This is to certify that the
thesis entitled

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE/ENGLISH (AAL/AAE)

presented by

CHRISTOPHER KURIA GITHIORA

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Ph.D. degree in ENGLISH

Major Professor's Signature

August 8, 2008

Date

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE/ENGLISH (AAL/AAE)

By

CHRISTOPHER KURIA GITHIORA

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

English

2008

ABSTRACT

AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE/ENGLISH (AAL/AAE)

By

CHISTOPHER KURIA GITHIORA

This study analyzed language attitudes of twenty-four African immigrants in the USA from West (WA), East (EA) and South Africa (SA) toward African American Language (AAL), a.k.a. African American English (AAE), African American Vernacular English (AAVE), Black Language, and US Ebonics. The study adapted the use of twelve stimulus voices to help elicit responses from the 24 respondents, using the matched-guise technique; a procedure commonly used in language attitude studies and that was originally developed by Lambert (1960) and Lambert & Tucker (1972). This quantitative research methodology has not been widely used in attitude studies of languages of African ancestry, neither in Africa nor in the African Diaspora.

A female and male African American read three selected passages in African American Language (AAL) and then code-switched into Standard American English (SAE) or the Language of Wider Communication (LWC). The raters evaluated the twelve stimulus voices on twelve traits/characteristics using a seven-point Semantic Differential Scale.

Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), analysis involved Ratings and Rankings of the Mean Scores, Correlation Coefficient and Factor Analysis for each of the twenty-four evaluators on each of the twelve adjectives on the Semantic Differential Scale. While no significant differences were found in perceptions of the

language varieties based on the African immigrants' age, gender and years spent in the USA, language attitudes based whether they come from WA, EA and SA were significant among the 24 raters.

The 24 evaluators perceived the 12 stimulus voices as either negative or unfavorable when the language varieties sounded "Egocentric," "Patronizing" and "Proud." By contrast, the respondents used attributes such as "Charming," "Dependable," "Sociable," and "Humble" when they had positive or favorable perceptions toward a language variety. Using Factor Analysis, raters from WA and SA were found to perceive AAL as more "Egocentric" than SAE. EA raters, however, perceived SAE as more "Egocentric" than AAL. All 24 raters identified AAL as more "Patronizing," "Charming" "Proud," and "Dependable." Both EA and SA raters perceived AAL to be more "Sociable" and "Humble." The EA raters viewed the SAEM variety as more "Egocentric" and thus less favorably than AAL but also rated its SAEF counterpart more positively, followed by AALM, AALF, and SAEM voices. Ultimately while WA raters described the African American Language female (AALF) and the African American Language Male (AALM) voices more favorably than either the Standard American English male (SAEM) or female (SAEF) voices, both SA and EA raters, who have a shared history of large European settlements in their regions, expressed preference for the four voice varieties in the same order, namely, SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM.

Findings of this language attitude study suggest that perceptions of African immigrants in the US toward AAL and African American Culture have larger implications for how Africans view African Americans in particular and US culture in general.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my loving family and especially my wonderful mother, the late Mwalimu Alice Wambúi Gìthiora (May 8th 1929 to July 22nd 2004): *Uromama Kuraaga!* (May you RIP where it rains forever!) I also dedicate this work to Marjory Njeri, my beautiful daughter. I could not have succeeded without their great love and prayers. I further dedicate this work to all those warrior-scholars working tirelessly to preserve the dignity and continuing relevance of endangered languages and their speakers all over the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation marks the pinnacle of several years of persistence in my studies and an enduring desire to achieve the highest academic honors possible. It also marks the fulfillment of many days, months and years spent searching, reading, consulting and attending classes and humble learning at the feet of my teachers. This journey first started when I joined Mang'u Full Primary School in Central Kenya, many years ago, where the teachers instilled in my young mind and tender heart the value of asking the right questions in order to get the right answers. The completion of this work also symbolizes the culmination of an incessant research curiosity about issues that involve both the healing and renewal of faith in the course of bridge-building and re-establishing critical linguistic discourses and related communication channels using African languages in Africa and the Diaspora. This project hopes to contribute positively to preserving and advancing the human pride and dignity embodied in these languages whose value has historically been seriously undermined and compromised.

I would like to acknowledge the excellent assistance of Professor Geneva Smitherman a.k.a Dr. 'G.' my Guidance Committee Chairperson, who has over the years been both a wonderful teacher and mentor. She has always offered "round the clock" support by keeping it "Real!" Thanks to her wisdom, selfless guidance, dedication to her students, and scholarship, along with her generous offers of both time and academic resourcefulness embodied in inspiring words, both written and spoken. Her mentoring has been the Soul food that has helped nourish and sustain me, especially when times were extremely rough for this brother. Because of you Dr. 'G.' I feel much better prepared and more determined than ever to join the global African community in

preserving otherwise silenced voices of the Word, Sound and Power - the 'Spoken Soul' of millions of people in Africa and the Diaspora.

Many thanks also to Dr. David Dwyer for his support and tutelage in the value of meticulously learning the many linguistic and technical aspects of African languages and on the need to preserve them through modern archiving. Thank you also for selecting me to work with you on the Webbook of African Languages now available on the World Wide Web (www) and in helping to coordinate the study of African languages under the prestigious auspices of SCALI 2002 (Summer Cooperative African Language Institute), the first time ever the institute was held at Michigan State University. Dr. Dwyer and his wife Annabelle constantly offered great friendship to me and to many African students in East Lansing. Thank you also for the many wonderful dinners and fellowships with numerous peace activists who honored us with their presence and great mind-opening conversations in your home. I would also like to thank the wonderful support by Professors Jeff Wray and Pero Dagbovie, the other two members of my Guidance Committee. Together with their families, they have also over the last several years generously helped guide my academic and social-cultural growth enormously through both an unconditional love and inspiration in both words and deeds here in East Lansing.

Many thanks also to Jackie Campbell, Graduate Secretary at the English Department and to Professor Dennis Preston and his wife Carolyn for their friendship and patience even when I unexpectedly dropped by their home or even stopped them on numerous occasions to ask various questions in Sociolinguistics. I cannot also forget the many other wonderful and incredibly supportive people in my life who have been an invaluable part of my global village experience here in East Lansing.

I acknowledge the love and support from my loving and wonderfully wise and patient parents, Mr. Raphael Gìthiora and my late and wonderful Mother, Mwalimu Alice Wambúi, my brothers and sisters, as well as my graduate school colleagues. I would also like to acknowledge my employers and colleagues at Goodrich's Shoprite, where I worked for several years and where I was constantly reminded of the need to always humble myself even as I learnt and greatly appreciated perhaps more than ever, both the value of hard work along with learning new skills. I also greatly enjoyed meeting many customers, now lifelong friends, at Goodrich's Shoprite, from the local East Lansing and Lansing communities as well as many Michigan State University students, staff and professors from around the world. Working at Goodrich's Shoprite often provided me a much-needed break and respite as I temporarily escaped, albeit briefly, from the rigors of academic life.

This dissertation belongs to all of you for after all it "takes an entire village to raise a child," to echo an often quoted African proverb. Thanks to the many other silent heroines and heroes who have been strong pillars that have helped support my life here at MSU who will forever remain life-long friends and memorable colleagues at Michigan State University. Let us all, through education and community activism, help to change the world for the better, in as multiple ways as is possible. *Múrorìmia gúkumia!* (May you labor where it yields abundantly!) To all, I also say a big *Shukran! Asanteni Sana! Ngaatho Nyingì Múúno cia Múanya!* (Many Special Thanks!)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Now, if this passion, this skill, this (to quote Toni Morrison) "sheer intelligence," this incredible music, the mighty achievement of having brought a people utterly unknown to, or despised by "history"-- to have brought this people to their present, troubled, troubling, and unassailable and unanswerable place--if this absolutely unprecedented journey does not indicate that black English is a language, I am curious to know what definition of language is to be trusted. (*If Black English Isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?* James Baldwin, *The New York Times*, Op-Ed, July 1979)

African American writer James Baldwin captures the persistent ambivalence that African Americans continue to experience and the attitudes that continue to question the legitimacy of African American Language (AAL), a.k.a. African American Vernacular English (AAVE), African American English (AAE), Black English, Black Vernacular, Black English Vernacular (BEV) and Black Vernacular English (BVE), and Ebonics. Several scholars, including Dillard (1972) and Rickford (1999), argue that AAVE shares so many characteristics with Creole dialects spoken by black people in much of the world that AAVE itself is a Creole. It has also been suggested that AAVE has grammatical structures in common with West African languages. As with all linguistic forms, age, status, topic and setting influence the usage of AAL.

Together with other colonized and enslaved African people, AAL speakers continue to face the linguistic dilemma and constant challenges in their choice of whether to communicate in their variety or Standard American English (SAE)/ Language of Wider Communication (LWC), or both. Africans and African Americans, according to Ngúgì wa Thiong'o in *Decolonising the Mind* (1986), share the same bio-geographic roots...the same past of humiliation and exploitation under slavery, and colonialism...the same aspirations for the total liberation of all black people, in the world (98). This means that for both Africans and African Americans European languages have historically

dominated most of their social, cultural and political discourses. However while AAL and many African languages, continue to "imitate" Standard American English (SAE), and as they also continue to adapt themselves to what is considered standard European language varieties, both on the Continent and in the Diaspora, they still retain many distinctly African linguistic features. New African varieties that are similar to US *Ebonics* in this regard, include, for example, "Sheng," a Swahili-English slang (Githiora 2002), usually spoken in urban areas of Kenya and Flaitaal, an argot (slang) often "spoken in South African townships, a mixture of local African languages with an Afrikaans syntax" (Thiba 2000, 19) which is mainly spoken by males but not exclusively. In this regard, since both language and culture are dynamic processes, they also respond to their users' needs. As seen with AAL and with both Sheng and Flaitaal, both the language and culture they embody are continually evolving and regulating themselves.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to investigate the nature of African immigrants' attitudes toward African American Language (AAL). Since the days of European colonialism in Africa, the majority of language attitude studies have historically focused on European languages. This has helped to influence much more favorable attitudes toward these varieties at the expense of indigenous African languages (Adegjiba 1994; Mbaabu 1996; Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). This study hopes to help address this research gap. Perceptions of African immigrants in the US toward African American language and culture, as manifested in the case of the present study on language attitudes, have larger implications for how Africans view African Americans in particular and US culture in general.

The significance of the study can also be extended to various global realities that have resulted in recent huge increases in the number of Africans migrating to the US in search of better social, economic and political opportunities and environment. The broader assumptions in this study are centered on the notion that in spite of the many years of social, cultural and linguistic divisions due to European slavery and colonialism, (Fanon 1967; Ngúgì 1986) both in Africa and in the Diaspora, both Africans and African Americans share a common African ancestry. Additionally, given such historically significant complexities, coupled with the presence of varieties of both African and European languages in West, East and South Africa, this study raises the question of whether language attitudes are complicated by the hierarchical statuses in Africa and the Diaspora that privilege RP--Received Pronunciation or the "Queen's English"--and European languages such as French or Portuguese over indigenous African languages and the varieties of African English. While the study is not designed to respond to all of these issues, they nonetheless are embodied in this study.

LANGUAGE USE AND IMMIGRANTS IN THE USA

The largest increase in African immigration to the US has been witnessed since around 1990 with the number of immigrants from the Continent rising by as much as fifty thousand per year (Roberts, Feb. 21, 2005). This is the largest number of Africans comprised of some of the most highly educated of all immigrants to the US, since the official outlawing of slavery in 1807. Against this background the 1990 census "established that the United States is a nation of some 248 million, of whom 2,015,143 are Native American and 205,501 Hawai'ian (Lippi-Green 1997). Within this population

a "total of 31,844,979 persons – many of these not foreign-born – reported that they spoke a language other than English in the home" (220). Lippi-Green adds that, it is also the inescapable truth that the majority of people residing in the US are immigrants, or the descendants of immigrants, with the greatest portion coming to the US out of their own free will, while others came in chains.

Having made the transition and established itself, the US has a strong urge to be protective of what is here, Americans talk at great length about closing the door behind them. Lippi-Green (1997) points out that European Americans have acted on this impulse as the following shows: 1) In the 1840s during a depression, mobs hostile to Irish Catholic immigrants burned down a convent in Boston; 2) Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, one of the nation's first immigration laws, to exclude all people of Chinese origin; 3) In 1942, 120,000 Americans of Japanese descent had their homes and other property confiscated, and were interned in camps until the end of the Second World War. At the same time, many Jews fleeing Nazi Germany during the War were excluded under regulations enacted in the 1920s. The 1990 US census figures, however,

> do not specify a single language from the continent of Africa beyond the Arabic languages of the north. It must be assumed that as immigration from the mid- and southern African nations is limited, speakers of languages such as Swahili and Zulu are subsumed under the category "Other" and unspecified languages." (Lippi-Green 1997, 220)

What is missing in such census data, then, is the great variety of languages spoken in other parts of the world. Also missing, according to Lippi-Green, is the fact that the majority of non-native English speakers claim a very good command of their second language. What this raises is that millions of US residents are not native speakers of English and communicate in languages other than English in their homes and personal

lives. These L2 English-language (i.e. speakers of English as second language) speakers comprise a significant number in the "Other language" group in the US census. Additionally there are preconceived notions about non-native speakers of English, which have repercussions even in the way we count their numbers and talk about them. "The US Census Bureau," argues Lippi-Green "distinguishes between Spanish, Asian, and other languages. It is from this departure point that one needs to take a careful look at the way foreign-language groups and the language stereotypes associated with those groups are used to classify - and often dismiss – individual needs and rights" (1997, 221).

Amidst the foregoing issues, attitudes of African immigrants in the USA, another group of L2 speakers, toward African American Language (AAL) can be contextualized within such global forces as enslavement, colonialism, the rise of modern nation-states, the easier availability of goods and services worldwide, and the global dispersion of Black Popular Culture--all of which have had complex effects on global language attitudes toward AAL. These global forces echo Bakhtin's suggestion (1986) that language gains meaning within its social and dialogic or intertextual contexts. That is, language and modern identities continue to be re-made, re-created, and re-negotiated every time we speak or write. This also means we make use of language in different situations and re-create ourselves differently for both our audiences and ourselves. Additionally, these global forces coupled with current global migrations, necessitated by various global dynamics, contribute to numerous language contact situations and changes that affect culture, social class, gender, age, ethnicity, race, and identity. These forces also continue to both impact and complicate – and also to redefine - the effects of globalization on language attitudes. In this project, we seek to explore and define the

attitudes of African immigrants toward AAL, particularly as impacted by the various language contact circumstances that have now been enhanced through globalization and related global migrations of people, goods and services as well as associated socio-cultural, political and economic discourses.

Language attitudes of African immigrants toward language varieties both in Africa and the Diaspora reflect the myriad forms of marginalization, particularly during such language contact (or lack of) situations both in Africa and in the African Diaspora, which both Africans and African Americans continue to experience. According to Roberts (*New York Times,* February 21, 2005) Africans have been migrating to the US at the rate of over fifty thousand per year since 1990. The group is among the most highly educated immigrant group to the US in recent years. These large numbers of African immigrants represent some of the grim realities of today's multi-polar globalization with its many attendant effects. As these Africans immigrate, they bring with them various indigenous African and European languages as important linguistic resources. For these immigrants and those they encounter, language remains the tool of communication that best mirrors the various global social encounters that continue to both enhance and strengthen contacts between them and various US communities.

Language is a critical resource and mode of communication, as well as a form of cultural expression and a carrier of memory and history. For African immigrants and African Americans as well as others, it also defines who they are by equipping them with an identity and a sense of belonging in their new circumstances. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), language is the repository of knowledge and cultural meanings, which we use to socially construct the respective world realities that surround us, making it, "the

most important item in socialization" (59). The two sociologists assert that through language "the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one" (61).

While exploration of the nature of African immigrants' attitudes toward AAL falls under the area of language attitude research in sociolinguistics, the cross-cultural perspective in this research also embraces multilingualism, critical in the contemporary world of globalization, which requires that speakers have a much more profound understanding, appreciation and proficiency in a variety of local, national, and metropolitan world languages and cultures. There are serious drawbacks to privileging Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs), which are most often metropolitan European languages (i.e. English, French, Portuguese, etc.) over indigenous languages.

This study taps into scholarship that advances key principles embodied in sociolinguistic theory and research in areas such as bi/multilingualism, language and ideology, language and globalization, and language policy and planning as well as language change and variation. From a political perspective this study speaks to Fanon's challenge that "Each generation out of relative obscurity must discover their mission, fulfill it or betray it" (1963, 207). It explores the view, also articulated by Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), that "Every colonized people...in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country" (18). In this broad manner, the study hopes to contribute to language attitude studies, both those focused on AAL and SAE (Standard American English) and those with a more general focus. This is likely to help us understand how globalization

has both affected and contributed to the complex nature of language attitudes among African immigrants in the US toward both AAL and SAE. Additionally, using such a broad perspective, this study is likely to add to our knowledge of how attitudes of African immigrants toward both AAL and SAE help them view African Americans (and US culture in general), a community they also share a common African ancestry and domination with, through slavery and colonialism by European languages and cultures. AAL users have for example had a linguistic experience in the US, described by Smitherman (1986) as a "linguistic pull-push." Consequently, AAL speakers share a "co-authorship" (Morgan 1993) of the American experience, accounting in part for the ambivalence of being both Black and American.

Through a history of struggle amidst hostility by education officials among others in the US (see the "Black English Case" a.k.a. the "King Trial" and Oakland School District "Ebonics" controversy in Smitherman 1986, 2000) to survive within an "English-only" environment, how is AAL then viewed by African immigrants in the US, who hail from African nation-states, with "dense multilingualism" (Adegbija 1994a)? These African immigrants come from nations where language attitudes have historically been complicated, by the need to speak the "Queen's English" in former British colonies (Mbaabu 1996) and where, according to Mútonya (1997), European languages have historically been strongly recommended for use in both government and private transactions.

With the global dissemination of AAL in US popular cultural products such as music and films, the use of AAL seems to continue to be accepted both nationally in the US and globally as part of the language and culture of African Americans. At the same time, the

variety also faces resistance in US mainstream education, business, and law enforcement institutions and among some members of the African American middle and upper classes. The availability of AAL in the global dissemination of US mass media products also implies that most likely many African immigrants to the US have previously been exposed to AAL as embodied in US mass media products and music back home in Africa. Since these African immigrants also most likely identify and associate certain characteristics of AAL with its speakers, it is possible that, despite many years of linguistic discrimination, AAL still enjoys "covert prestige" (Trudgill 1972, 179-95) among both users and nonusers as it facilitates the global dissemination of US popular culture.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO THE USA IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Dr. Aggrey from Ghana (then known as the Gold Coast) studied and lived in the US from 1898 until 1927. He both studied and then taught at Livingstone College, a religious and historically Black College and University (HBCU) in Salisbury, South Carolina where he arrived in 1898 and where he also married an African American woman. Dr. Aggrey taught and lectured widely in North America, UK and in Africa where he also presided over the establishment of Achimota College in Ghana and where he was Kwame Nkrumah's teacher. He died in 1927 in New York City whilst completing his doctorate at Columbia University.

The other prominent African immigrant to the US around this time was Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. Aggrey's student in Ghana who would become Ghana's first President. Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African nation to gain independence. Nkrumah attended

Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, another HBCU, from 1935-45. Influenced by both the Pan-Africanism of Marcus Garvey and that of Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, the prominent African American scholar and activist, Nkrumah would later join hands with Dubois among others, in the fight for African independence from European colonial rule. The bond between Nkrumah, an African who once attended school in the US and W.E.B. Dubois, an African American was further strengthened and saw the latter taking up Ghanaian citizenship in 1958 until he died in his newly adopted country in 1963.

John Langalibalele Dube of South Africa is another African student whose journeys to the US, 1887-1892 and 1896-1899, helped "establish the intellectual rationale for his educational and political thought for the rest of his adult life" (Marable 1976, abstract) in South Africa. Marable, an African American historian, suggests that Dube's progressive ideology based on his American education coupled with sponsorship by the American Congregationalist missionaries, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, helped turn him into a Black youth who believed in the Calvinist work ethic and industrial training for Africans. This Marable adds, was seen in Dube's work among the Kholwa people of South Africa from a pre-industrial state into a bourgeois society. Dube's work in education was modeled along that of another prominent African American educator, Booker T. Washington, the first teacher of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, US, another HBCU, when Dube established Ohlange Institute in Victoria County, north of Durban. The college was the first Black operated institution to emulate Tuskegee Institute.

Dube's educational and religious efforts, like those of Dr. Aggrey before him benefited from assistance by philanthropist Anson Phelps Stokes. Emaroy June Smith

wife of a Chicago millionaire also supported him. Sadly, according to Marable (1976), Dube assumed many of his American benefactors' political and economic thoughts which coupled with the Americans' unconscious racism and support for segregation, had a critical impact upon his important decisions within colonial society. Dube was a creation of the British colonial system and American thought, whose politics and economic activities were rooted within western tradition and practices. Although Dube, to use Chinua Achebe's (1966) words, was "a man of the people," his failure and that of Kholwa society, to appreciate the corrupt nature of segregation and to oppose white racism at all levels helped to bring about the system of South African race relations called apartheid.

