calculated according to the formula:  $N_i \times N_j / N_t$  (where  $N_i$  = number of features in variety<sub>i</sub>,  $N_j$  = number of features in variety<sub>j</sub>,  $N_t$  = total number of features considered). Next, the result obtained is deducted from the actual number of features shared; this shows whether the number of shared features is more/less than predicted by a random distribution. A high positive value of the difference between the actual and the predicted number indicates relatedness.  $N_t$  consists of the 173 Atlantic features + 83 world-wide features (8 additional ones, see Avram 2004), i.e. 256; Bajan has 124 features (including additions from my own corpus), while 134 are found in Kittitian.

Antigua was first settled from St Kitts in 1632, with later settlers arriving from Barbados in 1674 (Roberts 1997, 73, Baker 1999, 339).

**Table 5: Affinities of Atg with Bjn and SKi**

	<b>Actual number</b>	<b>Predicted number</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Atg and Bjn	100.0	71.2	28.8
Atg and SKi	99.0	76.9	22.1

By 1831 approximately half of the population was born in Barbados (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, 54, Holm 1989, 460).

**Table 6: Affinities of TT with BJN**

	<b>Actual number of shared features</b>	<b>Predicted number of shared features</b>	<b>Difference</b>
TT and BJN	102	77.9	24.1

Settlers from St Kitts fled to St Croix in 1642 (Corcoran and Mufwene 1999, 79). By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, many indentured servants emigrated from St Kitts to neighbouring islands held by the Dutch or the Danes (Williams 1983). Also, settlers from St Kitts may have arrived at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Baker 1999, 341).

**Table 7: Affinities of VIEC with SKi**

	<b>Actual number of shared features</b>	<b>Predicted number of shared features</b>	<b>Difference</b>
VIEC and SKi	83.0	63.3	19.7

After the British initially occupied St Vincent in 1763, the settlers (planters and their slaves) who came from Barbados, Antigua, North America (Holm 1989, 458, Roberts 1997, 73), and, possibly, from St Kitts (Baker 1999, 341).

**Table 8: Affinities of Vin with Atg, Bjn and SKi**

	<b>Actual number of shared features</b>	<b>Predicted number of shared features</b>	<b>Difference</b>
Vin and Atg	113	78.6	34.4
Vin and Bjn	94	66.3	27.7
Vin and SKi	94	71.7	22.3

To sum up, in all the cases examined the scores quantifying the affinities accord well with the socio-historical and demographic data.

## **6. Eastern Caribbean vs. Western Caribbean**

The data from Atg, TT, VI and Vin also show that the distribution of some diagnostic features cuts across the divide between Eastern and Western Caribbean creoles.

For instance, Holm (1989, 445) states that “the normal word for the spirit of a dead person is usually *jumby* in the Eastern group and *duppy* in

the Western group”. However, both items are found in TT, VI and Vin. As noted by Aceto (2008b, 651), “the post-nominal plural marker [an *dɛm*] is generally diagnostic of the Anglophone Eastern Caribbean, though simple post-nominal [*dɛm*], the form generally associated with Western Caribbean varieties, is also heard”. Both plural markers occur in Atg (contra Hancock 1987: 305, who does not list *dem*), TT and Vin. Two features considered typical of Western Caribbean varieties (Aceto 2008b, 652) also occur in two of the Eastern Caribbean creoles considered: 159. *una* (2PL) in Vin, and 160. *unu* (2PL) in Atg (contra Hancock 1987, 298, and Parkvall 2000, 102). Aceto (2008, 652-653) writes that: “(*h*)*im* (as both subject and object pronoun) in Western varieties”, while it is “nearly always (*h*)*i* (as a subject pronoun) [...] in Eastern Caribbean varieties”. Both *him* and *he* are attested in all four varieties considered. Finally, according to Aceto (2008, 653): “*wi* is often the first person plural pronoun (as both subject and object pronouns) in Western varieties” while “the corresponding form is *aawi* in the Eastern Caribbean”. Again, the two forms coexist in all the varieties considered in this paper.

## 7. Status of Features

The four creoles considered provide (additional) evidence that six diagnostic features classified as Pacific by Baker and Huber (2001) actually have a world-wide distribution (see also Avram 2003 and 2004). Note that Pitkern and Norf’k is a Pacific variety which exhibits a number of Atlantic features (see Baker and Huber 2001, 186-187, and Avram 2003), and is therefore listed separately.