With the advent of independence in Africa coupled with the increasing "cold war's" social and economic competition for global dominance between the Soviet Union and the US from the 1950s through to the mid-1980s, large numbers of Africans were airlifted to study in the US including Barrack Obama Sr. and father to US presidential candidate Senator Barrack Obama Jr. of Illionois. They were expected to return and help in building their new nations along the US model of democracy. In Kenya, for example, trade unionist and later Kenyan government minister Thomas Joseph Mboya together with Dr. Julius Gìkonyo Kìano, the first Kenyan Ph.D. holder, and government minister, educated at UCLA, would in the years between 1959 and 1963 work ceaselessly to help airlift 230 East African students to the US with assistance from then US Senator John F. Kennedy. With the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union accelerating, Mboya's political rival in Kenya on the other hand, Oginga Odinga, the country's first Vice President, a socialist and author of *Not Yet Uhuru* (1967) presided over scholarships

for Kenyan students to the former Eastern bloc countries. This scenario was replicated throughout Africa and the developing world. The early 1960s continued to expose African immigrants to African Americans with many students choosing to study and live in the US along with many visits by African Americans to Africa in support of African independence.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

> My quarrel with English language has been that the language reflected none of my experience. But now I began to see the matter in quite another way...perhaps the language was not my own because I had never attempted to use it, had only learned to imitate it. If this was so, then it might be made to bear the burden of my experience if I could find the stamina to challenge it, and me to such a test... [An] immense experience had forged this language, it had been (and remains) one of the tools of the people's survival, and it revealed expectations which no white American could easily entertain. (African American writer James Baldwin (1924-1987) writing in the *London Observer* in 1985, about his experience with the English language, as reported in *Transition*, No. 58 (1992): 90-113)

Baldwin's statement encapsulates the need to investigate the nature of underlying attitudes of African immigrants to the USA toward AAL using a social and psychological approach (e.g., Giles, 1971), among others. The significance and purpose of this study is to both enhance and utilize empirical methods in linguistic research among people of African descent, especially in the African Diaspora. It aims to accomplish this by testing methods and theories used in research related to issues of multilingualism in both monolingual and multilingual situations.

Because of what can be often referred to as an uneasy relationship and numerous gaps in knowledge about each other between continental Africans and those in the Diaspora, the present study is important and relevant in helping re-open the well-worn ties that bind the two groups of Africans. This study also reflects the numerous challenges posed by a

largely US and Western European driven contemporary globalization with English as the dominant language, which has had complex and significant effects on many global populations, particularly those in poor African American neighborhoods and African countries. These diverse and complicated global dynamics also continue to influence and redefine the relationships between Africans and African Americans. Faced with recent increases in the number of African immigrants in the US, this study should help pioneer the exploration and testing of linguistic methods and theories on language attitudes among people of African ancestry in an increasingly multilingual world. For these African immigrants and those they encounter, language remains the tool of communication that best mirrors the various global and social encounters including the "shifts in linguistic identities in a global world" (Djite 2006).

This study has exploited the benefits of a "matched guise" using anonymous voice stimuli, an approach which is measurable and quantifiable. In this manner the study has tried to maximize the salient aspects of this kind of empirical linguistic research.

While the main focus in this study is on attitudes of African immigrants toward AAL and SAE, it is important to briefly situate this project within a historical-cultural context. This is because African immigrants' responses to AAL form part of a broader historical continuum that continues to help re/define the relationship between continental Africans and African Americans within the United States. In other words, how Africans view AAL is a larger part of how Africans view African American culture as a whole. Further, AAL symbolizes both their African ancestry and the painful history of enslavement within which they've maintained a unique system of language and thought to help express their struggle, life and culture in the US. In Africa, on the other hand, the 1884

Berlin Conference divided Africa among European powers and marks what both Ali Mazrui & Alamin Mazrui (1998) suggest was a strange division of Africa into a linguistic anomaly and zones on the basis of imperial European languages--Anglophone Lusophone and Francophone Africa. The Berlin Conference effectively marked the advent of Africa's linguistic dependence on Europe. Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) also argue that this colonial legacy and dependency by Africans appear to have, over the course of time, spilled into other areas of life in Africa, leading to social, economic and political upheavals that have created conditions for people to migrate to the US and to the West in general in search of a better life.

ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One presents the introduction to this study and includes brief details on socio-historical background to the study. It discusses early interactions between leading African students and the Diaspora. Some of these Africans would later return to become post-independence African leaders. The chapter also discusses the significance of the study. Chapter Two provides a review of literature on research on language attitudes. Chapter Three outlines the methodological procedures, sample design and data collection and analysis conducted in this study. It discusses the benefits of the matched-guise technique using twelve stimulus voices specially prepared for evaluation and rating by the twenty-four African immigrant raters, based on a seven-point Semantic Differential Scale. Chapter Four presents a discussion of the analytical techniques in the study and includes analysis and results of the investigation. Chapter five presents the summary and implications for further research. The chapter makes several recommendations for the

kind of studies needed to advance our knowledge of attitudes toward both African languages and languages of the Diaspora.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Where shall I turn, divided to the vein?
I who have cursed
The drunken officer of the British rule, how choose
Between this Africa and the European tongue I love?
'A Far Cry from Africa' in *Collected Poems,* 1948-1984 (1986)
By Derek Walcott

INTRODUCTION

Derek Walcott's words in the above poem, captures the ambivalence experienced by both linguistically dispossessed Africans, especially in the Diaspora, and those linguistically disempowered speakers of various African languages. As mentioned, both African immigrants and African American Language (AAL) users largely due to forces of both slavery and colonialism have historically been forced to view their native languages negatively and to also abandon them in favor of European languages.

The study investigated attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward AAL and is contextualized within language attitude research that deals with the following themes:

1) Theoretical framework for language attitudes of African immigrants toward AAL
2) Research on attitudes toward varieties of African and European languages in Africa
3) Research in language attitudes and the global perspective
4) Shifting nature of language attitudes toward European languages in Africa

The aim of this chapter is to provide a synopsis of language attitude issues and research as they pertain to attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward a variety of languages in Africa. The summary of language attitude research also makes global connections by reviewing similar language attitude studies in Australia (Callan & Gallois

1987) and North America (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970; Baker 1992; Fisher 1974; Lambert & Wallace 1960; Lambert, Wallace, & Tucker 1972; Schmied 1985; Shuy & Fasold 1973; Taylor 1973; Williams 1972, 1973 & 1974). The history of language attitude research in sub-Saharan Africa is fairly recent (Adegbija 1994a, 2000; Akere 1982; Angogo & Hancock 1982; Berry & Greenberg 1966; Bokamba 1982; Dirven 1990; Dyers 1999; GÖrlach 1991; Kachru 1986; Putz 1995; Rubagumya 1986; Saah 1986; Schmied 1985, 1991; Sure 1991).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDY OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE (AAL)

Much of language attitude research includes the three main components of attitude: the cognitive, the affective and readiness for action components (Baker 1992, 12; Adegbija 1994, 49). The cognitive component according to the Baker relates to thought and beliefs. The affective component concerns feelings toward the attitude object (i.e. toward the language). The readiness for action (conative) component of attitude is described as "behavioural intention of plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances" (Baker 1992, 13; Adegbija 1994, 49). Baker emphasizes that the relationship between attitudes and action is neither straightforward nor simple:

> Attempting language shift by language planning, language policymaking and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favorable to change. Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community. Having a favourable attitude to the subject of language attitudes becomes important in bilingual and policy and practice. (Baker, 1992, 21; Adegbija 1994, 49)

A general attitude of ambivalence is sometimes evident with regard to perceptions toward European languages in contrast to indigenous African languages. Such

ambivalence is reflective of "the conflict between loyalty to one language and the utility of another: the choice between learning a language because it is useful (instrumentalism) and learning another because it marks the individual's cultural, ethnic or national identity (integration)" (Sure 1991, 251). This seems to reveal another dimension of the instrument/integrative dichotomy of motivation in the learning of languages in the African context (Adegbija 1994, 64).

While ethnolinguistic minorities are also sensitive to language issues and are often closely attached to their languages and cultures, Baker (1993, 5) adds, "the attitudes of individuals toward a particular language may affect language maintenance, language restoration, language shift or language death in society." Africa's colonial past, along with a dense multilingual and multicultural character, means there is a growing acceptance of European languages in many parts of the continent because of the perception that they serve unifying roles in largely multi-ethnic societies in Africa. However the importance of native varieties of European languages and their increasing acceptance means that many Africans perceive these languages as no longer the properties of Europeans as such, but as international commodities with universal ownership, which the entire world can therefore lay claim to.

Language attitude research seems to have had its start in the early 1960's from the field of social psychology (Lambert, et al, 1960; Lambert 1967). Linguists started getting involved in language attitudes studies in the 1970's (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970; Cooper 1974, 1975; Cooper & Fishman 1974; Shuy and Fasold 1973; Williams 1972, 1973 & 1974) especially as it pertained to teachers' attitudes toward students' speaking styles. The majority of these studies, however, focused on Western countries and Western

languages. African countries and African immigrants in the Diaspora as well as African Americans received scant attention in these earlier studies despite the fact that bilingualism, multilingualism and multiculturalism are so prevalent both in Africa and the Diaspora.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE RESEARCH IN AFRICA

Starting in the 1980's, language attitude studies began to be conducted in West Africa (Akere 1982; Saah 1986) with the 1990's seeing an increase in the number of language attitude studies in Southern Africa partly due to the abolition of Apartheid in South Africa and the beginning of Black majority rule in South Africa (1994) and previously, independence in Namibia from South Africa (1990). The creation of these two free and independent nations resulted in language policy legislation that for example saw South Africa in 1996 enact official language policy to make eleven languages, including Afrikaans and English, the official languages of the country.

Much of the research that has been published in Africa on language attitudes (e.g., Adegbija 1994a, 2000; Akere 1982; Angogo & Hancock 1982; Berry & Greenberg 1966; Bokamba 1982; Dirven 1990; Dyers 1999; GÖrlach 1991; Kachru 1986; Putz 1995; Rubagumya 1986; Saah 1986; Schmied 1985, 1991; Sure 1991) focuses on attitudes toward former colonial languages, especially English, and not on indigenous African and Africanized languages or African languages spoken in the Diaspora. The present study seeks to address this research gap.

Adegbija (1994, 50) suggests the importance of language attitude studies in sub-Saharan Africa does not appear to have been recognized and in spite of the densely multilingual nature of the region and frequency of language-related problems, studies on

language attitudes relevant to it are very few at the moment. He also examines what he suggests should be the aims of language attitude research in Africa. These aims are:

- Generally aim at pinpointing the patterns and bottom-line determinants of attitudes toward particular languages;
- More finely-tuned research that pinpoints attitudes toward European languages and African indigenous languages;
- Be relevant for changing attitudes and for ensuring effective language policy making, language planning and action;
- Try out fairly simple and flexible techniques which can easily be applied in developing countries despite their problems and research limitations;
- Show the results of two different language attitude concepts and to explain their relationship in a complex sociolinguistic situation;
- Demonstrate how a subtle interpretation of language attitudes can help to throw light on problems of language policy, language use and language learning (taken from Schmied, 1985:237).

He also includes the major results of African language attitude research in sub-Saharan Africa along with discussions of the bottom-line language attitude determinants in African multi-lingual and multicultural contexts and important areas for future African language attitude research. He singles out two key language attitude studies, one by Sure (1991) in Kenya and another by Schmied (1985) in Tanzania for critical review. He also suggests:

> Deficiency in methodology appears to be the principal weakness of most language attitude studies hitherto carried out in Sun-Saharan Africa. Some of such studies (e.g. Saah, 1986) appear to be largely impressionistic in approach and sampling techniques and instruments, when indicated, are often weak. Sure (1991), though

> a very interesting and commendable study because it is one of the pioneering studies by Africans that directly focuses on language attitudes, partly illustrates the use of simple instruments and statistical techniques. Instruments included twelve attitude statements, six favourable and six unfavourable for both Swahili and English in the primary school test. He indicates that he has used a total of 405 primary pupils and 358 secondary pupils (763 on the whole) drawn by stratified random sampling of pupils in seven secondary schools and seven primary schools spread over four town centres and four rural districts For the secondary school subjects, the same statements plus an additional eighteen were used. Respondents had to simply tick whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement...Attitudes, however, like many aspects of life, are far more complex than merely agreeing or disagreeing with particular statements. (Adegbija 1994, 53-54)

Schmied (1985) carried out two attitude tests in Tanzania in which, according to Adegbija, "he attempted greater scientific rigour in the presentation of his results, thus making his study more scientifically detailed" (54). In his first test, Schmied investigated stereotyped attitudes toward English and Kiswahili, which, he referred to as

> 'H (igh)-variety rivals,' as well as French, taught in some Tanzanian secondary schools because it is perceived, as an important pan-African language, and Arabic, which has historically been influential along the east African coast and on the development of Swahili. Unfortunately, as he points out, the various vernaculars were not taken into consideration. (We must again reiterate at the risk of overemphasis, the need for attitude studies on African vernaculars.) Adjectives such as beautiful, colourful, rich, pure, precise, logical, rhythmical, pleasing to the ear, refined, superior, sophisticated and intimate were employed to assign inherent attributes to the four-world language...
>
> The second test, which sought to investigate 'language beliefs concerning the importance and use of English in Tanzania', used statements similar to Sure's about the importance and use of English and Kiswahili in Tanzania (Schmied 1985, 238). Subjects for the study were 'educated Tanzanians' and 'primary school teachers'. The statements used to relate to language-inherent arguments, national arguments, personal instrumental arguments, educational arguments, and cognitive arguments. (54)

Based on the techniques used by Schmied (1985) and Sure (1991), Adegbija (1994) concludes that measuring language attitudes is, however, difficult, like many aspects of life because they are far more complex than merely agreeing or disagreeing with particular statements. He also argues that, one

> is very skeptical about the possibilities of such statements used by both Sure and Schmied to actually point at deep-seated language attitudes, since respondents often answer in accordance with what they think the researcher wants to hear. Moreover, responses are influenced by such wide-ranging variables as level of education, sex differences, ethnicity, etc (55).

He notes that his study (Adegbija 1992f) of a sample of six hundred subjects randomly chosen from Kwara State, Nigeria was mindful of such variables in its research design and also relied on such qualitative techniques as interviews and observational data. He, however, points out that his study of attitudes is quantitatively weak. Adegjiba further critiques his study (1992f) by asserting that like Sure's (1985), he uses only simple percentages in analyzing his results. There is no search for multidimensionality, and inferential statistics are absent even though they are demanded by the study. Baker's (1992) study however argues that, the research by Adegbija is particularly revealing in that it attempts to control variables such as age, gender, and type of school, language ability and provides some insights into how such variables can affect the measurement of language attitudes.

While emphasizing that the methodologies used in most African studies on language attitudes thus far need improvement, Adegbija also points out that, in their research, Sure (1991), Schmied (1985) and Adegbija (1992f) are hardly representative of Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria, respectively, nor are the research instruments they used and the statistical techniques employed powerful enough to truly reveal fine nuances and complexities of language attitudes. Such criticisms, he adds, are equally applicable to much of language attitude research in Africa (e.g. Saah 1986; and studies reported in Webb 1992).

Adegbija finally suggests that future research on language attitudes in sub-Saharan Africa would need to be less impressionistic, more sophisticated in research design and more thorough in sampling and analytical techniques along with the use of more detailed statistical procedures and methods. He also recommends that future language attitude research begin by grounding itself in attitude theory and research while also placing high premium on the need for utilizing attitude scales that meet the following three crucial criteria: 1) Internal consistency in response and in the use of many items to ensure internal reliability, 2) Validity and the concern that the attitude scale should actually measure attitude through a thorough checking of items (content validity); the relation of the scale to a variety of present variables (criterion-related validity); and future variables (predictive validity); and to variables within an established theoretical formulation (construct validity), 3) Dimensionality: testing of whether one or more entities has to be measured and unidimensionality or multidimensionality can be measured if a large initial pool of attitude items is subjected to an exploratory confirmatory factor analysis (following recommendations by Baker 1992, 25).

The complicated set of attitudes also reflect various forms of marginalizing historically experienced by both Africans and African Americans due to both colonialism and enslavement and a lopsided globalization that often privileges European languages and their dominance over both AAL users' and African linguistic worldviews. In Africa itself, research on language attitudes still contains information gaps that needs filling with new information to help define the nature of attitudes toward both AAL and African languages. While Myers (1996) acknowledges the existence of some comprehensive studies on the language situation in Africa, it also however notes a glaring fifteen-year

gap in research studies that have traditionally focused on language attitudes in Africa. There are however relatively recent studies by Smitherman (1998) and Mútonya's (1997, 2000), along with other studies by Thiba (2000) and Makalela (2005) on attitudes toward African languages among various African groups. These studies cover West, East and South Africa by Mútonya and among South Africans (Thiba and Makalela) and toward African languages among African Americans (Smitherman 1998). The four studies are significant and relevant for this study while the quantitative components and designs in three of them (Mútonya 1997; Smitherman 1998; Makalela 2005) offer invaluable leads. These studies also help fill the gap noted earlier by Adegbija's (1994) on the dearth of available and published studies that focus on language attitudes toward varieties of African languages in Africa and in our view that of varieties of African languages in the Diaspora:

> Also worthy of research interest...are attitudes toward the nativisation of implanted varieties [European languages]...What are the attitudes of those who use the nativised varieties of implanted languages toward the varieties they use? much sociolinguistic work specifically relating to attitudes of nativisation still... has to be done. This is particularly so when we take cognizance of the fact that these new varieties play crucial roles in the educational systems of the countries concerned. (Adegbija 1994a, 6)

SHIFTING ATTITUDES TOWARD EUROPEAN LANGUAGES IN AFRICA: THE GLOBAL CONNECTION

While the prestige and status associated with English or French still remains in Africa today, there is recognizable shift in attitudes toward these European languages as Africans increasingly turn to their native languages to broadcast news and information. This is enabled by the rapid increase in availability of broadcasting by FM radio stations and continental-wide television media such as on M-NET from South Africa. Africans

are also actively recording various genres of music and producing films, while also publishing, advertising and instructing their children in their mother tongue languages.

Emerging language studies are also increasingly recognizing the many varieties of these European languages in Africa (e.g. "Sheng" in Kenya, "Flaitaal" in South Africa, varieties of African Englishes (Mútonya 1997; Bokamba 1981) such as West, East and South African Englishes (WAfrE, EAfrE and SAfrE). These varieties are being recognized as the resultant linguistic manifestations as non-native European languages go through the process of Moag's (1982) model and perspective of the lifecycle of non-native languages varieties first studied in the South Pacific. This process involves five phases in the life cycle of English in Africa, namely: contact, institutionalization, expansion, recognition or suppression, and finally, adoption or acceptance by native populations.

In studying English in Africa using Moag's model, Schmied (1991) suggests that the language was in its fourth or fifth stages toward the end of the 20th Century. This, he suggests, are precarious phases for English because the language is facing growing confidence by native Africans who are increasingly turning to their indigenous languages and other socio-cultural expressions for proudly depicting their African identity in contrast to being defined using previously preferred forms of European linguistic and socio-culture norms. This revival of African Centered socio-cultural discourse is perhaps akin to that witnessed in the late 1950s and early 1960s when African countries were first winning independence from their European colonizers. Consequently, Schmied, among others, is of the view that English in Africa is faced with losing out to the gradual

institutionalizing of indigenous African languages, a process that also implies the embodiment of new language attitudes toward English.

Evaluative judgments about languages and their speakers are the subject of studies by Lambert & Wallace (1960) and Lambert, Wallace, and Tucker (1972). According to Lambert, et.al:

> A useful technique has been developed at McGill University to measure, in an indirect fashion, the views that members of one social group have of representatives of some other contrasting group. Described briefly, a sample of 'judges' is asked to listen to a series of tape recordings of different speakers reading a standard passage, and to evaluate relevant personality characteristics of each speaker, using only voice characteristics and speech styles as cues. The technique appears to expose the listeners' more private feelings and stereotyped attitudes toward a contrasting group or groups whose language, accent, or dialect is distinctive, and it appears to be reliable in that the same profile of reactions emerges on repeated sampling from a particular social group. The procedure has been used to compare the reactions of judges listening to the two guises of bilingual speakers presenting (a) contrasting languages, (b) contrasting dialects, or (c) contrasting accents. (1972, 175-176)

In their work, Delpit and Dowdy suggest that language is deeply intertwined with identity: "Since language is one of the most intimate expressions of identity, indeed, 'the skin that we speak,' then to reject a person's language can only feel as if we are rejecting him" (2002, 47). Such rejection may be due to the person's race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, educational level, age, or gender.

Taylor's (1973) survey of 422 teachers of various races in the US demonstrated that "while 40 percent expressed negative opinions about the structure and usefulness of AAVE and other vernacular varieties, 40 percent expressed positive opinions" (183). This research assessed teachers' attitudes on language differences between teachers and students in schools with substantial Black and other minority group children. It involved developing and administering a Language Attitude Scale (LAS), a Likert-type scaling

instrument specially designed to solicit data on what teachers think about non-standard and Black English, and how (or if) this dialect should be used in the classroom. The study included 117 test items, which, were selected as a function of their ability to help differentiate between teachers with positive Black English attitudes from those with negative Black English attitudes. Taylor notes previous work lacked any controlled study, which discusses in-depth teachers' attitudes as a function of such variables as race, sex, geography, teaching experience, grade taught, etc. The test was administered to a large cross section of teachers to obtain such data. The 422 respondents included teachers from one rural and one large urban school in each of nine Federal Census districts with at least 20 teachers (10 males and 10 females) selected in each of the settings. As Rickford (1999) notes in his commentary on Taylor's (1973) study, these teachers' attitudes "could not be characterized simply as positive or negative; they varied depending on the aspect of dialect use under discussion, length of teaching experience (those who had been teaching for 3-5 years were most positive), and other factors" (284).

Research by Williamson-Ige (1984) is a cultural critique on the controversy surrounding black language, which, she argues remains unresolved (Brasch 1981; Harrison and Trabasso 1976; R.L. Williams 1975). She suggests that careful analysis of the prevailing theories on black communication reveals two developments: 1) Attitudes and practices toward black language in the United States have been politically based, and 2) African Americans have the right to self-definition in determining the meaning and implications of black language. These two developments are symmetrical – the first is rooted in white culture and the second finds its source in the black community. This study, using a cultural analytical approach to language attitudes, helps us to situate the

problem of attitudes toward AAL by African immigrants in terms of the dominance exercised by SAE and its users within the politics, economics and historical-cultural realities that continue to both dominate and marginalize speakers of a what is considered non-standard varieties such as AAL. Despite AAL being globally available in US mass media products, we use this article to justify this study's design and instrumentation in that our sample includes African immigrants with attitudes largely informed outside of US political, economic and social-cultural constraints. Despite sharing a common heritage with AAL users, these immigrants' view of AAL is nonetheless that of a non-USA Black population.

Callan, V. & Gallois, C. (1987), two Australian researchers review experimental and survey research methods often used in language attitude studies. They focus on Anglo-Australians' and immigrants' attitudes toward language and accent. They argue that research on the language attitudes of members of dominant and minority speech communities has special importance in countries such as Australia and in situations where governments are in the process of developing a national language policy. Research in Australia suggests that as late as 1987 Anglo-Australians remained strongly monolingual and Anglophile in their attitudes; they supported educational programs on other languages mainly for their children's own educational advantage. These Anglo-Australians also showed preference in most situations for standard or prestige varieties of English. The researchers observe that while second generation members of immigrant groups are often under strong pressure to assimilate and to abandon their community languages, opportunities to learn and use community languages are somewhat restricted. In addition, young second generation Australians may in some cases have even more

negative attitudes toward non-standard accents in English than Anglo-Australians although they may value their own ethnic language as a signal of solidarity with their ethnic community. This study is relevant to our project in that it deals with an immigrant population in a predominantly English-speaking country. It also deals with issues of contemporary globalization and the various dynamics that inform this phenomenon.

Research in linguistic attitudes by Akere, Funso (1982) centers on language use and language attitudes in a Yoruba suburban town as a sociological response to factors of traditionalism and modernity. This study explored the attitudes toward dialect selection along with other aspects of language use in a Yoruba community. The study also highlights the problems of using Western social science survey techniques to help elicit sociolinguistic data in traditional African societies. One problem of using Western science in Africa is the issue of standards, norms and models (terms often used interchangeably in the literature), which, is also a frequent concern of many researchers in language attitude studies. When it comes to attitudes, a split commitment was discovered in that Yoruba, one of the study's languages is seen as a symbol of larger ethnic identity, whereas the Akoko languages are positively regarded as vital links with ancestors. The article underscores the need for collaborative efforts between communities, linguists, and governments in order to salvage the languages from eventual death. The issue is also tied to that of an appropriate language model which, also influences language attitudes (English as a written language versus Yoruba which, is largely based on mythology and orature) has assumed importance because of its pedagogical implications. Also informing attitudes toward languages in both mother tongue and second-language contexts is concern with the variety of English (RP versus

African Englishes) that should be presented as a model of English. Also important is the issue of how either mother-tongue dialectal forms or local second-language varieties ought to be treated.

Baker's (1992) study of attitudes and language highlights several key issues in language attitude scholarship and bilingualism. The researcher shows advances in current trends in language attitude research. This work is helpful as it helps tie previous theoretical frameworks between research language attitudes and bilingual education, which form an important part of our research. Baker establishes the concept of attitudes as more central to the study of minority and majority languages and demonstrates that language attitude theory and research is informed by the strong tradition of attitude theory and research from social psychology. He also demonstrates the considerable relevance of attitude change theory to language restoration and decay while also illustrating how language attitude research can use recent developments in attitude measurement and model building to increase understanding of language attitudes. Baker shows that at a conceptual and operational level, the attitude toward bilingualism is distinct from attitudes toward a language. By examining the origins of attitude to a language and attitude to bilingualism in terms of individual and contextual variables, he finally focuses on factors that create positive and negative language attitudes. Finally, Baker's work focuses on factors that influence attitudes over the crucial teenage years of a child.

Berry J. & Greenberg J. (1966) reported on behalf of the Committee on Sociolinguistic Research in Africa (CSRA) to the African Studies Association (ASA). They argue that much of the linguistic work done in the colonial era and even in more

recent years is inadequate, because of lack of reference to the relevant social context. In surveying the field as a whole, the CSRA came to the conclusion that, for its immediate purposes, three subgroups of studies could be distinguished, and research conducted on the following topics: 1) Description of habitual language usage; 2) Behavior toward language; 3) Dynamic study of social and psychological variables. As regards language usage, the report suggests that, linguistic research in sub-Saharan Africa has traditionally concentrated on the description of the linguistic situation of Negro-African languages. The majority of these descriptions have been characterized by anthropological "purism" in that the selection of typical rural varieties of indigenous languages has been the rule.

The report recommended that future linguistic research in Africa would hopefully broaden its scope to include other kinds of linguistic phenomena, which occupy a central place in communication in modern Africa. They add that research into the nature of purely African varieties of standard languages of foreign origin is long overdue and has much practical relevance. This study is important for acknowledging the research and knowledge gap in the value and utility of indigenous African languages and attendant language attitudes by speakers of these varieties, both inside and outside Africa.

Language attitude research in Africa leads to the assumptions that there are some distinct linguistic features that identify "African accentedness" (Mútonya 1997; 2000) in the English varieties spoken by speakers from Africa. Although he studied attitudes of educated Africans toward forms of African English, this study bears some similarities with his work in that it also departs from other research approaches and perspectives in the adjectives used with European based languages.

African English has been defined by Schmied (1991) as "...forms of English spoken by African speakers; this does not imply that there is an acknowledged variety or that there are several distinct varieties of the language, nor that these forms are already standardized and codified in any way" (2). This regionally based definition also groups together all forms of English, including Creole and Pidgin varieties mostly spoken in West Africa and the islands of Malagasy, Rèunion, and Cape Verde, right up to the many other English varieties spoken in Africa.

Focusing on syntactic and semantic properties of educated Africans, Bokamba (1981, 78) notes that African Englishes "share certain properties" identifiable as "Africanisms, in that they reflect structural characteristics of African languages" and that "these properties can be discovered at all linguistic levels: phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic." The research supports previous findings that argue native English speakers, based on simple African intonation in English, can clearly identify such speakers. These African speakers are also likely to recognize similarly distinctive linguistic properties in both AAL and SAE. Bokamba's focus on syntactic and semantic language properties to determine Africanisms in varieties of African English among educated groups of Africans is also based on how these new forms of English varieties deviate "from authentic English" (1965, 198) as a result of the transfer of linguistic features and discursive strategies by educated Africans. The transfer is of the same features and discursive strategies along with utterance of the educated Africans' respective mother tongue languages.

This evidence helps to accentuate the differences between African English variety and RP – Received Pronunciation. GÖrlach (1991) argues this is crucial as it is not only "the

most reliable test for localizing a speaker" (24) but according to Schmied (1991) it is also "the most flexible element, which can be used (subconsciously) to express subtle sociolinguistic messages of speaker identity and of distance from or solidarity with the listener" (57). In Africa "pronunciation of English...is of particular importance because (non-standard) pronunciation features seem to be the most persistent in African varieties i.e. they are retained even in the speech of the most educated speakers" (Schmied 1991, 57). Consequently, how African immigrants in the US use and perceive varieties of English, including Standard American English (SAE) amongst other European languages used in Africa (i.e. French and Portuguese), African languages and African American Language (AAL), is related to the foregoing language attitude research, particularly in Africa.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

To elicit language attitudes from the respondents, this study utilized the matched guise method, developed by Lambert and associates (1960, 1967) in which a bilingual speaker says the same thing in two different languages or language varieties. The "guise" is that the speaker is represented as being a different speaker when speaking a different language, thus "fooling" respondents into thinking that they are rating a different speaker when in actuality, only the language is different. The matched guise allows researchers to obtain feedback on perceptions of language per se since the "two speakers" being rated are the same person. Thus all speaker variables are controlled, with only language being manipulated.

The matched -guise research procedure has been modified on numerous occasions in its various applications by researchers. Normally, the technique involves prior recording of anonymous voices of respondents selected to help provide voice stimulus as they read from a selected word-list or a reading passage. Subsequently, these voices are then presented to other respondents selected for a study who are often drawn from both a variety and broad spectrum of linguistic and social backgrounds in regards to such variables as the level of education, socio-economic status, gender, age, linguistic identity, regional and ethnic affiliation, etc.

The raters or evaluators who have been selected as the subjects for the study are then requested to make subjective evaluations and judgments about each anonymous voice, also referred to as the voice stimulus, along a seven-point Semantic Differential Scale, the main tool utilized for attitude measurement in the field of language attitude studies. The deployment of the semantic differential scale typically involves evaluating a

speaker's voice by rating the latter on the scales comprised of adjectival opposites (Williams 1983). In order to design a semantic differential scale which will be used to test whether a language variety such as African American Language (AAL) or Standard American English (SAE), evokes in its listeners a feeling or sense of being socially close or being socially distant, a researcher would need to design a scale comprising such adjectives as "friendly," "gentle," "trustworthy," etc.

FIGURE 1: AN ILLUSTRATED EXAMPLE OF THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE USED IN THE STUDY

Voice#1

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

Respondents were asked to listen carefully to each voice and to write down any impressions of the speaker that struck them when they listened to the anonymous voices (see Appendix A). Respondents were asked to rate each of the "twelve" speakers on a Semantic Differential Scale of twelve traits (Well-educated, Confident, Responsible, Gentle, Friendly, Polite, Leader-like, Patient, Proud, High status, Trustworthy and Social) using the questionnaire provided (see Appendix A). The order in which the twenty-four respondents listened to the voices was reversed so that of the twenty-four respondents, the first twelve respondents heard the AAL voice first, followed by the SAE voice and the next twelve respondents heard the SAE voice first, followed by the AAL voice.

Respondents were asked to place a check on the scale next to each adjective to indicate their feeling or impression of the voice using that language variety. Each point on the scale was given a numerical value, ranging from 1-7 as seen in Figure 1. The twelve adjectives comprising the scale used in this study were generated in a pilot study in 2003 involving a purposively selected group of twelve African immigrants from West, East and South Africa who were asked to provide open-ended descriptions of African American speech and Standard American English. The adjectives most frequently used by respondents during the aforementioned pilot study were selected for the construction of the Semantic Differential Scale in the present study. The full Survey Questionnaire is given in Appendix A of this study.

As we conducted this study of attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward African American Language we found only one related empirical study (Smitherman 1998). No other studies in the US on the same topic were found. Needed therefore are similar language attitude research studies that are multifaceted and/or which also utilize multidimensional research methodologies and generate equally sophisticated data. Most language attitude research in Africa is largely non-empirical in the methods used to both collect and analyze the data. While insisting the solution to this deficiency is the use of "more sophisticated ...more thorough...sampling and analytical techniques (Adegbija 1994a, 55), other scholars such as Baker (1992, et al) recommend the use of protocols that utilize a wider variety and combination of research methods and procedures.

Seeking to begin to fill this research gap, this study used empirical research techniques that involved scientific sampling and data collection using the matched-guise method and a seven-point Semantic Differential Scale. These empirical techniques have enabled us to

measure the language attitudes of African immigrants, currently residing in the USA, toward African American Language (AAL).

In terms of its broader relevance to sociolinguistic studies, this project has tried to combine research procedures commonly utilized in language attitude research. We acknowledge that the sample size is limited, which somewhat also limits the number of statistical analyses. Our study, nevertheless, gains strength in the purposive choice of the sample, along with the use of research techniques and approaches that are social psychological. Additionally, our statistical analyses, using the Statistical Package for Social Science Research (SPSS) belongs to the social psychological research model.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Data was collected from a purposively selected group of twenty-four African immigrants in a medium-sized Mid-western city in the U.S. The city is home to many new immigrants from Africa and around the world. Based on his knowledge of Africa, the researcher identified the respondents from West, East and South Africa. Their ages ranged from 19 to 43. Respondents were carefully selected in order to accommodate both their various age levels and language experiences with the two varieties of English i.e. SAE (or LWC) and AAL. The respondents were pre-screened for their ability to speak an indigenous African language as their primary language. All of the respondents had learned English (as well as both French and Portuguese along with Afrikaans) as their second and/or third language.

The sample of twenty-four respondents was divided into eight respondents from each of the three African regions (West, East and South Africa) selected for this study, with

each region represented by four females and four males. The study used twelve audio-recorded voices reading from three short passages based on writings by 1) Chinua Achebe a Nigerian writer, 2) Caribbean writer and poet, Derek Walcott from St. Lucia, in the Caribbean, and 3) Alice Walker, African American writer and poet. The three writers were selected because their works represent the global Africana and Pan-African spaces represented in this study.

Two African Americans, a male and a female, who are bilingual that is, skillful in code switching from AAL to LWC and vice versa, were, selected to read the three short passages. Chinua Achebe's passage is taken from *Home and Exile* (2000, 1-2); Derek Walcott's is from *The Bounty* (1997, 19); and African American writer Alice Walker's is from *The Color Purple* (1982, 11). Each of the two speakers read the passages in the order listed below. Both were asked to read the three passages in African American Language and in Standard American English (SAE)/Language of Wider Communication (LWC), producing twelve voices as stimuli. The readings were tape-recorded and varied to control for order effect. The following are the three audiotaped passages, which the twenty-four African respondents were asked to listen to and rate:

a. Chinua Achebe (*Home and Exile* (2000, 1-2):

> *One of the earliest* memories I can summon from the realm of childhood was a homecoming that was extraordinary even for such recollections. I was returning to my ancestral home for the first time. The paradox of returning for the first time need not detain us now because there are more engaging things at hand. I was five years old and riding in a motor vehicle for the first time. I had looked forward very much to this experience, but it was not working out right. Sitting in the back of the truck and facing what seemed the wrong way, I could not see where we were going, only where we were coming from. The dust and the smell and the speed and the roadside trees rushing forward as we rushed back finally overcame me with fear and dizziness. I was glad when it finally came to a halt at my home and my town.

b. Derek Walcott (*The Bounty* 2004, 19):

I cannot remember the name of that seacoast city,
but it trembled with summer crowds, flags, and the fair
with the terraces full and very French, determinedly witty,
as perhaps all Europe sat out in the open air
that was speckled and sun-stroked like Monet that summer
with its grey wide beach, ah yes! It is near Dinard,
a town with hyphens, I believe in Normandy
or Brittany, and the tide went far out and the barred
sand was immense. I was inhabiting a postcard.
The breeze was cold, but I did a good watercolour,
and it stands there on the wall. And though it is dated,
time races across its surface but nothing changes
its motion, the tidal flats not clouded, the tiny
figures in the distance, the man walking his dog. Any
stroke and tint have eluded time. Still, it estranges.
Now, so many deaths, nothing short of a massacre
from the wild scythe blindly flailing friends, flowers, and grass,
as the seaside city of graves expands its acre
and the only art left is the preparation of grace.
So, for my *Hic Jacet*, my own epitaph, "Here lies
D.W. This place is good to die in." It really was.

c. Alice Walker (*The Color Purple* (1982, 11):

Dear God,

It took him the whole spring, from March
to June, to make up his mind to take me.
All I thought about was Nettie. How she
could come to me if I marry him and he be
so love struck with her I could figure out a
way for us to run away. Us both be hitting
Nettie's schoolbooks pretty hard, cause us
know we got to be smart to git away. I
know I'm not as pretty or as smart as
Nettie, but *she* say I ain't dumb.

The way you know who discover America,
Nettie say, is think about cucumbers. That
what Columbus sound like. I learned all
about Columbus in first grade, but look
like he the first thing I forgot. She say
Columbus come here in boats call the
Neater, the Peter, and the Santomareater.

Indians so nice to him he force a bunch of 'em back home with him to wait on the queen.

DATA ELICITATION

The three reading passages were preferred over a word-list, another choice in language attitude research that uses the matched-guise technique. On a stylistic continuum, a reading passage was preferred because it is a relatively less formal style of speech as opposed to the more careful word-list reading. Additionally, the reading passage helps elicit the various distinctive linguistic features often present in an individual's speech and makes such features much more distinct and discernible to raters.

PILOT STUDY

This study follows a pilot study conducted in 2003 on the same topic, in which twelve African respondents were able to identify AAL and SAE in a matched-guise exercise. They rated both varieties, which had been audio-recorded as stimulus voices to help disguise them for evaluation on a semantic differential scale. As detailed in the section that follows, "THE SAMPLE," the probability sampling techniques included stratified random, systematic and purposive random sampling.

The twelve respondents in the pilot study preferred using various adjectives such as "Well Educated," "Intelligent," "Social," etc. to help identify language varieties they were familiar with. The final preference of the respondents in the pilot study resulted in the following list of twelve adjectives: "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "Proud," "High status," "Trustworthy" and "Social." The choice of the adjectives was also selected following

previous work on attitudes of educated Africans in the US toward varieties of African Englishes (WAfrE, EAfrE and SAfrE) by Mútonya's (1997).

The selection of appropriate adjectives in the data elicitation procedure from the twelve selected African respondents was of major importance in helping to determine how these African immigrants in the Diaspora would evaluate both AAL and SAE. Mútonya's (1997) study of educated Africans' attitudes toward African Englishes noted that borrowing adjectives from previous language attitude research might not work with African immigrants due to differential cultural experiences and worldviews.

Based on the findings of the pilot study in 2003, and following Mútonya's work (1997), this study used nine adjectives from the pilot study--"Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "Proud," "High Status," and "Social"). Only three adjectives were used from Tucker and Lambert's study (1972): "Friendly," "Educated," and "Trustworthy." The final twelve adjectives that respondents used to evaluate the twelve anonymous stimulus voices in both AAL and SAE were: "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "Proud," "High status," "Trustworthy," and "Social."

The above list of adjectives differs from those used in earlier studies, such as the non-African (Tucker and Lambert 1972, 178-84) and African-oriented (Wood 1994) attitude studies. The adjectives that Tucker and Lambert (1972) used to determine the attitudes of White and Black American students toward varieties of American English included, "Upbringing," "Intelligent," "Disposition," "Speech," "Faith in God," "Talented," "Character," "Personality," and "Considerate" among others. In his study of attitudes toward French, national and mother tongue languages in the Republic of Congo, Wood

(1994) elicited adjectives such as "Beautiful," "Intelligent," "Trustworthy" and "Friendly."

This study, which is designed to elicit attitudes of African immigrants in the USA toward AAL, differs from the method used by Wood in two ways. First, he used the direct method to elicit data while we use the indirect method. Secondly, Wood asked his respondents to evaluate the various languages, while we asked our respondents to evaluate anonymous voices of speakers of both AAL and SAE. The method and data collection of this investigation are therefore different from those previously used with Black groups in North America as well as in Africa (Republic of Congo).

THE SAMPLE

The twenty-four respondents from West, East and South Africa, ages 19 to 43, who all speak an African language as their first or primary language, had also lived in the USA among English-speaking communities from one year to sixteen years. They included both female and male raters in equal proportions (i.e. four females and four males from each region).

The respondents came from English, French and Portuguese speaking sub-Saharan African countries and had learned English as a second (for most raters from Anglophone Africa) or third language (for many raters from Francophone and Lusophone Africa) mostly, in the early years of their formal education. All were asked to evaluate each of the twelve anonymous stimulus voices and to rate them on twelve adjectives using a Semantic Differential Scale (See Appendix A).

The location of the study in a medium-sized Mid-western city in the USA notwithstanding, and while we were somewhat limited in the size of the sample, we tried

to maximize the benefits through the use of stratified random, systematic random and purposive probability sampling procedures. These procedures were needed in order to obtain a representative sample of African immigrants in an academic community surrounded by an equally small USA community. The sample size of twenty-four African respondents is therefore a reflection of the universe from which it is drawn. As generally accepted in applied social research, we consider the sample to be accurate and rigorous. A detailed discussion of our sampling procedures follows.

Overall, most sampling methods are purposive in nature because researchers usually approach the sampling problem with a specific plan in mind. In using purposive sampling to help ensure gender balance for example, the study concurs with the logic that sampling the population always has a *purpose* in mind. In the study the specific and predefined group under focus was African immigrants in the USA who originate from West, East and South Africa and whose primary language is an indigenous African language. Additionally, the respondents must also have lived in a USA English-speaking community.

SAMPLING FRAME AND PROCEDURES

This study selected twenty-four African immigrants from a medium-sized Mid-western city that has a population of approximately 47,000 of which over 60% are college students. There is a bigger city adjoining it with a population of approximately 119, 000, where some of the African immigrants in our study also live. At the beginning of spring 2003 when we conducted the pilot study that followed similar sampling procedures albeit with half of the current sample, there were twelve African respondents and six stimulus voices. At the start of on the present study, approximately one year ago, we sent out email and poster notices seeking research participants through both the

African Studies Center and the African Students Union as well as through local churches with specific guidelines outlined in these notices. Two crucial requirements were that research participants should first be from West, East or South Africa and must be speakers of an indigenous African language as their primary language. They must also have lived in a US English-speaking community. To enable the study to draw an acceptable sampling frame, we made a list of fifty-five African immigrants who responded to the notices.