**Table 9: World-wide status of six features**

<b>Feature classified as Pacific (Baker and Huber 2001)</b>	<b>Atlantic varieties in which it is attested</b>	<b>Also attested in</b>
259. <i>calico</i> ‘cloth(es)’	Gul Atg TT Vin	
268. <i>first time</i> ‘ahead, formerly’	Srn Jam Kri Waf TT Vin	
277. <i>look see</i> ‘inspect, see’	Srn Kri TT	PN
287. <i>saltwater</i> ‘sea; coastal’	Srn Jam Atg TT Vin	PN
288. <i>sing out</i> ‘shout’	Atg Vin	PN
295. VERB-VM (transitive suffix)	Bjn Waf I-G TT	

## 8. Conclusions

The findings shed light on the distribution of diagnostic features in the Caribbean English-lexified creoles, and, more generally, across English-lexified contact languages.

The first attestations in Atg, TT, VIEC and Vin contribute to a better understanding of the history of these varieties as well as of the genetic relationships, origin of features and their diffusion among the Atlantic English creoles.

Finally, the findings confirm the important role of Barbados and St Kitts as centres of diffusion (Baker 1999, Cooper 1999), reflected in the influence of Bajan and Kittitian on Atg and Vin, of Bajan on TT, and of Kittitian on VIEC.

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# ON SOME FEATURES OF THE VOCALIC SYSTEM OF KENYAN ENGLISH

GABRIELA ANIDORA BROZBĀ

## 1. Introduction

Most studies conducted to date have treated English in East Africa as a whole or as a cluster of two or three varieties (Abdulaziz 1991, Kanyoro 1991, Simo Bobda 2000 and 2001, Trudgill and Hannah 2002, Mutonya 2008, Schmied 2008).

Kanyoro (1991, 414), following Angogo and Hancock (1980, 71), classifies the English spoken in Africa into four main categories: (i) the native English of expatriates and locally-born whites; (ii) the native English of locally-born Africans; (iii) the non-native English spoken fluently as a second language in several styles; (iv) the non-native English spoken imperfectly as a foreign language in several styles. Of the four types, Kenya is likely to produce more speakers of types (ii) and (iii) than Tanzania, for instance, due to its language policy.

Crystal (2003, 107) claims that Kenya has about 2.7 million speakers who use English as a second language, but according to the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), more than 65% of the total population of Kenya use English. Of course, individual variation in the use of English will depend, to a large extent, upon the quality and quantity of exposure to the language combined with the attitude of the speaker towards English. Schneider (2007, 196) notes that Kenyan English (KenE) is in its third phase, i.e. nativization is still going on and the language is spreading gradually. At the same time, Schneider (2007, 196) argues that the “expressions of a positive attitude toward a Kenyan accent and variety of English [...], and observations of some inter-tribal leveling may foreshadow endonormativity and a higher degree of homogeneity”.

The speech samples for the acoustic analyses are from the Speech Accent Archive (SAA). In processing the sound files I have used the Praat software (Boersma and Weenink 2010). The phonological standard used for reference and ease of comparison, to which I will refer hereinafter as

RP, is Received Pronunciation. The standard of comparison used for vowels consists in *the lexical sets* in Wells (1982).

## 2. The Analysis

The research carried out by Schmied (1991a) has served as a yardstick for most studies on African English so far, especially for those focusing on East African English. His comparison of Standard British English (SBE in Figure 1) and two regional varieties of African English, namely West African English (WAfrE in Figure 1) and East African English (EAfrE in Figure 1), proves to be particularly relevant as a point of reference:

As can be seen in Figure 1 below, vowels tend to merge in East African varieties of English towards vocalic systems made up of five vowels, compared to the seven vowel system in West African Englishes. Also, even though most of the vowels in these simplified systems coincide, the mergers are different in one variety or another; the mergers may also differ within varieties of a larger group, as will be shown in the case of KenE among East African Englishes.

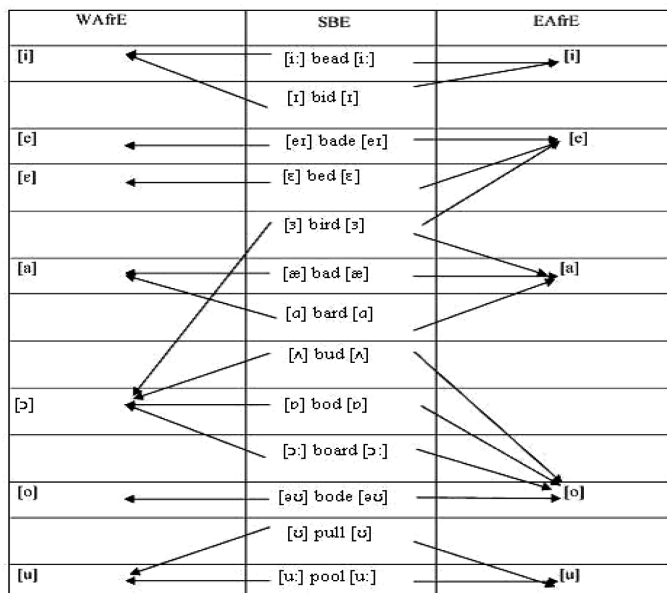


Figure 1: The vowel systems of SBE, WAfrE and EAfrE<sup>1</sup>

Mutonya (2008) carried out an acoustic study of three varieties of African English: Kenyan English, Ghanaian English and Zimbabwean English. The Kenyan measurements are based on the speech samples of 20 male and female university students. The results are summarized in the figure below and they point to a five-vowel system:

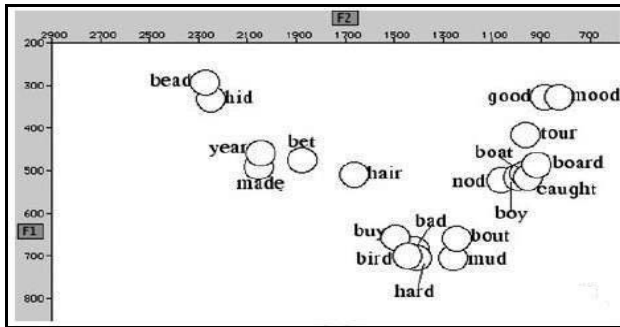


Figure 2: KenE vowel plot<sup>2</sup>

Mutonya's (2008) study is particularly relevant as his findings go against or disprove some of the data in Schmied (1991a) regarding the vocalic system of KenE as a variety of East African English:

Current EAFrE (Kenya)	SBE	Schmied EAFrE
[i]	[i:] bead [i:]	[i]
	[ɪ] bid [ɪ]	
[e]	[eɪ] bade [eɪ]	[e]
	[ɛ] bed [ɛ]	
	[ɜ] bird [ɜ]	
[a]	[æ] bad [æ]	[a]
	[ɑ] bard [ɑ]	
	[ʌ] bud [ʌ]	
	[o] bod [o]	
	[ɔ:] board [ɔ:]	
[o]	[əʊ] bode [əʊ]	[o]
	[ʊ] pull [ʊ]	
[u]	[u:] pool [u:]	[u]

Figure 3: The vowel systems of SBE, EAFrE and KenE<sup>3</sup>

As the Figure above shows, the differences lie in the STRUT and BIRD vowels which merge with the TRAP and START vowels to [a], rather than towards [o] for the former and [e] for the latter, as predicted by Schmied (1991a). I will look into each of these mergers more closely in what follows.

### KIT and FLEECE

The KIT and FLEECE vowels are almost invariantly rendered as [i]<sup>4</sup>. The examples provided by Simo Bobda (2000) for KenE reveal the following possibilities of restructuring for the KIT/FLEECE pair:

(i) RP /ɪ/ → [i], either alone or as an element of a diphthong:

(1) Word	RP	KenE	
a. <i>thirty</i>	[θɜ:tri]	[tati]	
b. <i>bring</i>	[brɪŋ]	[bring(i)]	
c. <i>quickly</i>	[kwɪkli]	[kwikili]	
d. <i>single</i>	[sɪŋg(ə)l]	[singɔ(l)]	
e. <i>try</i>	[traɪ]	[t(ə)rai]	
f. <i>beer</i>	[biə]	[bia]	(Simo Bobda 2000, 263)

(ii) RP /Vɪ/ → [V], as the second, unstressed gliding element of a diphthong is frequently lost, and the diphthong is monophthongized to its first vocalic element:

(2) Word	RP	KenE	
a. <i>labour</i>	[leɪbə]	[leba]	
b. <i>maybe</i>	[meɪbi]	[mebi]	
c. <i>snake</i>	[sneɪk]	[snek]	
d. <i>train</i>	[treɪn]	[tren]	
e. <i>station</i>	[steɪʃən]	[steʃən]	(Simo Bobda 2000, 263)

The phonetic transcriptions in (2b-e), and subsequently in (4b-e), are based on my own auditory judgments of the targeted words and on the phonetic transcriptions available online for the speech sample Gusii1, from SAA.

(iii) RP /ɪ/ → [e], which appears to be a reflection of the spelling in this particular case:

(3) Word	RP	KenE	
<i>journey</i>	[dʒɜ:ni]	[dʒane]	(Simo Bobda 2000, 263)

(iv) RP /i:/ → [i]:

(4)	<b>Word</b>	<b>RP</b>	<b>KenE</b>
	a. <i>teacher</i>	[ti:tʃə]	[tiʃa]
	b. <i>these</i>	[ði:z]	[ðis]
	c. <i>cheese</i>	[tʃi:z]	[tʃis]
	d. <i>peas</i>	[pi:z]	[pis]
	e. <i>meet</i>	[mi:t]	[mit]

(Simo Bobda 2000, 263)

The examples in (1) and (4) show that the length difference is leveled in KenE and it cannot distinguish anymore between minimal pairs like *hit/heat*, *list/least*, *live/leave*, which are homophones in this variety.