To select the final list of twenty four raters that we felt represented the population under investigation, the study used a stratified random sampling in which the fifty-five potential research participants where classified into three regional groups: West, East and South Africa, equally divided into 3 groups of 18 each (55/3=18.33 or 18). This sampling technique was needed in order to ensure the final sample equally represented the three African regions, the focus of the study. A systematic random sampling followed where every second respondent (55/24=2.29 or 2) was selected from each of the three lists representing the three regions with eight names selected from each stratum. This yielded a total of twenty-four respondents who were then selected for the study. To attain gender balance, we chose a purposive sampling procedure. We also used the same criteria in the pre-screening procedure that required the respondents to have the ability to speak an indigenous African language as their primary language and membership as an African immigrant from West, East and South Africa. They must also have lived in an English-speaking community in the US. While ensuring the adequacy of our probability sampling techniques, we also realize that with a purposive sample used to ensure gender balance in the study, we were likely to get the opinions of our target population, but also

likely to overweight subgroups that are more readily accessible. We therefore can perhaps only draw limited inferences from our findings. The three sampling procedures used (stratified, systematic and purposive) were all deemed necessary in order to adequately include African immigrants who were born in Africa and came to the US later. Most important for the study, however, were the requirements that they also had to be speakers of an indigenous African language and originated from West, East and South Africa.

These two pre-screening measures were useful in selecting only respondents who were motivated and showed interest and cooperation in participating in the entire study. Final communication to all pre-selected participants was made by telephone, and email contacts were made in order to arrange for individual appointments during which the respondents listened to the twelve stimulus voices, rated them and also completed the questionnaires in Appendix A. In our pre-screening, we were required to drop two potential respondents due to what we gauged as extreme bias verbally expressed toward either AAL or SAE. This did not, however, affect our sampling frame and related procedures.

The following Table 1a is the breakdown of both African and European languages spoken by the twenty-four African raters in the study:

TABLE 1A: PROFILES OF THE 24 AFRICAN RATERS BY LANGUAGE & REGION

Languages	**Region**	**Respondents**	**Gender**
Afrikaans	SA	1	1 Female
• Afrikaans-English	SA	1	1 Female
Amharic	EA	2	2 (1Female; 1Male)
Akan/Twi	WA	2	2 (1Female; 1Male)
Ashanti	WA	1	1 Male
Bambara	WA	3	3 (2Female; 1 Male)
Bamileke	WA	1	1 Female
Bemba	SA	3	3 (1Female; 2 Males)
Chichewa	SA	1	1Male
Dholuo	EA	1	2 (1Female; 1 Male)
Egusii	EA	1	1Male
English	WA, EA & SA	24	24 (12Females; 12 Males)
French	WA&EA	7	7 (4 Females; 3 Males
• French-English	WA&EA	7	7 (4 Females; 3 Males)
Kikuyu	EA	2	2 Females
Herero	SA	1	1 Female
Kimeeru	EA	1	1 Female
Kinyarwanda	EA	1	1 Male
Kiswahili	EA, SA	9	9 (4 Females; 5 Males)
Lingala	EA, SA	2	2 Males
Luganda	EA	1	1 Male

Table 1a (Continued)

Ndebele	SA	1	1 Female
Portuguese	SA	2	2 (1 Female; 1 Male)
• Portuguese-English	SA	2	2 (1 Female; 1 Male)
Ronga	SA	1	1 Male
Sena	SA	1	1 Female
Shona	SA	1	1 Female
Xitswua	SA	1	1 Female
Yoruba	WA	2	2 Males
No Response	00	00	24 (12 Female; 12 Males
African Languages **Total** (SA=8, EA=9, WA=5)=22		22	
European Languages **Total** (SA=3: Afrikaans, English and Portuguese; EA=2: English and French; WA=2: English and French)		4 (Afrikaans, English, French and Portuguese)	
Languages **Total** =22 African and 4 European =26 Note: European languages= (Afrikaans, English, French and Portuguese)= 4		26	
Total = 26	3 Regions (WA=8, EA=8 and SA=8)	24 Respondents	

Key (for Tables 1a and 1b):

- Respondents who officially speak more than one European language

1. WA=West Africa, EA=East Africa, SA=South Africa

TABLE 1B: PROFILES OF THE 24 AFRICAN RATERS BY LANGUAGE, GENDER & REGION

Languages	Gender	African Region	Respondents
Afrikaans	Female	SA	1
• Afrikaans-English	Female	SA	1
Amharic	1 Female 1 Male	EA	2
Akan/Twi	1 Female 1 Male	WA	2
Ashanti	1 Male	WA	1
Bambara	2 females 1 Male	WA	3
Bamileke	1 Female	WA	1
Bemba	1 Female 2 Males	SA	3
Chichewa	1 Male	SA	1
Dholuo	1 Female 1 Male	EA	2
Egusii	1 Male	EA	1
English	12 Females 12 Males	WA, EA and SA	24
French	4 Females 3 Males	WA, EA	7
• French-English	4 Females 3 Males	WA, EA	7
Gikúyú	2 Females	EA	2
Herero	1 Female	SA	1
Kimeeru	1 Female	EA	1
Kinyarwanda	1 Male	EA	1
Kiswahili	4 Females 5 Males	EA, SA	9

Table 1b (Continued)

Lingala	2 Males	EA, SA	2
Luganda	1 Male	EA	1
Ndebele	1 Female	SA	1
Portuguese	1 Female 1 Male	SA	2
• Portuguese-English	1 Female 1 Male	SA	2
Ronga	1 Female	SA	1
Sena	1 Male	SA	1
Shona	1 Female	SA	1
Xitswua	1 Female	SA	1
Yoruba	2 Males	WA	2
No Response	00	00	00
24 Respondents: 50% females and 50% males per region			24
African Languages **Total** (SA=8, EA=9, WA=5)			22
European languages **Total**			4 (Afrikaans, English, Portuguese and French)
Languages **Total**			26

Tables 1a and 1b presents a profiles of the twenty four African immigrants spoke a total of twenty-two African and four European languages, including Afrikaans spoken in the Southern African region. We will not consider Afrikaans an indigenous African language in this study as the variety does not belong to the Niger-Congo family of African languages (Mútonya 1997). The East African raters speak the most group of

diverse African languages (9) followed by South Africans (8) and West Africans (5). South Africans speak more European languages (i.e. Afrikaans, English and Portuguese) than both West and East Africans who speak two European languages, namely English and French. More female respondents in the sample spoke a wider variety of African languages (19) than the males (15) and also more (18) of them spoke a wider variety of European languages than their male counterparts (15). More East African raters spoke a wider variety of African languages than their WA or SA counterparts. More males from both EA and SA spoke a wider variety of African languages (8) than males from WA (4).

While many more African languages are spoken in both EA (9) and SA (8) than in WA (5), this latter group has more speakers who are fluent in both English and French (7); that includes all female raters (4) and all but one male respondent.

DATA ANALYSIS

MEAN SCORE RATING

Ratings from the twenty-four respondents of both AAL and SAE on a Semantic Differential Scale in matched-guise exercise are herein considered to be a reflection of these respondents' attitudes toward the AAL and SAE varieties that this study focused on. Using an SPSS (Statistical Program for Social Sciences) computer program, we were able to calculate the Mean Score Rating, based on African region, gender, age, and number of years respondents have lived in the USA, for the twelve stimulus voices on each of the twelve adjectives used in this study. We achieved this task by using the technique used by Tucker and Lambert (1972) of ranking of each of the 12 traits or characteristics in order to determine how the evaluators acting as the judges rated each

voice on the twelve traits. The mean score was then calculated by dividing the total value by the total number.

The resulting mean score for all measured features of the twelve voices was calculated and a Factor Analysis conducted as well. In order to obtain a correct estimate of the raters' attitudes toward the two language varieties and in particular toward AAL speedily, we used two methods of analysis as recommended by Tucker and Lambert (1972). This method of Rating and Ranking of the Mean Scores helped indicate the raters' preferences of the voices and also helped indicate how they associated the voices with the twelve characteristics on the Semantic Differential Scale.

CORRELATION COEFFICIENT

Next, a Correlation Coefficient Matrix was designed for African region, gender, age, and for the number of years respondents have spent in the USA to help determine the degree of correlation of the traits based on significance level. We recognized that a correlation coefficient might not be as efficient as the Factor Analysis in achieving the aforementioned task. We nonetheless took this into account even as we sought to exploit the relevant techniques proposed elsewhere as seen in the pioneering work by Tucker and Lambert work (1972).

FACTOR ANALYSIS

A Factor Analysis was used to analyze further the mean scores in this study and to also help determine the range of underlying factor groups of the semantic differential scale. Recommendations by Hatch and Farhady (1982) suggest that a Factor Analysis is helpful in this kind of study as it is premised on the assumption that in every statistical

test, there probably are multiple characteristics that are being simultaneously explored and assessed. A Factor Analysis also helps to condense and cluster variables tested in the study and helps correlate both the factors and observed scores. These scores help to show which items have a common variance and/or can be isolated and identified as the underlying factor under a new identifying tag or label. Take for example a hypothetical factor such as "Competence," which could be comprised of such variables as "Responsible," "Well Educated," and "Leader-like." In an exploratory study such as the present one, the relationship among the aforementioned traits or variables could therefore be described using these same variables if the scores indicated that they correlate as an underlying factor group.

Consequently, factors can then be rotated using the Varimax Rotation Technique available in SPSS in order to help maximize the correlation between a variable and the factor to which it correctly belongs, while at the same time, minimizing the correlation between a variable and the factor to which the variable does not belong. Ultimately, a variable is therefore considered to be positively loaded in any given factor group if its loading is .30 or greater.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study limits itself to investigating language attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward AAL amidst a variety of social, cultural, political and economic global discourses, historically dominated by European languages and which have historically marginalized both African languages and AAL as well as their speakers. Consequently language attitudes toward both European and African languages as well AAL have most likely been impacted by these circumstances.

The study recognizes that controlled passages rendered as stimulus voices may be inadequate in revealing the wide range of unique features in AAL. However the three reading passages by Achebe, Walcott and Walker were selected in order to control for both AAL and SAE/LWC varieties. The three passages are from works by Achebe, an African writer and Walcott, a Caribbean poet, both of whom write in SAE/LWC in contrast to the third passage by Alice Walker, which displays prosodic as well as syntactical features of AAL. The Walker passage was also read in SAE.

The focus of this study is on African immigrants in the US and their attitudes toward AAL and SAE, with the assumption that the global use of AAL and SAE by the stimulus voices will have an impact on these attitudes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Notwithstanding many other myriad issues that may have arisen in the course of this project, this study posed the following principal research questions:

1) How do African immigrants who hail from countries with "dense multilingualism" (Adegbija 1994a) view African American Language (AAL), a.k.a. African American English (AAE) or US Ebonics?

2) How do African immigrants view the Language of Wider Communication (LWC), a.k.a. "Standard American English" i.e. SAE?

3) What is the nature of these attitudes toward AAL and SAE based on African region, gender, age and number of years the African immigrants have lived in the USA?

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

1) Respondents will respond differently to both AAL and SAE based on what they will hear in listening to both varieties.

2) Respondents' attitudes will be either favorable or unfavorable toward AAL and SAE.

3) Respondents' attitudes will be influenced by the voices reading the passages, in AAL and SAE, selected for this study.

4) Respondents' attitudes toward AAL and SAE will likely be influenced by age, gender, years lived in the USA, level of education, and by where they come from in Africa (i.e. West, East and South Africa).

5) This study's main null hypothesis predicts that there would be variation in attitudes of the three sets of African immigrants in the USA toward AAL and SAE. There is also the likelihood that there might not be significant differences in attitudes toward AAL and SAE among the three sets of respondents from West, East and South Africa.

MAJOR ASSUMPTIONS IN THE STUDY

1) New African immigrants to the US will in general have favorable attitudes toward a language variety or varieties they are most familiar with.

2) African immigrants are more likely to be familiar with the "Queen's English" variety spoken in England, or French and Portuguese. They'll also likely identify with AAL based on its distinctive pronunciation and prosodic patterns.

3) These African immigrants will also identify with SAE because as immigrants they are aware of the need to adapt to what is considered a standard variety, which because it is a European language is similar to the "Queen's English" or French and Portuguese in status. This is based on the reality these immigrants face in accessing power and privilege using a standard lingua franca in their new circumstances in the USA.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF DATA

This chapter will focus on the analytical techniques applied in our study to determine the nature of language attitudes of African immigrants to the USA toward African American Language/English (AAL/AAE) and SAE. Data presentation uses the mean score rating and ranking of means to provide initial results of the evaluators' attitudes toward both SAE and AAL based on a trait-by-trait analysis of what the study identified as twelve distinctive voice characteristics. Both the Correlation Coefficient Matrix and Factor Analysis supplement this analysis.

The Correlation Coefficient Matrix explored how the twenty-four African raters unconsciously correlated the twelve adjectives they used to rate the stimulus voices of AAL and SAE speakers on the Semantic Differential Scale. This technique is unique in that it combines unconsciously correlated adjectives into a cluster that provides a more clearly defined and identifiable measure for each member of the set of twelve adjectives. In this manner we tried to obtain a much more balanced and organized reduction of the various individual voice stimulus traits into more manageable clusters. To achieve this, we conducted intensive analyses even as we tried to exploit the value of this technique to help uncover what is often considered deep-seated and hidden attitudes within the evaluators' minds. In this case, our focus was on evaluators' attitudes towards AAL while we used SAE for contrastive purposes.

MEAN SCORE RATING AND RANKING ANALYSIS

To obtain the Mean Score Ratings and Ranking of Means, a score of each of the twelve adjectives was calculated for the three African regions. We used this method, which was also used by Tucker and Lambert (1972). The results are shown in Tables 2,

3, 4 and 5. The [brackets] in each column refer to the rankings of each variety in regards to that particular language feature.

The Mean Score Rating of each of the twelve voices was calculated for each of the twelve adjectives, based on African region (WA, EA and SA), age, gender and years spent in the USA. The overall rank for each of the twelve stimulus voices is shown in the "sum" column. This score is derived after adding all the rank scores for each of the twelve voices on each of the twelve traits. The ranks are based on the high (or positive) scores or values meaning the "sum" score is lowest for the most positively ranked voice, since this score is based on rank and not on value. Comparison of attitudes across the three African regions (WA, EA and SA), gender, age and years spent in the USA is presented in the following Table 2 through 8. We first ascertained there were no significant statistical differences in terms of gender, age, and years spent in the USA among the twenty-four raters from West, East and South Africa in their attitudes toward AAL and SAE in the matched-guise exercise. There were, however, important differences in how the raters ranked AAL and SAE based on the three African regions.

TABLE 2: MEAN RATINGS AND RANK OF MEANS OF ATTITUDES TOWARD AAL AND SAE BY ALL RATERS FROM WEST AFRICA, EAST AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA

	Traits												
	ED1	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC	**Sum**
VOICE 1 **AAL (M)**	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.2 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	**54**
VOICE 2 **SAE (M)**	2.3 [6]	2.1 [6]	3.0 [5]	2.1 [6]	2.5 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.2 [5]	2.4 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.4 [5]	**64**
VOICE 3 **AAL (F)**	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [6]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.4 [4]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.3 [5]	**54**
VOICE 4 **SAE (F)**	3.0 [5]	3.0 [6]	3.1 [5]	3.4 [4]	3.4 [4]	3.4 [4]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	2.4 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.4 [4]	**53**
VOICE 5 **AAL (M)**	3.0 [5]	2.5 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.4 [4]	3.0 [5]	**55**
VOICE 6 **SAE (M)**	2.1 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.1 [6]	2.1 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [6]	3.1 [5]	2.4 [5]	3.0 [6]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**67**
VOICE 7 **AAL (F)**	3.0 [5]	2.0 [6]	2.5 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.5 [4]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**60**
VOICE 8 **SAE (F)**	3.0 [5]	2.2 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.4 [4]	3.3 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.1 [5]	3.3 [3]	**54**
VOICE 9 **AAL (M)**	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.5 [4]	4.4 [2]	3.4 [4]	3.3 [5]	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	**46**
VOICE 10 **SAE (M)**	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.1 [3]	3.1 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.1 [5]	3.0 [5]	**54**

Table 2 (Continued)

VOICE 11 **AAL (F)**	3.0 [5]	2.2 [6]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.1 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.5 [3]	3.0 [5]	**53**
VOICE 12 **SAE (F)**	4.0 [3]	2.2 [6]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.2 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.2 [5]	4.1 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	**47**

Key (applies to Tables 2-6):

1. ED= EDUCATED, CONF=CONFIDENT, RESP=RESPONSIBLE, GENT=GENTLE, FRIE=FRIENDLY, POLI=POLITE, LEAD=LEADER-LIKE, PAT=PATIENT, PRO=PROUD, STA= STATUS, TRU=TRUSTWORTHY, SOC=SOCIAL
2. AAL= AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE
3. SAE= STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH
4. M=MALE
5. F=FEMALE
6. Mean ratings are rounded to one decimal place
7. Rank of mean ratings is set in brackets
8. The ranks are based on the high (or positive) scores or values meaning the "sum" score is lowest for the most positively ranked voice, since this score is based on rank and not on the value

Table 2 shows the ratings and rankings of the stimulus voices by all twenty-four raters from the three African regions (West Africa, East Africa and South Africa). An overview of the rankings indicates a generally more favorable ranking of both female and male African American Language (AAL) varieties. This group of African raters included those first twelve raters who listened to the AAL voices first followed by SAE voices as well as the second set of twelve raters who listened to the SAE voices first followed by the AAL voices. There were no significant differences based on order effect.

It is worth noting that while the raters perceive the AAL varieties more favorably, the SAE female voice, at times, also earned a more favorable rating as well. The African American Language male (AALM) variety gets the most favorable ranking along with African American Language female variety (AALF) and both voices also share their most favored ranking with the SAEF voice. The SAEM voice is perceived less favorably of all twelve voices by all twenty-four African judges. There is a striking numerical break between the sums of AALM (46) voice and SAEM (54) voice but less between AALM (46) and SAEF (47).

Overall the two AAL voices (i.e. AALM and AALF) can be described as contrasting with both SAE voices (i.e. SAEF and SAEM), especially when one looks at the twelve traits that the voices were being rated on. The AALM voice is ranked high (namely, 3 and above) on all traits except for "Confident." The AALF voice also gets high rankings (namely, 3 and above) for all traits except "Confident" and "Responsible." The SAEM voice, on the other hand, is ranked less favorably on most of the traits except for "Gentle," "Leader-like," "Proud" and "High Status." The SAEF voice was ranked highly on seven of the traits: "High Status," "Patient," Responsible," "Well Educated," "Gentle," "Friendly," and "Polite."

There appears to be a close correlation in the rankings of AALF, AAL and SAEF voices. The high rankings of these three voices, in contrast to that of the SAEM voice, whose overall summary rankings are lowest of all twelve voices, distorts what initially appeared to be an easily predicted pattern of ranking for all the voices. It had been assumed that raters would respond favorably to one variety in contrast to the other. However, the data have proven to be more interesting and more complex and call for

additional analysis to unpack why the SAEM variety is ranked so unfavorably in contrast to the other three voices (i.e., AALM, AALF and SAEF).

TABLE 3: MEAN RATINGS AND RANK OF MEANS OF AAL AND SAE BY EIGHT WEST AFRICAN RATERS

	Traits												
	ED1	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC	**Sum**
VOICE 1 **AAL (M)**	4.0 [3]	3.4 [4]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.4 [4]	3.0 [5]	4.3 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	**44**
VOICE 2 **SAE (M)**	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.1 [5]	2.3 [4]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [4]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**58**
VOICE 3 **AAL (F)**	5.0 [2]	3.3 [5]	3.4 [4]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.1 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.4 [2]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	**38**
VOICE 4 **SAE (F)**	2.3 [6]	3.1 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.4 [4]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**60**
VOICE 5 **AAL (M)**	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [2]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [4]	3.0 [5]	**55**
VOICE 6 **SAE (M)**	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.3 [6]	2.3 [6]	2.3 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.2 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.2 [6]	2.3 [6]	**70**
VOICE 7 **AAL (F)**	4.0 [3]	2.2 [6]	3.2 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.3 [3]	2.2 [6]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	**44**
VOICE 8 **SAE (F)**	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	2.2 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	2.2 [6]	3.0 [5]	**66**
VOICE 9 **AAL (M)**	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.1 [3]	4.3 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.2 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3	**34**
VOICE 10 **SAE (M)**	3.0 [5]	3.2 [5]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.3 [3]	4.0 [3]	**36**
VOICE 11 **AAL (F)**	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.2 [3]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.2 [3]	4.0 [3]	**32**

Table 3 (Continued)

VOICE 12 **SAE (F)**	3.0 [5]	2.2 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	**60**

Table 3 shows the ratings and rankings of the twelve stimulus voices by West African raters. An overview of the rankings indicates, once again, generally more favorable rankings of both female and male African American Language (AAL) varieties. This group of WA raters, as also seen in Table 2, included those first twelve raters who listened to the AAL voices first followed by SAE voices as well as the second set of twelve raters who listened to the SAE voices first followed by the AAL voices. As mentioned, there was no significant difference for order effect. It is worth noting that the AAL varieties occupy the first two rankings in terms of being the most favored varieties by the WA raters. The African American Language female (AALF) variety takes the first ranking followed by the African American Language male variety (AALM).

While the West African raters rank the AALM and AALF most favorably, the SAEM variety is rated third and SAEF rated less favorably and most often so by this group of WA judges. In these rankings, there is a noticeable numerical break between the sums of the AALF (32) voice and that of SAEF variety (60). There is less numerical break between the AALM (34) voice and the SAEM (36) voice.

Again as we saw in Table 2 the AAL voices (both AALF and AALM) are perceived much more favorably in comparison to both SAEF and SAEM voices by the West African raters. While the WA evaluators also perceive the SAEM voice somewhat favorably, they have less favorable perceptions and ratings of the SAEF variety. In this case we can describe the favorable ratings for both AALF and AALM voices as being in

contrast to both SAEF and SAEM voices, especially in the case of the latter voice. This becomes more evident especially when one looks at the twelve traits that the voices were rated on.

The AALM voice is ranked high (namely, 3 and above) on all traits except for "Confident." The AALF voice also gets high ranking (namely, 3 and above) for all the traits except for "Confident." The SAEM voice on the other hand is ranked highly on seven of the twelve traits except for "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," and "Patience." The SAEF voice rating is noticeably poor among the WA raters in their perception because it doesn't sound "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patience" and "Trustworthy."

Overall among the WA raters, there appears to be a close correlation in the rankings of AALM and AALF voices while that between SAEM and SAEF voices although evident is harder to clearly delineate at this juncture. The WA raters' low ranking of the SAEF voice, whose overall summary rankings of this voice is lowest of all the 12 voices for WA needs further analysis. This will be conducted in the Factor Analysis section that follows later in this study, as the current ranking seems to distort what initially appeared to be an easily predicted pattern of ranking for all the voices. We saw in Table 2 that in combination the African raters from all three regions (WA, EA and SA) ranked the SAEM voice as the lowest among the 12 voices. In Table 3, when asked to rate the voices separately from the other two African regions (i.e. EA and SA) the WA raters seem to rank the SAEF voice the lowest. The following is the order of preference for the four voices among the WA raters: AALM, AALF SAEM and SAEF.

TABLE 4: MEAN RATINGS AND RANK OF MEANS OF AAL AND SAE BY EIGHT EAST AFRICAN RATERS

	Traits												
	EDI	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC	**Sum**
VOICE 1 **AAL (M)**	3.6 [3]	2.4 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.4 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	**60**
VOICE 2 **SAE (M)**	2.4 [5]	2.4 [5]	3.3 [5]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.0 [6]	**62**
VOICE 3 **AAL (F)**	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	2.4 [5]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**59**
VOICE 4 **SAE (F)**	3.4 [4]	2.4 [6]	3.1 [5]	3.4 [4]	4.1 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.1 [5]	4.1 [3]	**49**
VOICE 5 **AAL (M)**	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.1 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	**52**
VOICE 6 **SAE (M)**	2.3 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	**68**
VOICE 7 **AAL (F)**	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.1 [6]	3.1 [5]	2.4 [5]	2.0 [6]	2.4 [5]	3.0 [5]	**65**
VOICE 8 **SAE (F)**	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.1 [5]	5.0 [2]	3.0 [5]	4.1 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.4 [4]	**49**
VOICE 9 **AAL (M)**	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.4 [4]	3.4 [4]	4.3 [3]	4.1 [3]	3.0 [5]	**50**
VOICE 10 **SAE (M)**	2.4 [6]	2.3 [6]	2.3 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	2.1 [6]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**63**
VOICE 11 **AAL (F)**	2.1 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.1 [6]	3.0 [5]	2.4 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.1 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	2.4 [5]	**63**
VOICE 12 **SAE (F)**	4.0 [3]	2.4 [5]	3.1 [5]	4.3 [3]	4.3 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [3]	4.4 [2]	3.4 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.3 [5]	**43**

According to Table 4, the East African respondents rated the SAEF voice (43) much more favorably than any other voice followed by the AALM voice (60). There is a striking numerical break in the rankings between the two voices. While the SAEF voice was ranked by the EA raters in positions 1 through two, both the AALF (65) and SAEM (68) voices were ranked lowest by this group. The SAEF voice was most positively associated with being "Patient," "Social," but was rated less favorably on "Confident." The AALM voice was rated most favorably for sounding, "Well Educated," "High Status," Trustworthy," "Proud" and "Leader Like." The order of preference among EA raters for the four voices is as follows: SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM.

While the EA raters ranked the AALF voice less favorably on many traits, they nonetheless rated the voice less harshly on "Confident," "Polite," and "Social." While the EA judges also rated the SAEM voice less favorably on most of the traits, they nonetheless rated this voice less harshly for sounding "Leader-like." Further analysis is required to establish possible reasons for both the high and low rankings for AAL and SAE) and why both variety and gender play such important roles in language attitudes among the evaluators from all three African regions (WA, EA and SA). Both a Correlation Coefficient Matrix and a Factor Analysis will most likely be useful in this regard.

TABLE 5: MEAN RATINGS AND RANK OF MEANS OF AAL AND SAE BY EIGHT SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS

	Traits												
	ED 1	CON F	RESP	GEN	FRI E	POLI	LEA D	PAT	PR O	ST A	TRU	SOC	**Sum**
VOIC E 1 **AAL (M)**	3.3 [5]	2.0 [6]	3.3 [5]	3.3 [5]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	2.0 [6]	3.3 [5]	4.3 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.3 [5]	**47**
VOIC E 2 **SAE (M)**	2.0 [6]	1.3 [7]	2.3 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**63**
VOIC E 3 **AAL (F)**	2.0 [6]	2.3 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.3 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	**61**
VOIC E 4 **SAE (F)**	3.3 [5]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	2.0 [6]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**41**
VOIC E 5 **AAL (M)**	2.3 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**63**
VOIC E 6 **SAE (M)**	3.0 [5]	2.1 [6]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	2.3 [6]	3.3 [5]	5.0 [2]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	2.3 [6]	**56**
VOIC E 7 **AAL (F)**	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.3 [6]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**60**
VOIC E 8 **SAE (F)**	3.0 [5]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	4.0 [3]	4.3 [3]	3.0	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**65**
VOIC E 9 **AAL (M)**	5.0 [2]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.3 [5]	5.0 [2]	3.0 [5]	5.0 [2]	3.3 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	**45**
VOIC E 10 **SAE (M)**	3.0 [5]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	3.3 [5]	3.0 [5]	5.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	2.0 [6]	2.0 [6]	**60**
VOIC E 11 **AAL (F)**	3.0 [5]	2.0 [6]	3.0 [5]	5.0 [2]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	4.0 [3]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	3.0 [5]	**56**
VOIC E 12 **SAE (F)**	4.0 [3]	2.0 [6]	3.3 [5]	4.3 [3]	4.3 [3]	4.0 [3]	4.0 [3]	5.0 [2]	3.0 [5]	5.0 [2]	3.0 [5]	4.3 [3]	**43**

In Table 5 above, the South African raters' view of the two US English voice varieties was most favorable toward both SAEF and AALM voices and less favorable for both AALF and SAEM varieties. Among the sample of 12 stimulus voices, the SAEF voice was ranked highest (41) followed by AALM (45). The other two voices, namely, the AALF (56) and SAEM (60) followed with large numerical breaks and ranked in third and fourth positions respectively.

This group of SA raters perceived the SAEF variety as particularly strong on being "Patient," but also rated it less favorably especially on sounding "Confident," and "Proud." They also rated the AALM voice, which they ranked as the second highest voice among the 12-stimulus voices, relatively less favorably on "Confident," "Responsible," "Friendly," "Polite" and "Patient."

When it came to their attitudes toward the AALF variety, the SA judges rated the voice less favorably on most of the traits especially on "Well Educated," "Confident," and "Responsible." They nonetheless perceived the AALF voice more favorably on "Gentle." The SA judges rated the SAEM voice less favorably on most traits and rated it lowest especially on "Confident," "Well educated," "Responsible," "Friendly," "Trustworthy" and "Social." They were however relatively more favorable toward the SAEM voice on sounding "Proud" and "Leader-like."

Like both the West African and East African raters in this study, this group of SA raters included both the twelve respondents who listened to the AAL voices first followed by SAE voices as well as the second set of twelve raters who listened to the SAE voices first followed by the AAL voices. It seems that among the twenty-four raters from all three African regions generally, the rankings for both AAL voices were generally higher

than for the SAE voices, albeit there were high rankings for SAEF by both EA and SA raters.

Overall, WA raters identified AALF, AALM, SAEM and SAEF in order of preference while EA raters identified them in the following order: SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM. Likewise SA raters picked the four voices in the following order: SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM.

A summary of the mean ratings and rank of means by all the 24 African judges shows that West African raters ranked the AALM and AALF voices most favorably but ranked both SAEF and SAEM less favorably. Both East and South African judges, on the other hand, had much more favorable attitudes toward both the SAEF and AALM voices and were less favorable toward both AALF and SAEM voices. The reasons for the different language attitudes by WA raters as compared to both EA and SA raters are wide-ranging. On reason can perhaps be attributed to the lack of significant European settlement in West Africa in comparison to that in both EA and SA.

Another viable reason is perhaps familiarity by this group of West African raters with varieties of African American English and *Krio*, commonly spoken in Sierra Leone, a Creole language derived from English and various African languages. Similar Creoles are also spoken in the Diaspora and generally in West Africa. Additionally, the more positive attitudes toward AAL by WA raters, though complicated by both indigenous African language and French, the other important European language spoken in WA, can perhaps be attributed to the regional presence of speakers of varieties of African languages such as Mende and Temne. These two African languages, spoken in Sierra Leone are also the base languages for *Krio* and for many languages spoken by enslaved

Africans to the Americas (Beryl Bailey 1965; Smitherman 2000). In WA also Sierra Leone, which was first established in 1787, is home to many freed slaves from English colonies in the Caribbean, particularly Jamaica and North America. It also includes Liberia established in 1821 by the American Colonization Society for African American settlers.

Both EA and SA raters ranked both SAEF and AALM voices much more favorably than they did the AALF and SAEM voices which were ranked lowest by this group of raters. While there is a clear distinction in the rankings of the three groups of evaluators from the three African regions (WA, EA and SA) when their ratings are analyzed as one data group, their most favorable and highest rankings are for the AAL voices in which the AALM voice earns the most favorable ranking followed by the AALF voice. While as a group all twenty-four African raters ranked the SAEF voice in third place, they are particularly less favorable in their ranking of the SAEM voice, which earns the least favorable rankings of all four voices.

Tables 2 through Table 5 present data for the mean ratings and rank of mean rankings for all the three African regions combined and then for the individual regions (WA, EA and SA). In the data in Tables 2 through Table 5, we saw higher rankings for both of the AAL voices, with no significance for order effect.

There were no significant differences based on age and the numbers of years spent in the US in the way the twenty-four raters evaluated the twelve stimulus voices. However, based on their African region origin, many of the twenty-four raters ranked the SAEM voice as the least favorable. This was with the exception of the WA raters, who rank the SAEM voice third while ranking the SAEF variety the least favorable voice in fourth

position. In the majority of the cases, however, the SAEM voice is perceived as the least favorable of all four voices.

TABLE 6: MEAN RATINGS AND RANK OF MEANS OF AAL AND SAE BY GENDER BY ALL RATERS

	Traits												
	ED1	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC	**Sum**
VOICE 1 **AAL (M)**	F=4.0 [3] M=3.3 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 2.2 [6]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.2 [5]	F= 3.2 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.3 [3] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	**F =53 M=6 1 T= 114**
VOICE 2 **SAE (M)**	F=2.3 [6] M=2.3 [6]	F= 2.2 [6] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 2.4 [5]	F= 2.0 [6] M= 2.4 [5]	F= 2.4 [5] M= 2.2 [6]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 2.2 [6] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 2.4 [5]	M= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 2.2 [6] M= 3.0 [5]	**F=61 M=6 3 T= 124**
VOICE 3 **AAL (F)**	F=3.0 [5] M=3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F=3.2 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 3.2 [5]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 4.0 [5]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 2.4 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.2 [5]	F= 3.2 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 4.0 [3]	**F=54 M=5 6 T= 110**
VOICE 4 **SAE (F)**	F=3.1 [5] M=3.0 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 2.2 [6]	F= 4.2 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	**F=47 M=6 2 T= 109**
VOICE 5 **AAL (M)**	F=3.0 [5] M=3.0 [5]	F= 2.3 [6] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	F= 3.2 [5] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	**F=55 M=5 9 T= 114**
VOICE 6 **SAE (M)**	F=2.3 [6] M=2.0 [6]	F=2.0 [6] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 2.0 [6] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 2.3 [6] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 2.3 [6] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 2.1 [6] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.2 [5]	F= 2.0 [6] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 3.2 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	M= 2.0 [6] M= 3.0 [5]	**F=68 M=6 4 T= 132**
VOICE 7 **AAL (F)**	F=3.0 [5] M=2.0 [6]	F= 2.0 [6] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 2.1 [6]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 2.1 [6]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	M= 3.4 [4] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.1 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M=3.0 [5]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 2.1 [6]	**F=52 M=6 4 T= 116**

Table 6 (Continued)

VOICE 8 **SAE (F)**	F=2.4 [5] M=3.3 [5]	F= 2.1 [6] M= 2.4 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	**F=50 M=58 T=108**
VOICE 9 **AAL (M)**	F=4.4 [2] M=4.0 [3]	F= 3.2 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 2.4 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.2 [5]	F= 5.0 [2] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 5.2 [2] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 3.1 [5]	**F=46 M=48 T=94**
VOICE 10 **SAE (M)**	F=3.0 [5] M=3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 5.0 [2] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 3.2 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	F= 4.2 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	**F=53 M=56 T=109**
VOICE 11 **AAL (F)**	F=3.1 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 2.4 [5] M= 2.0 [6]	F= 3.1 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M=2.4 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.3 [5]	F= 4.2 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 3.2 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.2 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 2.4 [5]	**F=46 M=61 T=107**
VOICE 12 **SAE (F)**	F=4.0 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	F= 2.2 [6] M= 2.3 [6]	F= 3.0 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.0 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 4.0 [5] M= 3.1 [5]	F= 3.0 [3] M= 3.4 [4]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 3.4 [4] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.4 [2] M= 4.0 [3]	F= 3.3 [5] M= 3.0 [5]	F= 4.1 [3] M= 3.4 [5]	**F=45 M=52 T=97**

Table 6 presents the mean ratings and rank of mean rankings by gender, which was not statistically significant. However, the trend results are interesting in that, the female raters first ranked the AALM voice more favorably (46) than did their male counterparts (48). Females also tended to rank the SAEF higher (45) than did the male raters (52).

The AALF voice tended to be ranked third by both genders with the female evaluators first ranking the voice significantly higher (46) than the males (61). The SAEM voice was ranked as the least favorable with the female raters ranking the SAEM voice initially at number five with lower scores (68) than the male raters (64). Female raters in

particular viewed the AALM most favorably on "Leader-like" and "High Status," and the male evaluators rated the voice least favorably on "Confident."

When it came to the SAEF voice, which was ranked as the second most favorable voice, the female raters viewed the voice least favorably on "Confident" and "Proud." The male raters also judged the SAEF unfavorably on one of the same traits (i.e. "Confident"), along with "Well Educated" and "Responsible." The male raters also viewed AALF least favorably on "Confident," along with "Well Educated, "Responsible," "Friendly," and "Social." The female raters, on the other hand, rated the AALF voice least favorably on "Confidence" just as they did with the SAEF voice. The SAEM voice, which was ranked lowest by all raters, was ranked relatively more favorably by the female raters on "Patient" and "Leader-like" with the male raters ranking the same voice favorably on "Patient," "Proud," "High Status" and "Leader-like." These are interesting trends, but the gender differences were not statistically significant.

Both AAL voices seem to be rated much more favorably and much more often throughout this analysis. However, the often interchanging ranking positions of SAEM and SAEF and the need to continue to unravel what we consider to be deeply held language attitudes by the African raters regarding both AAL and SAE, make it necessary to conduct further analysis.

TABLE 7: RANKINGS OF AAL & SAE SPEAKERS BY ALL RATERS

Region	AAL (M)	AAL (F)	SAE (M)	SAE (F)	RANKING ORDER
WA	2	1	3	4	1=AAL (F) 2=AAL (M) 3=SAE (M) 4=SAE (F)
EA	2	3	4	1	1=SAE (F) 2=AAL (M) 3=AAL (F) 4=SAE (M)
SA	2	3	4	1	1=SAE (F) 2=AAL (M) 3=AAL (F) 4=SAE (M)
Sum	**6**	**7**	**11**	**6**	

Key (for Tables 7-9):

AAL=AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE
SAE=STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH
M= MALE
F= FEMALE
WA=WEST AFRICA
EA-EAST AFRICA
SA=SOUTH AFRICA

TABLE 8: RANKINGS OF AAL SPEAKERS BY ALL RATERS

Region	AAL (M)	AAL (F)	RANKING
WA	2	1	1= AAL (F) 2=AAL (M)
EA	2	3	2=AAL (M) 3=AAL (F)
SA	2	3	2=AAL (M) 3=AAL (F)
Sum	**6**	**7**	

TABLE 9: RANKINGS OF SAE SPEAKERS BY ALL RATERS

Region	SAE (M)	SAE (F)	RANKING
WA	3	4	3= **SAE (M)** 4= **SAE (F)**
EA	4	1	1= **SAE (F)** 4= **SAE (M)**
SA	4	1	1= **SAE (F)** 4= **SAE (M)**
Sum	**11**	**6**	

Figure 2a: Rankings of AAL & SAE

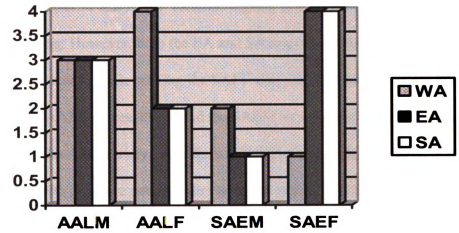
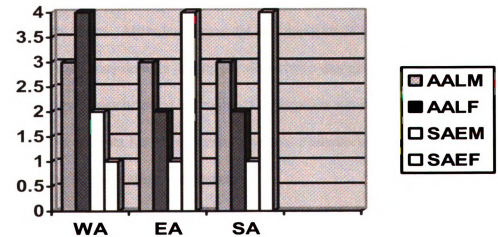


Figure 2b: Rankings of AAL & SAE



In summary, the Mean Ratings and Rank of Means analysis presented in Tables 2 through 9 and Figures 2a and 2b demonstrate that, the raters from all the three African regions (WA, EA and SA) are clearly able to differentiate and to make the necessary distinctions between speakers of AAL and SAE upon hearing these two different varieties of English spoken in the US. The AAL variety evidently gets much more favorable rankings in general than the SAE variety despite individual preferences, as seen with high ratings of SAE variety by some of the raters. In Table 3, for example, the WA raters ranked both AALM and AALF varieties highest overall with the SAEF earning the lowest ranking. However, both the EA and SA raters seem to change this ranking trend somewhat, because while ranking the SAEF voice the highest followed closely by both AALM and AALF voices, they rated the SAEM voice as the least favorable.

Overall, the AAL variety, regardless of whether it is male or female, is more often associated with the more positive attributes and traits of the Semantic Differential Scale while the SAE variety, regardless of whether it is male or female, is more often associated with the less favorable and negative attributes and traits in this matched-guise study of twelve anonymous voices rated by twenty-four African immigrants from West, East and South Africa. Attitudes toward the two varieties of US English, i.e. AAL and SAE seem to vary considerably among the raters even though the rating of means and ranks of mean rankings helps us to resolve this variation somewhat. There is nonetheless the need now to conduct further analysis to help us evaluate the various distinctions revealed by the Means Rating and Ranking.

After we conducted an analysis of the raters based on their region of origin in Africa (WA, EA and SA) as well as based on their gender, age and years spent in the USA, we

can perhaps conclude and confirm safely at least one of the hypotheses in this study that, respondents will, based primarily on African region, respond differently to both AAL and SAE, and their attitudes toward the two US English varieties will be both diverse and varied.

There is nevertheless the need to evaluate collected data further in order to help confirm the following other hypotheses in this study: (a) Respondents' attitudes will be influenced by readings of the passages selected for this study (b) Respondents' attitudes will either be un/favorable attitudes toward AAL and SAE depending on their familiarity with the variety/ies; (c) Respondents' attitudes toward AAL and SAE will be influenced by both their length of time in the US and their association with speakers of the two language varieties.

CORRELATION COEFFICIENT ANALYSIS

A Correlation Coefficient helps indicate both the strength and direction of the relationship between a pair of variables. Bryman and Cramer (2005, 213-214) suggest that, two types of measures can be distinguished: measures of linear correlation using interval variables and measures of rank correlation using ordinal variables. In this study, the correlation coefficient is used to measure the linear relationship between at least any two variables. In this case these two variables will be two semantic differential scale adjectives.

When variables are interval/ratio, by far the most common measure of correlation is *Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient* often referred to as Pearson's *r*. "This "measure of correlation presumes that interval variables are being used, so that even ordinal variables are not supposed to be employed, although this is a matter of debate"

(Bryman and Cramer 2005, 214). In this manner a correlation coefficient measure help to provide a yardstick whereby the intensity or strength of a relationship between two adjectives on the Semantic Differential scale was gauged. The measure also provided us with clearer assessments of the closeness of the relationship among pairs of variables. In our case this was the relationship among our list of twelve traits or adjectives of the semantic differential scale.

What all this means is that a high correlation coefficient score, such as .62 indicates a relatively strong linear relationship between the column variable (i.e. language trait) and the corresponding row variable (another language trait). On the other hand, a smaller measure or number indicates a weak relationship between semantic differential adjectives, which is usually closer to zero.