Consider next an acoustical analysis of the KIT and FLEECE vowels in KenE. I have cut and pasted the words *thick* and *meet* belonging to the KIT and FLEECE set, respectively, from the corresponding sound files of the male subject Gusii1 (SAA):

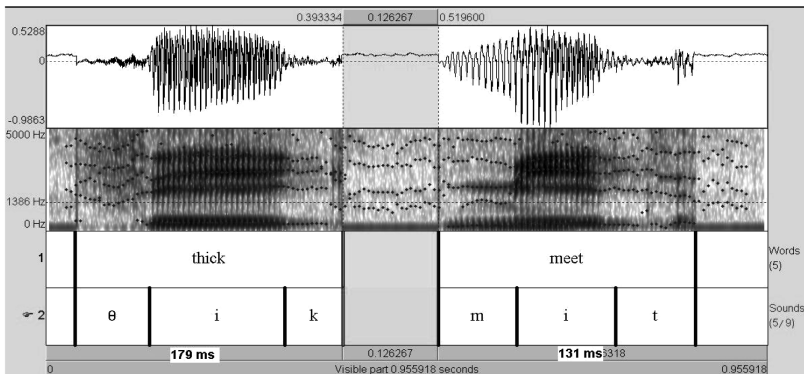


Figure 4: KIT and FLEECE in KenE (Gusii1, SAA)

The two sounds are similar in terms of duration: the [i] sound has 179 ms in *thick* and 131 in *meet*. This difference is not statistically significant and it can be explained either as a result of phonetic environment or as an instance of intra-speaker variation. These explanations stand as I have also looked at two examples of rendering the GOOSE vowel<sup>5</sup> by the same speaker in KenE in the words *scoop* and *spoons*, and the sound [u] has 106 ms in the former and about 150 ms in the latter. The two words have been cut and pasted onto the spectrogram below:

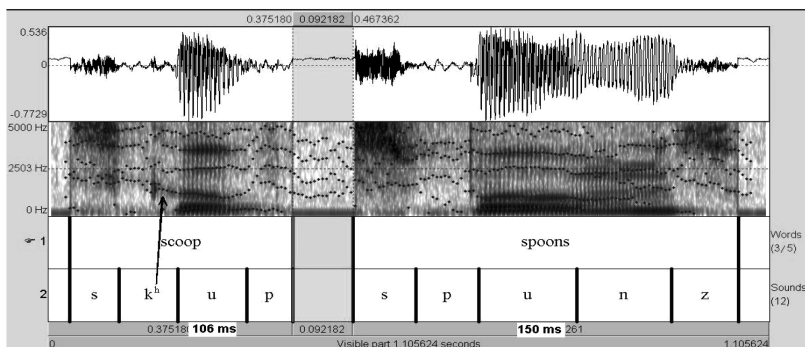


Figure 5: GOOSE vowel in KenE (Gusii1, SAA)

Consider the chart below in which I have plotted the KIT and FLEECE vowels of the SAA sample gusii1 and GOOSE vowels in Figure 6.

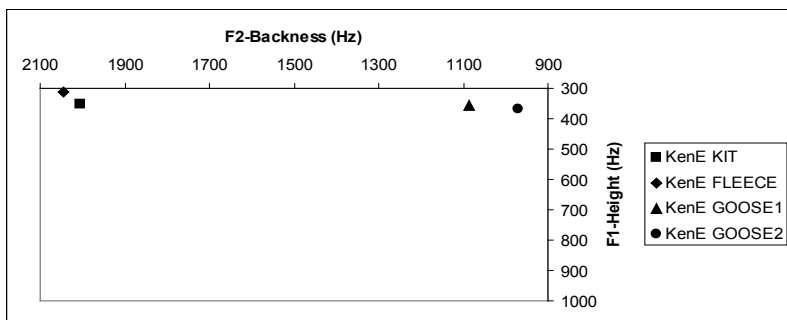


Figure 6: KIT/FLEECE and GOOSE in KenE

The X axis for height ranges between approximately 300 Hz and 1000 Hz, and the Y axis for backness ranges between 900 Hz and 2100 Hz. As can be seen, the KIT and FLEECE vowels are quite close to each other, even closer than the GOOSE realizations, which shows that the two vowels have merged into one. The F1 of the vowel in the two words is around 310-350 Hz which shows that the vowel is tense<sup>6</sup>. An additional piece of evidence would be that the GOOSE vowels have the F1 around 350-370 Hz and such vowels are usually tense, so there is no doubt that other vowels with lower F1 should not be tense.