Tables 10- 12 help illustrate the Correlation Coefficient Matrices with each entry in the tables representing the correlation coefficient (i.e. how the 12 language features correlate and cluster together in any significant way between the row variables (language traits) and the column variables (measures of the same language traits when correlated). Given the symmetric nature of the matrices in the three tables, we only represent the lower triangular part of the matrix. This is because it is always the case that in a matrix of this kind the correlation between the same variables, such as seen with the column variable against the row variable is always equal to 1.00. It therefore makes sense for us to omit that diagonal representation in the matrix.

Consequently, the matrices' representations in Tables 10-12 helped us to determine which of the twelve traits of the semantic differential scale, which, we used in this study can logically be clustered together for appropriate interpretation and analysis. The

guidelines we employed to determine the strength of the linear relationship implied by the strength of the correlation of the variables in our study was in effect their level of significance. The strength of the correlation coefficient in the three matrix tables is shown with a single * to help indicate the level of significance of .05 and a double ** to help indicate the correlation coefficient is significantly different from zero at a significance level of .01. Thus by using the correlation coefficient analysis, we determined the trends and relationships in the various categories based on trait-by-trait analysis.

The factor analysis that follows this section and which will form a major part of our analysis will also show these relationships from a broader viewpoint. The correlation coefficient analysis in this section will occupy itself in identifying the strongest correlation sets and trends in order to show the linear relationships among the twelve language traits or adjectives used for rating both AAL and SAE in this study.

Tables 10-12 also help to portray the pattern of the broader perceptions on the language attitudes toward AAL and SAE by the 24 African raters using the correlation coefficient analysis. These patterns are:

1) **WEST AFRICAN RATERS:** In Table 10, the cluster sets among the WA raters indicate that two language traits namely, "Proud" and "High status," are often the only two traits characterized by only one positively significant correlation each. "Proud" has a positively significant correlation only with "Social," (.59*). "High status" has one positively significant correlation with "Trustworthy." It also has a significant but negative correlation with "Proud."

2) **EAST AFRICAN RATERS:** In Table 11, there are at least three emerging cluster patterns among East African raters: a) a group of clusters that contain at least one or both of the following two traits: "Trustworthy" and "Proud." b) The second group contains at least one or both of the following traits: "High status" and "Social." c) The third group is a complement of the first two and can be described as a group of clusters that do not contain any of the four language traits.

3) **SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS:** In Table 12, the correlation matrix of the South African raters indicates a large group of clusters that share often negatively correlated membership. The commonality of the group seems to be derived from the many negative correlations that all the 12 traits have in common with each other and most important for us, so few positively significant correlations. The only five positive correlation clusters among the SA raters are: "Well Educated" and "Confident"; "Well Educated" and "Proud"; "Trustworthy" and "Proud"; "Social" and "Proud" as well as both "Social" and "High status."

TABLE 10: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF 12 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES FOR WEST AFRICAN RATERS

Traits

	ED	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC
ED												
CONF	.80*											
RESP	.14	.35*										
GEN	.20	.31*	.45*									
FRIE	.22	.38*	.43*	.56*								
POLI	.40*	.41*	.57*	.67*	.70*							
LEAD	.30*	.35*	.45*	.62**	.68**	.81**						
PAT	.32*	.31	.50*	.63*	.62*	.75*	.63*					
PRO	-.32*	-.41	-.40	-.10	.08	-.08	-.00	.00				
STA	-.27	.22	-.26	-.26	-.10	.03	.26	.06	-.35*			
TRU	-.08	.13	.14	.27	.39*	.53*	.47*	.67*	.27	.69*		
SOC	.22	.38**	.43**	.56**	.63**	.76**	.66*	.82*	.59*	.10	.62**	

*** = Significance .05** ****= significance .01** **(2-tailed)**

Table 10 above presents the results of the evaluation of the 12 language traits that represent the attitudes of the eight West African raters on how they perceive the 12 stimulus voices (divided into 6 AAL and 6 SAE voices). The data results indicate a pattern that reflects the following cluster combinations. Overall then, the language trait clusters among the West African raters beginning with for example "Well Educated," show that it correlates significantly with "Confident," "Polite" "Leader-like" and

"Patient" (Cluster set 1) which is a relatively small set. It is also significantly negatively correlated to "Proud." The other cluster sets are as follows:

(Cluster set 2): "Confident": correlates with being "Well Educated," Responsible," "Gentle," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," and "Social." This set of correlations is not entirely similar to the first set though it shares at least three common traits (i.e. "Well Educated," "Leader-like" and "Patient"). It also shares a significant but negative correlation with "Proud."

(Cluster set 3): "Responsible": correlates with "Confident," "Gentle," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," and "Social." Like the first two sets it also has a significant but negative correlation with "Proud."

(Cluster set 4): "Gentle": correlates with "Confident," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient" and "Social." It also shares a significant but negative correlation with "Proud." (Cluster set 5): "Friendly": correlates with "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "Trustworthy," and "Social." It compares favorably with the preceding sets of clusters by not sharing either a significantly positive or negative significant correlation with "Proud."

(Cluster set 6): "Polite": correlates with "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Friendly," "Patient," "Leader-like," "Patient" "Trustworthy," and "Social." It also bears neither negative nor positive and significant correlations with "Proud."

(Cluster set 7): "Leader-like": correlates with "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," ""Friendly," ""Polite," Patient," "Trustworthy," and "Social." It also has no (i.e. -.00) correlation whatsoever with "Proud."

(Cluster set 8): "Patient": correlates with "Well Educated," "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Trustworthy" and "Social." It bears no significant correlation (positive or negative) with "Proud"

(Cluster set 9): "Proud": is the only feature that doesn't correlate significantly and positively with any other trait. It however correlates significantly, albeit negatively, with both "Confident" and "Social" and has in particular no significant correlations which are either positive or negative with "Leader-like" (i.e. -.00) and "Patient" (i.e. .00).

(Cluster set 10): "High status": correlates significantly only with, "Trustworthy" and negatively so and like all the preceding sets, has a significant but negative correlation with "Proud." Cluster set 11): "Trustworthy": correlates with "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "High status" and "Social." Like all the other sets identified so far, it also has neither a significant and positive nor a negative correlation with "Proud."

(Cluster set 12): "Social": correlates with "Confident," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Friendly," 'Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "Proud" and "Trustworthy." It is noteworthy that among all the cluster combinations that precede it, "Social" is the only language trait that has a positively significant correlation with the trait "Proud" (*.59). The cluster sets among the WA raters indicate that two language traits namely, "Proud" and "High status," are often the only two traits characterized by only one positively significant correlation each. "Proud" has a positively significant correlation only with "Social," (.59*). "High status" has one positively significant correlation with "Trustworthy" (.62*). It also has a significant but negative correlation with "Proud" (-.35*).

TABLE 11: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF 12 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES FOR EAST AFRICAN RATERS

Traits

	ED	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC
ED												
CONF	.30*											
RESP	.42*	-.031										
GEN	-.15	.06	-.37									
FRIE	-.50	-.18	-.42	-.04	.02							
POLI	-.40	-.20	-.42	-.04	.02							
LEAD	-.33	.19	-.66**	.15	.13	-.04						
PAT	-.18	.09	-.22	.15	.25	.18	.33*					
PRO	-.21	.50*	-.24	.44*	.66*	.44*	.52*	.50*				
STA	.01	.14	-.46**	.23	.06	.15	.40*	.33*	.00			
TRU	.49*	.26	.00	.44*	.18	.47**	.56*	.40*	.33*	.00		
SOC	-.46	-.14	-.44	-.02	.07	-.10	.21	-.08	.21	.53*	-.50	

*** = Significance .05** ****= Significance .01** **(2-tailed)**

Table 11 presents an overview of all the clusters sets among the East African raters and helps to indicate at least three emerging patterns in terms of their language attitudes toward both AAL and SAE: a group of clusters that contain at least one or both of the following two traits: "Trustworthy" and "Proud." The second group contains at least one or both of the following traits: "High status" and "Social." The third group is a

complement of the first two and can be described as a group of clusters that do not contain any of the four language traits.

In the first cluster group, which also belongs to the second cluster group, we have a cluster such as "Well Educated" which correlates significantly with "Confident," "Responsible" and "Trustworthy." This cluster also includes "Gentle," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," and "Patient" as its significantly correlated members. The cluster also includes "High status" which significantly correlates with "Leader-like" and "Social"." In addition "Friendly" correlates significantly with "Proud" while "Polite," which can also be included in both the first and second cluster of combination adds, "Proud" and "Trustworthy" to its list of combinations.

The second cluster group, which also belongs to the first cluster, includes, "Leader-like" and is also made up of "Proud," "High status" and "Trustworthy." This second cluster also includes "Patient" which correlates significantly with "Proud" and "Trustworthy." The final set of combination of language traits in this second cluster also includes, "High status" which correlates significantly with "Social."

The third cluster group is noteworthy as it includes "Gentle" with significant correlation with both "Proud," "Trustworthy" but also with no significant correlations with both "High status" (.23) and "Social" (-.02) as well as "Friendly" (-.00)

"High status": correlates with "Leader-like" and "Social." But the trait does not correlate significantly with both "Proud" (.27) and "Trustworthy" (.00). It has a particularly significant but negative correlation with "Responsible" (-.46*).

"Trustworthy": correlates significantly with "Well Educated," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," and "Proud." It has a significant but negative correlation with "Social" (-.50*) and has also none with "High status" (.00)

The following are the cluster sets and combinations for the East African raters:

(Cluster set 1): "Well Educated": correlates significantly with "Confident" "Responsible," and "Trustworthy."

(Cluster set 2): "Confident": correlates significantly with "Well Educated" and "Proud."

(Cluster set 3): "Responsible": correlates significantly with "Well Educated," and "Confident."

(Cluster set 4): "Gentle": correlates significantly with "Proud" and "Trustworthy."

(Cluster set 5): "Friendly": correlates significantly with "Proud."

(Cluster set 6): "Polite": correlates significantly with "Proud" and "Trustworthy."

(Cluster set 7): "Leader-like": correlates significantly with "Patient," "Proud," "High status" and "Trustworthy."

(Cluster set 8): "Patient": correlates significantly with "Proud" and "Trustworthy."

(Cluster set 9): "Proud": correlates significantly with "Confident," "Gentle," "Friendly,"

(Cluster set 10): "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," and "Leader-like," "Proud" and Trustworthy."

(Cluster set 11): "Trustworthy": correlates significantly with "Well Educated," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," and "Proud." It is also significantly but negatively correlated with "Social."

(Cluster set 12): "Social": correlates significantly with "High status" and is also significantly correlated though negatively with ""Well Educated," "Responsible," "High status," and "Trustworthy."

TABLE 12: CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF 12 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS

Traits

	ED	CONF	RESP	GEN	FRIE	POLI	LEAD	PAT	PRO	STA	TRU	SOC
ED												
CONF	.75*											
RESP	-.50	.19										
GEN	-.30	-.21	-.69									
FRIE	-.17	.00	-.54	-.67								
POLI	-.39	.26	.05	-.42	.21							
LEAD	-.33	.00	-.40	-.67	-.30	-.55						
PAT	-.02	.42*	-.14	-.62	.14	-.70	-.48					
PRO	.41*	.51*	.28	-.18	-.20	-.27	.02	-.14				
STA	.13	.29	-.17	-.64**	-.29	-.63**	-.45	-.37	.15			
TRU	-.48	.017	-.12	-.39	-.02	-.55	-.21	-.09	.52*	-.12		
SOC	-.40	-.02	-.50	-.74**	-.17	-.77**	-.62**	-.45	.61*	.48*	.02	

*** = Significance .05** ****= Significance .01** **(2-tailed)**

According to Table 12, among the South African raters of both AAL and SAE, the following are the significant correlations in their perceptions of the two US English varieties using the 12 stimulus voices in this study which, they evaluated on each of the 12 language traits of the semantic differential scale namely, Well Educated": correlated

significantly with both "Confident" and "Proud" (Cluster set 1). The language trait, "Well Educated" is however also significantly correlated but negatively so with "Responsible," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Trustworthy" and "Social."

(Cluster set 2): "Confident": correlated significantly with "Well Educated," "Proud," "Patient," and "Proud."

(Cluster set 3): "Responsible: correlated significantly but negatively with "Well Educated," Friendly," "Leader-like" and "Social."

(Cluster set 4): "Gentle": correlated significantly but negatively with both "Well Educated," "Responsible," "Friendly," "Polite," "Leader-like," "Patient," "High status" and "Social."

(Cluster set 5): "Polite": correlated significantly but negatively with "Well Educated," "Leader-like," "Patient," "High status," "Trustworthy" and "Social."

(Cluster set 6): "Leader-like": correlated significantly but negatively with "Well Educated," Patient," "High status," and "Social."

(Cluster set 7): "Patient": correlated significantly with "Confident," but negatively so with "Gentle," "Polite," and "Leader-like."

(Cluster set 8): "Proud": correlated significantly with both "Well Educated," and "Confident."

(Cluster set 9): "High status": correlated significantly but negatively with both "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like," and "Patient."

(Cluster set 10): "Trustworthy": correlated both positively and significantly only with "Proud" but negatively so with "Well Educated," "Gentle," and "Polite."

(Cluster set 11): "Social": correlated significantly with both "Proud" and "High status," but negatively so with "Well Educated," "Responsible," "Gentle," "Polite," "Leader-like" and "Patient." The correlation matrix of the South African raters, indicate a large group of clusters that share interesting and often negatively correlated membership. The commonality of the group seems to be derived from the many negative correlations that all the 12 traits have in common with each other and most important for us, so few positively significant correlations.

The only five positive correlation clusters among the SA raters are: "Well Educated" and "Confident"; "Well Educated" and "Proud"; "Trustworthy" and "Proud"; "Social" and "Proud" as well as both "Social" and "High status."

We acknowledge that Tables 2 – 6 of the mean ratings and rank of means present only a general overview of both the rank of the two US English varieties based on the 12 stimulus voices which were rated on each of the 12 adjectives or traits used in their evaluation in relationship to one another. We however contend that the correlation coefficient matrices in the Tables 10-12 on the other hand, help to portray the pattern of the broader perceptions on the language attitudes toward both AAL and SAE evaluated by all 24 African raters from West Africa, East Africa and South Africa.

The three correlation coefficient matrices have also helped indicate to us that the 24 evaluators/raters from the three African regions have different ratings for evaluating the two US English language varieties. The matrices also provide us with additionally useful insights into how the evaluators/raters perceive both African American Language (AAL) and standard American English (SAE). As mentioned hereto, different historical events in WA, EA and SA, such as significant European settlements in both EA and SA, the

establishment of freed slave colonies of Sierra Leone and Liberia in WA, along with pertinent social and linguistic realities with attendant social and cultural discourses, may have accounted for the differences in perceptions and attitudes toward both AAL and SAE.

FACTOR ANALYSIS

Factor analysis is a statistical data reduction technique used to explain variability among observed random variables in terms of fewer unobserved random variables called factors. The observed variables are modeled as linear combinations of the factors, plus "error" terms. The factor analysis helps in dimension reduction as well. This means it helps to ensure that each member of a factor group identified belongs fully to that assigned group. As seen with the correlation coefficient matrices in the previous chapter, the statistical phenomena that resulted in the clustering of variables around a common theme was typified by both the overlapping and combination of those features which had both weak and strong correlations. In factor analysis we used the Varimax rotation technique available in SPSS to help us rectify this anomaly of overlapping and combination of for example, a variable with two disparate correlations.

The Varimax rotation technique also helped us to ensure that there are no overlaps and that the correlation between one variable and a factor that it belongs to is maximized fully while at the same being minimized in the factor (s) in which it doesn't belong to. As a result, the factor group sets have been refined using the Varimax rotation technique.

According to Bryman and Cramer (2005),

> The scores of people on three or more variables primarily concern factor analysis with describing the variation or variance, which is shared. This variance is referred to as common variance and needs to be distinguished from other kinds of variance. Specific variance describes the variation which is specific or unique to a

> variable and which is not shared with any other variable. Error variance, on the other hand, is variation due to the fluctuations, which inevitably result from measuring something. If for example you weigh yourself a number of times in quick succession, you will find that the readings will vary somewhat, despite the fact that your weight could not have changed in so short a time. These fluctuations in measurement are known as error variance. So the total variation that we find in the scores of an instrument (such as an item or test), to assess a particular variable can be divided or partitioned into common, specific and error variance. Total variance = Common variance + specific variance + Error variance. Since factor analysis cannot distinguish specific from error variance, they are combined to form unique variance. In other words, the total variance of a test consists of its common and unique variance. (327)

Using Factor Analysis, we have re-computed scores from all twenty-four raters from each of the three African regions (WA, EA and SA) and also employed the technique using the principal component extraction feature of the technique along with the Varimax rotation technique. We were thus able to establish that the evaluators from the three African regions belong to different factor groups, which in our view provide unique insights in this study. The purpose of Factor Analysis is to discover simple patterns in the nature of relationships among variables. In particular, it seeks to discover if the observed variables can be explained largely or entirely in terms of a much smaller number of variables called *factors*.

Unlike many statistical methods used to study the relationship between independent and dependent variables, Factor Analysis studies the patterns of relationship among many dependent variables, with the goal of discovering something about the nature of the independent variables that affect them, even though those independent variables were not measured directly. We tried to maximize the value of Factor Analysis in this study and consider the following results a departure from previous language attitude studies given the unique nature of the present investigation. In conducting Factor Analysis in this study

we considered a factor as belonging to its loading category if it was 0.80 or higher. These loadings are marked with an *. Loading indicators in this study are higher than the .30 factor loading often considered the benchmark. The following tables present the factor groups of each of the three African regions (WA, SA and SA).

FACTOR LOADING FOR WEST AFRICAN RATERS

TABLE 13: FACTOR LOADING FOR WEST AFRICAN RATERS

Trait	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
High Status	*.95	.40	.51	.60	.69	-.48	.59
Leader-like	*.94	.46	.40	*.78	.68	.47	
Polite	*.92	.64	.68	*.74	.42	.47	
Proud	*.91	.58	*.89	.51	.65	.55	
Trustworthy	*.89	*.84	.65	.37	.49	.47	
Friendly	*.88	-.68	.63	.57	.30	.47	.59
Social	*.88	-.68	.63	.57	.30	.47	.59
Confident	-.70	.72	.66	*.75	-.48	.32	.35
Gentle	*.84	*.83	*.70	.55	.38	.35	.17
Patient	*.82	.40	.49	-.50	.53	.18	-.45
Responsible	-.49	.53	-.37	*.79	.33	.38	-.43
Well Educated	-.60	*.84	*.79	.61	*.71		.41

*** Indicates a Significantly High Trait and Score**

Table 13 helps to interpret the scores into features and an attempt has been made to provide an overall identification label for the factor group. Efforts have also been made to uncover the best representative label for each of the seven factor groups identified for all the 24 raters in all the three African regions (WA, EA and SA). This means that the

highest scores in each set that have been indicated with an asterisk (*) are both viewed and interpreted as of higher value and meaning in this exercise.

TABLE 14: INTERPRETATION OF FACTOR LOADINGS FOR THE WEST AFRICAN RATERS IN TABLE 13

Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
*High Status	*Trustworthy	*Well Educated	*Responsible	*Well-educated	Proud	Friendly
*Leader-like	*Well-educated	*Proud	*Leader-like	High Status	Friendly	Social
*Polite	*Patient	*Trustworthy	*Confident	Leader-like	Social	High Status
*Proud	Leader-like	Gentle	*Polite	Proud	Polite	Not Leader-like
*Not Confident	Friendly	Polite	High Status	Responsible	Not High Status	Not Responsible.
Not Responsible	Not Confident	Confident	Not Patient	Not Confident		
Not Well Educated	Not Social	Not Responsible				
Friendly						
Trustworthy						
EGOCENTRIC	**PATRONIZING**	**CHARMING**	**PROUD**	**DEPENDABLE**	**SOCIABLE**	**HUMBLE**

*** Indicates a Significantly High Trait and Score**

As seen in Table 14 above, the mean scores of the features that have significant loading on each factor are calculated using the initial mean scores as shown earlier in Tables 2-4. In Table 13 for West African raters we obtained the mean score for Factor 1 by calculating the mean of the mean scores for nine traits, namely, "high status," "leader-like," "polite," "proud," "confident," "responsible," "educated," "friendly," and "trustworthy," as now shown in Table 14 for the West African raters.

As a result the new mean of the mean scores constitute the Factor 1 mean. Similar calculations are done for the other six Factors identified in this Factor Analysis, while at the same time keeping our overall focus on analyzing the two US English varieties (i.e. AAL and SAE). We also paid special attention and focus on language attitudes toward AAL by these African immigrants from West, East and South Africa.

In order to determine the feature, which we refer here to as "EGOCENTRIC," for both AAL and SAE varieties, we calculated the mean of the mean scores for each of the nine traits that loaded more significantly into Factor 1 mentioned hereto, for AAL variety first followed by SAE variety. We then followed this procedure by calculating the means for the rating scores generated from the three African regions (WA, EA and SA). The results from this latter computation are presented as Tables 14 and 15 (WA), Tables 16 and 17 (EA) and Tables 18 and 19 (SA) in which we have tried to explain language attitudes toward AAL and SAE by the 24 raters in terms of African regions.

Additionally, Figures 3a (Egocentric & Charming), 3b (Patronizing & Dependable) and 3c (Proud & Egocentric) for WA raters, Figures 4a (Egocentric & Charming), 4b (Patronizing & Dependable) and 4c (Proud & Sociable) for EA raters and Figures 5a (Egocentric & Charming), 5b (Patronizing & Dependable) and 5c (Dependable & Humble) for SA raters, help to illustrate specific language features or factors that were identified in this study as they were used by the raters to describe both AAL and SAE. These language features or factors are important because they help to define each group's language preferences based on the raters' African region.

TABLE 15: FACTOR ANALYSIS: WEST AFRICAN RATERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD AAL & SAE

Traits	**Factor 1**	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Factor 4**	**Factor 5**	**Factor 6**
HIGH STATUS	AAL=4.4 SAE=3.4					
LEADER-LIKE	AAL=4.2 SAE=3.0			AAL=4.2 SAE=3.0		
POLITE	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0			AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0		
PROUD	AAL=3.2 SAE=3.3		3.3 AAL=3.2 SAE=3.3			
TRUSTWORTHY	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.3	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0	3.2 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0			
FRIENDLY	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0					
SOCIAL	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0					
CONFIDENT	AAL=3.0 SAE=2.4			AAL=3.1 SAE=2.4		
GENTLE	AAL=4.0 SAE=2.5					
PATIENT	AAL=4.0 SAE=2.5	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0				
RESPONSIBLE				AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0		
WELL EDUC.		AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0		AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0	
FACTOR	**EGOCENTRI-C**	**PATRONIZIN-G**	**CHARMI-NG**	**PROUD**	**DEPENDAB-LE**	**HUMBLE**

Figure 3a: Egocentric & Charming

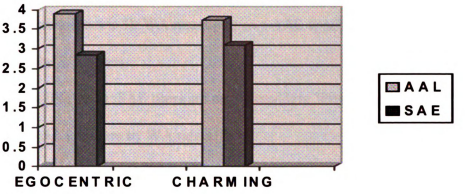


Figure 3b: Patronizing & Dependable

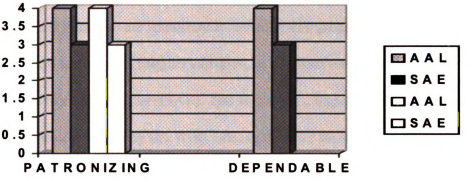
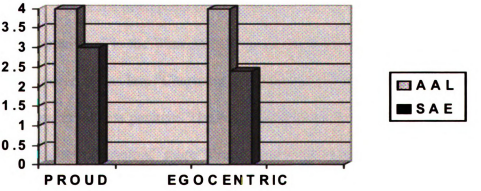


Figure 3c: Proud & Egocentric



1. Egocentric (Factor 1): WA raters perceive AAL speakers to be more "Egocentric" than the SAE users.

2. Patronizing (Factor 2): WA raters perceive SAE speakers to be less "Patronizing" than the AAL users.
3. Charming (Factor 3): WA raters perceive AAL speakers to be more "Charming" than the SAE users.
4. Proud (Factor 4): SAE users are considered less "Proud" or even less "Arrogant" than AAL speakers by WA raters.
5. Dependable (Factor 5): SAE variety is considered as less "Dependable" than the AAL variety by WA raters.

As Figures 3a, 3b and 3c show, five features (Egocentric, Patronizing, Charming, Proud and Dependable) out of the seven features identified in this study (the other two are Sociable and Humble) are important in defining this group of West African raters' attitudes toward the two US English varieties, i.e. African American Language (AAL) and standard American English (SAE). The single most important factor, namely "Egocentric" is considered by the West African raters to be relatively stronger for AAL speakers as compared to SAE users. Important for us in this study is that SAE speakers are also perceived to be relatively less "Patronizing," "Charming," "Proud," and "Dependable." While the perception of SAE speakers as being less "Egocentric" and being less "Patronizing" to the West African raters, are positive attributes, these SAE users are also perceived as less "Charming," "Proud" and "Dependable"; features which can also be considered less positive. The AAL speakers are positively perceived by these WA raters as more "Charming," more "Proud" and as being more "Dependable."

This study considered seven socio-linguistic features as the key factors (i.e. "Egocentric," "Patronizing," "Charming," "Proud," "Dependable," "Sociable," and "Humble") to

measure in the two US English varieties (i.e. AAL and SAE) used in this study depending on the African region. Overall, however, AAL speakers have the more positive evaluation in at least three of the five features identified by this group of West African raters ("Charming," "Proud" and "Dependable"). They are however rated less favorably on two of them, i.e. being "Egocentric" and "Patronizing" by this same group of West African judges. In summary we note the attitude of the West African raters toward AAL and SAE, the two US English language varieties (Figure 3a, Figure 3b and Figure 3c) in this study, also indicate a clear distinction in the perceptions they hold toward the two varieties by the eight raters. Please note that perhaps for many of the African raters in this study, it is our view that being "Proud" and/or "Arrogant" and "Self Important," may have carried the same meaning. This socio-linguistic feature can perhaps also be treated as a positive language feature amongst raters from the three African regions.

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR EAST AFRICAN RATERS

TABLE 16: FACTOR LOADINGS FOR EAST AFRICAN RATERS

Trait	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Trustworthy	*.94	*.89		*.82		.34	.47
Social	*.92	.78	*.82	-.61	.53	.53	.67
Friendly	*.92	.78	*.82	-.61	.33	.46	.67
High Status	*.90	*.81	*-.76		.56	.59	
Patient	*.74	-.72	-.65	.69	.43	.58	
Responsible	*.88	-.51	*-.71	*.75	*.87	.55	.41
Polite	*-.70	*.93	.57	*-.84	.39	.36	.35
Well Educated.	*.85		*.82	.59	.65	.65	
Proud	*.84	*.90	*.82	.40	.37	-.67	.42
Leader-like	-.63	-.56	.69	.52	.52	.40	-.51
Confident	-.48	.53	*.80	.52	*.77	*.77	-.53
Gentle	-.63		.34	*-.70	*.71	.41	

*** Indicates a significantly high score**

Among the East African raters (Table 16) the Factor 1 mean scores were computed for nine traits: "trustworthy," "social," "friendly," "high status," "patient," "responsible," "polite," "well-educated" and "proud." Table 17 helps to interpret these factor loadings.

TABLE 17: INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTOR LOADINGS FOR THE EAST AFRICAN RATERS IN TABLE 16

Factor 1	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Factor 4**	**Factor 5**	**Factor 6**	**Factor 7**
*Trustworthy	*Polite	*Social	*Trustworthy	*Responsible	*Confident	Social
*Social	*Proud	*Friendly	*Responsible	*Confident	Well Educated	Friendly
*Friendly	*Trustworthy	*Well Educated	*Polite	*Gentle	High Status	Not Confident
*High Status	*High Status	*Proud	*Not Patient	Not Social	Proud	Trustworthy
*Responsible	Friendly	*Confident	*Not Gentle	Not Proud	Responsible	Not Leader-like
*Patient	Social	*Not H. Status	Not Friendly		Not Patient	
*Proud	Not Patient	*Not Responsible	Not Well Educated		Not Patient	
*Not Polite	Not Responsible					
Well Educated						
Not Leader-like						
Not Gentle						
EGOCENTRIC	**PATRONIZING**	**CHARMING**	**PROUD**	**DEPENDABLE**	**SOCIABLE**	**HUMBLE**

*** INDICATES A SIGNIFICANTLY HIGH TRAIT AND SCORE**

TABLE 18: EAST AFRICAN RATERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD AAL & SAE

TRAIT	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
TRUST WORTH -Y		AAL=4.0 SAE=3.2		AAL=4.0 SAE=3.2			
SOCIAL	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.3	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.2	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.3				
FRIEND -LY	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.3	AAL=3.4 SAE=3.0	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.3				
HIGH STATUS	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.3	AAL=4.0 SAE=3.4	AAL=3.3 SAE=3.4				
PATIEN -T	AAL=3.5 SAE=3.4	AAL=3.5 SAE=3.4		AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0			
RESPON -SIBLE	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.0	AAL=2.4 SAE=3.0	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.0	AAL=3.4 SAE=3.0	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.0		
POLITE	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.2	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.2		AAL=4.0 SAE=3.2			
WELL EDUCA-TED			AAL=3.0 SAE=3.0				
PROUD		AAL=3.4 SAE=3.0	AAL=3.1 SAE=3.0				
LEADE-R LIKE							
CONFID -ENT			AAL=3.0 SAE=2.3		AAL=3.0 SAE=2.3	AAL=2.5 SAE=2.3	
GENTL-E				AAL=3.0 SAE=3.5	AAL=3.0 SAE=3.0		
FACTO-R	**EGOCE-NTRIC**	**PATRON -IZING**	**CHARMI -NG**	**PROUD**	**DEPEND-ABLE**	**SOCIABL -E**	**HUMBL-E**

Following the results of attitudes by EA toward AAL and SAE in Table 18, we added Figures 4a, 4b and 4c below to supplement the findings. Both also help to further illustrate these attitudes using six factors (Egocentric, Charming, Patronizing, Dependable, Proud and Sociable).

The figures show overlapping in the language features used to rate the two varieties. While some distinctions emerge in the EA raters' perception toward the two varieties, the

overlapping seems to sometimes blur a much clearer distinction of the features used to rate both AAL and SAE.

Figure 4a: Patronizing & Dependable

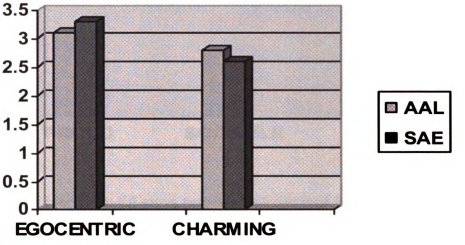


Figure 4b: Egocentric& Charming

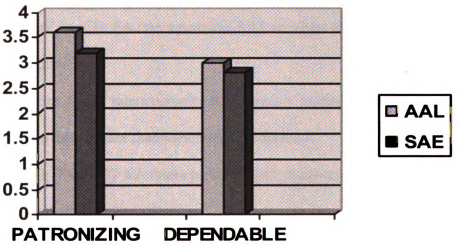
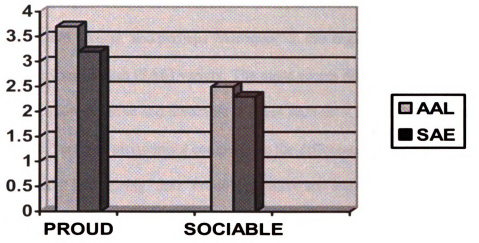


Figure 4c: Proud & Sociable



1) Egocentric (Factor 1): EA raters perceive SAE speakers to be slightly more "Egocentric" than AAL.

2) Patronizing (Factor 2): EA raters perceive AAL users to be more "Patronizing" than the SAE speakers.

3) Charming (Factor 3): EA raters perceive AAL speakers to be slightly more "Charming" than SAE.

4) Proud (Factor 4): EA raters perceive AAL users to as more "Proud" and perhaps "Arrogant'" in this manner than their SAE counterparts.

5) Dependable (Factor 5): EA raters perceive AAL speakers to be more "Dependable" than SAE speakers.

6) Sociable (Factor 6): EA raters perceive the SAE variety to be less "Sociable" than the AAL variety.

Both the results of Table 18 and Figures 4a, 4b and 4c further suggest that, one of the few distinctions between the two varieties is most evident in the mean score differences

of factor group 2 ("Patronizing") and factor group 4 ("Proud"). Speakers of African American Language (AAL) variety are perceived by the East African raters to be more "Patronizing" and "Proud" and perhaps "Arrogant" in this respect than speakers of standard American English (SAE) variety. The mean scores differences for what we consider to be more positive and favorable features such as "Charming," "Dependable," and "Sociable," are less pronounced compared to the differences in the two aforementioned ("Patronizing" and "Proud") negative and less favorable language features.

The EA raters perceive speakers of the SAE variety as "Egocentric," "Patronizing and "Proud." They however also perceive these SAE speakers, as "Charming." but not very "Dependable" or "Sociable."

Interestingly, the East African raters also perceive both AAL and SAE as "Patronizing" and "Proud," to some extent given the relatively small mean differences between them. The mean differences between these two factors are relatively higher than the mean differences between the less pronounced values for the positive but favorable features such as, "Charming," "Dependable," and "Sociable." This seems to suggest that, the EA raters have more positive attitudes toward varieties that they perceive as "Egocentric," "Proud" and "Patronizing," without sounding either too "arrogant," "Egocentric," or overly "Patronizing."

FACTOR LOADINGS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS

TABLE 19: FACTOR LOADING FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS

Trait	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Confident	*.97	.56	*.75	*.94	*.82	-.63	*. –79
Leader-like	*-.97	-.57	*.71	*.93	*-.83	.45	-.62
Well Educated	*-.97	.59	*.81	*.94	*.79	.30	*-77
Responsible	*.93	*.81	*.90	*-.79	*-.79		
Polite	.64	*.84		*-.76	*-.82	*.74	
Patient	*-.90	*.84		.68	*.82	.37	.34
Social	*.88	*-.72		.57	*.75		.38
Friendly	*.88				*.75	*.83	.38
High Status	*-.87	*.86	*-.76	*.86			*-.93
Trustworthy	*.86	.67	.45	.65	.56	*.93	
Gentle	*.83	*.90		*76	.30	.59	.34
Proud	*.70	-.68	.52	*-.77	-.67		.30

*** Indicates a Significantly High Trait and Score**

TABLE 20: INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTOR LOADINGS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS IN TABLE 19

Factor 1	**Factor 2**	**Factor 3**	**Factor 4**	**Factor 5**	**Factor 6**	**Factor 7**
*Confident	*Responsibl e	*Confident	*Confident	*Confident	*Not Polite	*Not Confident
*Not Leader-like	*Polite	*Leader-like	*Leader-like	*Not Lea.-like	*Friendly	*Not Well Educated
*Not Patient	*Patient	*Well Educated	*Well Educated	*Well Educated	*Trustworth y	*Not High Status
* Well Educated	*High Status	*Responsibl e	*Gentle	*Not Responsible	Not Conf.	Leader-like
*Responsible	*Not Social	*Not High Status	*Not Polite	*Not Polite	Leader-like	Patient
*Social	*Not Gentle	Trustworthy	*Not Responsible	*Patient	Well Educated	Social
*Friendly	*Not Proud	Proud	*Not Proud	*Social	Patient	Friendly
*Trustworthy	Confident		High Status	*Friendly	Gentle	Gentle
*Gentle	Leader-like		Patient	Trustworthy		Proud
*Proud	Trustworthy			Gentle		
				Not Proud		
EGOCENTRI-C	**PATRONI-ZING**	**CHARMIN-G**	**PROUD**	**DEPENDAB-LE**	**SOCIABLE**	**HUMBL-E**

*** Indicates a Significantly High Trait and Score**

The results in Table 20 for SA raters indicate there are at least two broad categories of clusters that represent the more favorable and therefore more positive values that are comprised of linguistic characteristics such as "Polite," "Patient," "Friendly," and "Social." These are also the traits of the group that loads as Factor 5 for "Dependable." The other broad cluster of traits represents the negative values and only contains some of (other than "Egocentric" which contains all four traits) of the afore-mentioned four positive attributes. In conducting this factor analysis, we concluded that the other five groups represent the broad combination of what the raters perceive as negative language attributes.

TABLE 21: SOUTH AFRICAN RATERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD AAL & SAE

TRAIT	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
CONFIDENT	3.0 AAL=3.0 SAE=2.5		3.0 AAL=3.0 SAE=2.5	3.0 AAL=3.0 SAE=2.5	3.0 AAL=3.0 SAE=2.5		3.0 AAL=3.0 SAE=2.5
LEADER-LIKE	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.3		4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.3	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.3	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.4		
WELL-EDUC	3.1 AAL=3.4 SAE=3.0		3.1 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.0	3.1 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.0	3.1 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.0		
RESPONSIBLE	3.0 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.0	3.0 AAL=3.1 SAE=4.0	3.0 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.0	3.0 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.0	3.0 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.0		
POLITE	3.2 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.1	3.2 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.1			3.2 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.1	3.2 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.1	
PATIENT	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=4.0						
SOCIAL	3.1 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.2	3.1 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.2			3.1 AAL=3.1 SAE=4.0		
FRIENDLY	3.1 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.2				3.1 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.2	3.0 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.2	3.1 AAL=3.1 SAE=3.2
HIGH STATUS	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=4.0	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=4.0	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=4.0	4.0 AAL=4.0 SAE=4.0			
TRUSTWORTHY	3.1 AAL=3.3 SAE=3.0					3.1 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.2	3.2 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.0
GENTLE	3.2 AAL=3.4 SAE=3.0	3.2 AAL=3.4 SAE=3.0					
PROUD	3.4 AAL=3.4 SAE=3.4	3.4 AAL=4.0 SAE=3.3					
FACTOR	**EGOCE-NCENTRIC**	**PATRON-IZING**	**CHARMI-NING**	**PROUD**	**DEPEND-ABLE**	**SOCIABL-E**	**HUMBLE**

The results of Table 21 above are supplemented by Figures 5a, 5b, 5c and 5d that follow below. Both suggest that, the South African raters seem to regard speakers of African American Language (AAL) to be "Egocentric," yet more "Patronizing," and relatively more "Charming," "Proud," and more "Dependable" than SAE speakers. They

(AAL speakers) are perceived to also be more "Sociable," and less "Humble" than SAE speakers. This suggests to us that AAL speakers are perhaps less reserved and more outgoing than SAE users in their general speech demeanor.

Figure 5a: Egocentric & Charming

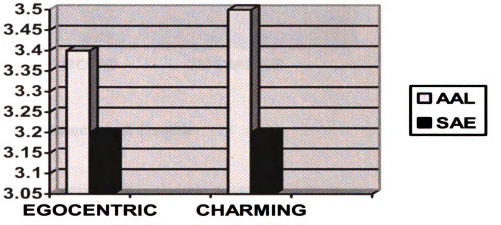


Figure 5b: Patronizing & Dependable

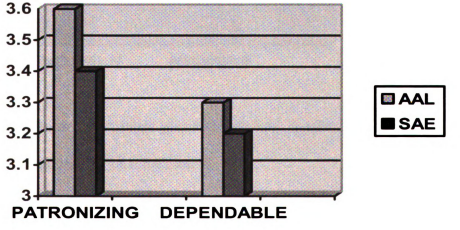


Figure 5c: Proud & Sociable

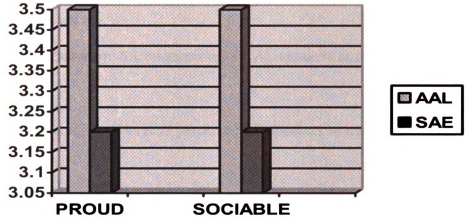
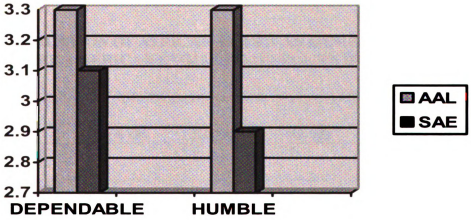


Figure 5d: Dependable & Humble



1) Egocentric (Factor 1): SA raters perceive both AAL speakers and to be more "Egocentric" than SAE users.

2) Patronizing (Factor 2): SA raters perceive AAL users to be more "Patronizing" than SAE speakers.

3) Charming (Factor 3): SA raters perceive SAE speakers to be less charming than AAL users.

4) Proud (Factor 4): SA raters perceive AAL speaker to be more "Proud" than SAE users.

5) Dependable (Factor 5): SA raters perceive the SAE speakers to be less "Dependable" than the AAL users.

6) Sociable (Factor 6): SA raters perceive AAL speakers as more "Sociable," than the SAE users.

7) Humble (Factor 7): SA raters perceive SAE speakers as less "Humble" than the AAL users.

Figures 5a, 5b and 5c help to also indicate that Standard American English (SAE) speakers are perceived by the South African raters to be "Egocentric," yet less "Patronizing," "Proud," and "Charming" than AAL speakers. They are however also perceived to be less "Dependable," "Sociable" and "Humble" than AAL speakers.

IDENTIFICATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LANGUAGE (AAL) AND STANDARD AMERICAN ENGLISH (SAE) VOICES BY ALL RATERS

TABLE 22: RATERS' IDENTIFICATION OF THE TWELVE ANONYMOUS STIMULUS VOICES

	WA (8)	EA (8)	SA (8)	Total (24)
AALF	6	6	7	19 (79%)
AALM	4	4	5	13 (54%)
SAEF	8	5	6	20 (83%)
SAEM	5	3	3	14 (58%)
	23 (96%)	18 (75%)	19 (79%)	

Figure 6a: Identification of AAL & SAE

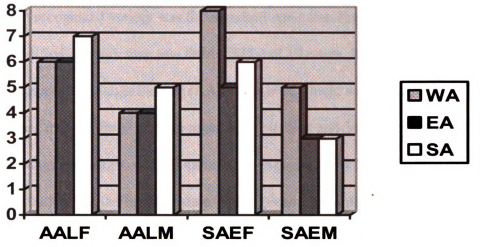


Figure 6b: Identification of AAL & SAE

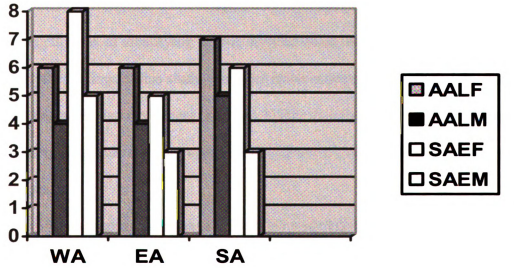


Table 22 and Figures 6a and 6b both help summarize how the 24 African raters from South, East and South Africa identified both AAL and SAE. All the evaluators also took the voice and region matching test in part II of the questionnaire (Appendix A). The

results of this identification exercise show what we consider a generally balanced recognition of the twelve stimulus voices that represented both AAL and SAE varieties in the matched guise exercise used in this study.

The most recognized variety was the Standard American English Female (SAEF) variety, identified by more than two thirds (83%) of all raters. It was followed by the African American Language Female (AALF) variety, which, was identified by 79% of all the evaluators from all three African regions (West, East and South Africa). The African American Language Male (AALM) variety was recognized by 54% and closely followed that of Standard American English Male (SAEM) variety identified by 58% of all the respondents. It is clear that the 24 African raters could easily identify and differentiate both AALF and SAEF voices much more clearly than either the AALM or SAEM voices. It is also likely that for the raters as well, the high-pitched female voices were much clearer and easier to distinguish when compared to the deeper and low-pitched male voices, making the task of identifying the two females voices easier than of the two male voices. From the findings of this study, when the raters successfully identified the AAL voices, they also generated rated them relatively higher than the SAE voices. On the other hand the findings also indicate that overall, the SAEF variety earned higher ratings than the SAEM variety.

The raters with the highest percentage in the correct identification of the stimulus voices are the West Africans (96%). The East Africans were correct 75% of the time while the South African raters had a 79% identification rate.

One of the objectives of this study was to determine whether the twenty-four raters would positively identify the two varieties of US English (i.e. AAL and SAE), especially

the African American Language (AAL) variety. This is in view of prevailing language attitudes toward Languages of Wider Communication (LWC) such as Standard American English (SAE) and European languages in general both in Africa and in North America in contrast to AAL and indigenous African varieties, which have historically been marginalized in favor of these European languages.

Based on the data we have obtained, it is evident that raters from all three African regions often recognize the two US English varieties (i.e. AAL and SAE), albeit at different rates. Although this is an exploratory study, limited by the lack of a larger and much more diverse sample, the study represents an important inroad into language attitude studies on Black populations. There is a need for similar studies to continue to be methodologically sophisticated even as they explore new dimensions for expanding the nature of studies of marginalized languages and language groups, such as both African languages and languages with an African heritage such as African American Language (AAL).

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND STUDY IMPLICATIONS

"The more people you meet, the more human you become."
A Bambara proverb (Djite 2006, 1)

The quote by Djite, a linguist from the Bambara community in West Africa articulates the current state of global encounters in the world today among diverse people and languages. For the twenty four African immigrants from West, East and South Africa in this study and those they encounter, language use remains the tool of communication that best mirrors the various global and social encounters including the "shifts in linguistic identities in a global world" (Djite 2006). The aim of this study was to investigate the nature of language attitudes of African immigrants in the US from West, East and South Africa toward African American Language (AAL). Attitudes toward this US English variety by the twenty four African immigrants in this study, as measures of language perceptions, were tested using a matched-guise technique by Tucker and Lambert (1960 and 1967) to rate twelve anonymous stimulus voices, using both AAL and SAE, on twelve language traits along a seven-point Semantic Differential Scale.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a synopsis of the study, conclusions from the findings and implications for further work by language attitude researchers, as well as implications for language planners, policy makers and bi/multilingual educators.

SYNOPSIS OF THE STUDY

The problem under investigation was presented as the complete lack or limited research in language attitude studies of Africans toward African American language/English (AAL/AAE). The problem is complicated by the focus on attitudes toward major European languages commonly spoken in Africa such as English, French

and Portuguese by many language attitude studies in both Africa and the Diaspora. This language attitude research scenario, which, helps to also continue to inform prevailing language and education planning policy practices in Africa, is largely a legacy of European colonialism (Adegjiba 1994;Mbaabu 1996; Mazrui & Mazrui 1998). Coupled with uni-dimensional research approaches (Adegjiba 1994), the dearth and shortcomings of language attitude study in these circumstances seem, to have helped contribute to perceptions that favor European languages, often associated with high status and prestige at the expense of indigenous African languages.

Makalela (2005) and Thiba (2000) note that in South Africa negative attitudes and misrepresentation of the status of African languages as distinct languages, when they could in certain cases have been harmonized as one, have contributed to the history of the unchanging low status of indigenous African languages. This situation has, since the 1884 Berlin Conference that helped to divide Africa among European powers, marked what Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) suggest was a strange division of Africa into a linguistic anomaly and zones on the basis of the imperial European languages such as Anglophone Africa, Lusophone Africa and Francophone Africa. African immigrants in the US, the focus of our study also bring with them many of these language attitudes toward both European and African languages.

The rationale was provided for the need to study attitudes toward African American Language (AAL) by African immigrants in the USA in order to help understand their attitudes toward AAL in contrast to Standard American English (SAE), a variety that enjoys high prestige and status in the US comparable to that of the 'Queen's English' (Adegbija 1994; Mbaabu 1996) or even that of both French and Portuguese in Africa.

Understanding the nature of these attitudes through this language attitude study is necessary to help bridge the many years of systematic and deliberate linguistic divisions that were wrought in both the lives of Africans and African Americans through European colonialism and enslavement. Chapter One outlined the purpose of the study and set out the following objectives:

- To investigate the attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward AAL
- To determine the nature of these attitudes
- To help contribute to scholarship on attitudes toward AAL and indigenous African languages and to language attitude study both in Africa and the Diaspora in general.

It was established that Language attitudes of African immigrants to the US are complicated by those held toward varieties of African languages and European languages both in Africa and beyond. These attitudes have also been complicated by a history of European colonialism and languages as well as the existence of numerous African languages. In both West and East Africa for example both English and French are spoken alongside various African languages while English, Portuguese and Afrikaans are used in South Africa alongside a variety of indigenous African languages. Within this complex web of historical events that impact attitudes toward languages, future language attitude studies would perhaps need to investigate and also describe the evolving nature of attitudes toward AAL by Africans both in the Continent and the Diaspora.

Further discussions focused on language and immigrants along with the history of individual immigration by leading African leaders such as African pioneer educator, Dr. Aggrey and his future student, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. This was followed by discussion of the immigration of John L Dube from South Africa, among other senior

African figures who visited and interacted with African Americans and other US citizens many years before the advent of African independence from European colonialism in the late 1950s and early 1960s. This part of the discussion also linked the present study to recent increases in the number of Africans migrating to the US, which, is estimated at over fifty thousand per year since 1990 (Roberts, *New York Times,* February 21, 2005). This is the largest group of African immigrants to arrive in the US since the outlawing of the transatlantic slave trade in 1807 and includes some of the most highly educated recent immigrants to the country. These African immigrants represent some of the grim realities of today's multi-polar globalization with its many attendant effects. When they immigrate, these Africans bring with them various language attitudes embodied in their use of both indigenous African and European languages.

The experiences of both Africans and African Americans are contextualized in the study within the realm of cross-cultural research base on a shared history of European enslavement and colonialism, of which Fanon articulated in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967): "Every colonized people...in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality – finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country" (18). From a political perspective the study also echoes Fanon's challenge that "Each generation out of relative obscurity must discover their mission, fulfill it or betray it" (1963, 207).

The introduction to this study also pointed out how the global availability of AAL in the dissemination of US mass media products is further impacting language attitudes toward the variety. It is therefore most likely that many African immigrants to the US

have previously been exposed to AAL in Africa and are likely to identify and associate certain characteristics of AAL with its speakers. It is also possible that, despite many years of linguistic discrimination, AAL still enjoys "covert prestige" (Trudgill 1972, 179-95) among both users and nonusers as it facilitates the global dissemination of US popular culture.

Next was a review of literature on language attitudes and the theoretical context for language attitude study in sub-Saharan Africa in general (see Mbaabu 1996; Adegbija 1994; Mazrui & Mazrui 1998 etc.). It indicated that language attitudes toward both indigenous African and European languages remain an important component. This is because problems of post-independence education and language planning policies in most of sub-Saharan Africa are historically and closely associated with both language attitude studies and related attitudes that have often privileged European languages over African languages.

The first part of the review of literature revealed a research gap and hence the need to study prevailing language attitudes toward both African languages in Africa and languages spoken by speakers of African ancestry in the Diaspora. The review of literature noted a general attitude of ambivalence is sometimes evident with regard to perceptions toward European languages in contrast to indigenous African languages. The review observed that such attitudes reflect "the conflict between loyalty to one language and the utility of another: the choice between learning a language because it is useful (instrumentalism) and learning another because it marks the individual's cultural, ethnic or national identity (integration)" (Sure 1991, 251). This seems to reveal another

dimension of the "instrument/integrative dichotomy of motivation in the learning of languages in the African context" (Adegbija 1994, 64).

The review of literature then focused on several shortcomings also observed by Adegbija (1994) who suggested that, future language attitude study in sub-Saharan Africa would need to be less impressionistic, more sophisticated in research design and more thorough in its sampling and analytical techniques. The scholar adds that, such research would also need to use more detailed statistical procedures and methods and should begin by grounding itself in attitude theory and research. It should also place high premium on utilizing attitude scales that adhere to criteria for internal consistency in response and in the use of many items to ensure internal reliability along with issues of both content and criterion-related, predictive and construct validity. The review cited Baker (1992, 25) who recommends that language attitude research must adhere to the dimensionality that includes the testing of whether one or more entities need to be measured while also considering various aspects of uni-dimensionality or multidimensionality along with whether these two can be measured if a large initial pool of attitude items is subjected to an exploratory confirmatory factor analysis.

The second part of the review of literature concerned itself with language attitude research in Africa and beyond. It tried to make pertinent global connections with other language attitude studies in for example Australia and with similar research toward AAL in the US. It also linked these studies to challenges posed by others that detail attitude shifts among Africans toward European languages in the Continent. By further tracing language attitude research to its origins in the early 1960's from the field of social psychology (Lambert, et al, 1960; Lambert 1967), the review was then linked the work of

linguists involved in language attitudes studies in the 1970's especially as it pertained to teacher's attitudes toward students' speaking styles. Unfortunately, the majority of these studies focused on western countries and western languages. African languages in the Continent and their counterparts in Diaspora such as African American Language (AAL) received scant or negative attention in these earlier language attitudes research despite the fact that bilingualism, multilingualism and multiculturalism are prevalent among both Africans and African Americans.

It was concluded that, based on the foregoing review of literature, the present study is methodologically significant in helping to expand current body of knowledge on language attitude study in both Africa and the Diaspora. The present study also aims to make important contributions to the study of attitudes of Africans in the USA toward AAL, the variety spoken by many African Americans. It departs from many and previous approaches in language attitude research in socio-linguistics which are based on less reliable methods such as observation or intuition by exploiting the benefits of a matched guise technique by Lambert and associates (1960, 1967). Basing its work on pertinent attitude research theories, it successfully achieved this aim by using 12 anonymous stimulus voices audio-taped in both AAL and SAE to test both research hypotheses, and approach, among 24 African evaluators. This technique was ascertained as adequately measurable and quantifiable. The technique is detailed in the following part of this synopsis.

Following the review of literature, details and rationale of the methodology used in the study were provided. It was clarified that due to the complexities of accurately measuring both hidden and "deep-seated" attitudes toward language, the most feasible

technique would need to offer both anonymity and adequately measurable attitude ratings. The study utilized the matched guise method by Lambert and associates (1960 and 1967), in which a bilingual speaker says the same thing in two different languages. The "guise" is that the speaker is represented as being a different speaker when speaking a different language, thus "fooling" respondents into thinking that they are rating a different speaker when in actuality, only the language is different. The matched guise allows researchers to obtain feedback on perceptions of language per se since the "two speakers" being rated are the same person. Thus all speaker variables are controlled, with only language being manipulated.

We used twelve sample voices from a female and male AAL speaker, who are skillful in code switching between AAL and SAE. They read a passage by African writer Chinua Achebe, Caribbean writer and poet Derek Walcott and African American writer and poet Alice Walker in both varieties generating a total of twelve anonymous stimulus voices. These voices were audio-recorded and replayed to the 24 raters who then evaluated them on a seven-point scale based on the twelve adjectives or language traits of the semantic differential scale

Presentation and analysis of data and results followed. This first part of the data analysis using Ratings and Rankings of Mean Scores showed that perceptions and attitudes of the 24 African immigrants from West Africa, East Africa and South Africa toward both SAE and AAL, are both favorable and unfavorable, based on their region of origin in Africa.

The Ratings and Rankings of the Mean Scores helped us to also ascertain there were no significant statistical differences in terms of gender, age, and years spent in the US. A

Correlation Coefficient analysis helped to indicate both the strength and direction of the relationship between a pair of language variables/traits in the study. It was used to measure the linear relationship between at least any of two language variables. In this case these two variables were two semantic differential scale language adjectives on the semantic differential scale. The measure also provided us with clearer assessments of the closeness of the relationship among pairs of variables. In our case this was the relationship among our list of twelve traits or adjectives of the semantic differential scale.

In summary, cluster sets, identified in the Correlation Coefficient Analysis, among the WA raters indicate that two language traits namely, "Proud" and "High status," are often the only two traits that are characterized by only one positively significant correlation each. For example, "Proud" has a positively significant correlation only with "Social" while "High status" also has one positively significant correlation with "Trustworthy." It also has a significant but negative correlation with "Proud." Both EA and SA raters shared two cluster sets that are patterned around "Trustworthy" and "Proud" as well as around "High Status" and "Social." They also both have the same order of voice preferences (i.e. SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM). However the ratings for both regions are patterned around different cluster groups, namely three clusters among East African raters that contain at least one or both of the following two traits: "Trustworthy" and "Proud." The second group contains at least one or both of the following traits: "High status" and "Social." Finally, the third group is a complement of the first two and can be described as a group of clusters that do not contain any of the four language traits. Among the SA raters, the pattern of attitudes cluster around a large group of traits that share often negatively correlated membership. Common to the SA group is the many

negative correlations that all the 12 traits have in common with each other in the 12 voices. These clusters have such few positively significant correlations, namely, 1) "Well Educated" and "Confident"; 2) "Well Educated" and "Proud"; 3) "Trustworthy" and "Proud"; 4) "Social" and "Proud" as well as both 5) "Social" and "High status."

Finally, using the Factor Analysis, which was the third part of the data analysis and presentation, the study found that AAL is perceived as more "Egocentric" than SAE by raters from WA and SA and compares favorably with the same description for SAE by EA raters. Raters from all three regions also identified AAL as more "Patronizing," "Charming," "Proud," and "Dependable." Both EA and SA raters also perceived AAL to be more "Sociable" and "Humble." The EA raters however perceived SAE as much more "Egocentric" "Patronizing," and "Proud," than AAL.

These seven factor groups, namely, "Egocentric," "Patronizing," "Charming," "Proud," "Dependable," "Sociable" and "Humble" helped us to identify and rate the 12 language traits and features used in this study on the basis of them being either favorable (i.e. positive) or unfavorable (i.e. negative). While these attitudinal features and perceptions by the 24 African raters help us to describe the two language varieties (i.e. AAL and SAE), they also help provide information used to categorize the language varieties using various combinations of traits that make up the seven factor loadings.

These findings helped to answer one of our research questions, which, asked whether there would be any significant differences in attitudes by the 24 raters based on African region. The findings further helped to reveal the nature of the 24 African respondents' attitudes as either favorable or unfavorable toward AAL and SAE depending on African region. However, the results did not help reveal significant findings to help answer the

research question that asked whether there would be differences in the raters' attitudes toward both AAL and SAE based on gender, age and years spent in the US. The findings also did not answer the research question that asked whether attitudes toward AAL and SAE would be based on familiarity with the varieties.

There are overlaps in terms of attitudes and related rankings of the 12 stimulus voices. The measurement of these attitudes is by no means absolute and only helps indicate general trends in the relationship among the twelve language traits used to rate both varieties in the study. The findings also have important implications of such measures of attitudes and attendant beliefs of African immigrants in the US toward AAL, which like language attitudes in general, are often hard to measure.

Both AAL and SAE varieties were not described in sharply contrastive manner, as expected. However, the findings suggest there perhaps are other influences in the 24 raters' attitudes such as prior attitudes toward both indigenous African and European language and cultural backgrounds. Other factors include gender, age, years lived in the US and whether they were exposed to French and Portuguese as their second language before learning English, etc. Other influences might also be the choice of reading passages by Achebe, Walcott and Walker, which, are written by scholars from three varied linguistic experiences. Both Achebe and Walcott write in the 'Queen's English' (Adegjiba 1994; Mbaabu 1996) using what can be considered West African and Caribbean linguistic styles respectively, while Walker's writing is AAL in style especially when read in AAL. We used the matched-guise technique (Lambert and associates 1960 and 1967) to help control for some of these factors. It is possible however that, the contents of the passages themselves and choice of the two AAL readers

who also code-switched to SAE in audio-recording the 12 stimulus voices had a bearing on the attitudes and ratings of both varieties by the 24 African evaluators.

The results present a picture of the trends that the various combinations of the twelve language traits by the 24 raters helped set for describing both language varieties, based on rating the twelve anonymous AAL and SAE stimulus voices. The results nonetheless help represent the perceptions held by all the 24 raters toward the two varieties. In terms of the twelve language characteristics (a.k.a. traits, adjectives, features and attributes), "Proud" is the one trait that reveals itself most prominently and which perhaps seems to both infer both favorable and negative evaluation of the 12 stimulus voices, by the 24 African raters. This trait might also require further study and analysis. While the trait "Proud" might be construed as positive, it is possible that among the 24 African respondents, it is also viewed negatively. This observation is supported by the results of both the Correlation Coefficient and Factor Analyses. This is less evident in the Mean Score Rating and Ranking Analysis.

The final analysis of data compared the rates of identification of AAL and SAE in the twelve anonymous stimulus voices. The results show the most recognized variety is the Standard American English Female (SAEF) variety (83%), followed by the African American Language Female (AALF) variety (79%). The African American Language Male (AALM) variety was correctly identified by 54% of all raters, while Standard American English Male (SAEM) variety was correctly identified by 58% of the raters. Where both major voice varieties were identifiable, the AAL variety was rated more favorably and more often than the SAE voices by all raters and in particular when it came to rating the SAEM voice. Overall, while both East and South African raters rated the

SAEF variety most favorably, it nonetheless occupied the third ranking after both the AALF and AALM voices.

It is possible that for the 24 African raters both the higher-pitched AALF and SAEF voices were rendered in much more clearer and distinct styles. Consequently, they were easier to distinguish from one another in comparison to AALM and SAEM voices which were rendered at lower and harder to distinguish vocal levels. The raters with the highest percentage in the correct identification of the stimulus voices are the West Africans (96%). The East Africans were correct 75% of the time while the South Africa raters had a 79% identification rate.

CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion of the study is that attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward African American Language (AAL) in contrast to Standard American English (SAE) are based largely on the region of Africa they originate from. The West African raters consider AAL speakers to be more "Egocentric" than SAE users. They also perceive these SAE speakers to be less "Patronizing," "Charming," "Proud," and "Dependable," features which can also be considered unfavorable and/or negative. The East African raters perceive AAL to be more "Egocentric," "Patronizing" and "Proud," in comparison to SAE variety, which, they perceive as more "Charming." They however also rated SAE users less favorably for being "Dependable" and "Sociable." The South African raters regard AAL users to be more "Egocentric," "Patronizing," yet relatively more "Charming" "Proud," and more "Dependable" than SAE speakers. They also perceive AAL speakers as more "Sociable," and "Humble."

Overall, WA raters identified AALF, AALM, SAEM and SAEF in order of preference while EA raters identified them in the following order: SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM. SA raters picked the four voices in the following order: SAEF, AALM, AALF and SAEM. There were no significant differences found in these attitudes toward AAL and/or SAE based on gender, age or the number of years the respondents had lived in the US. The findings helped to also prove the prediction in our main null hypothesis, that, based on African region of origin (i.e. West, East and South Africa), there would be variation in attitudes among the three sets of African immigrants in the USA toward AAL.

While the findings indicated that attitudes toward AAL and SAE based on African region was an important factor among the 24 African evaluators, it did not produce further evidence to suggest that linguistic backgrounds of the African raters affected these language attitude. It is however possible that their attitudes and ratings of both AAL and SAE were influenced by corresponding attitudes toward varieties of both indigenous African languages and European languages spoken among the 24 raters. This is possible given the fact that, French is spoken by a number of East and West African raters while Portuguese is spoken among selected South African raters, in our sample. All of the raters speak English along the other European languages.

These speakers of both French and Portuguese might also have had different attitudes toward both AAL and SAE, which are two English language varieties. Further research might help isolate attitudes of specific raters toward AAL or SAE, in terms of whether they speak these two European languages instead of English.

Based on the literature review in the study it was assumed however that, attitudes toward European languages including both SAE and to some extent AAL, will also be influenced by the fact that, historically these varieties have continued to enjoy high status against the low status of indigenous African languages (Adegjiba 1994) and languages spoken by people of African heritage that includes both indigenous African languages and AAL. We therefore assumed that attitudes of the raters would be impacted by these linguistic and language attitude experiences. We however, pre-screened the 24 African respondents in order to ensure they at least spoke an indigenous African language as their first language. In this manner we assumed that a European language would be their second or third language and attitudes toward both African languages and European will likely be contrastive. The findings however suggest that attitudes of these African raters toward both AAL and SAE are much more complex and calls for additional research.

Also, based on the variations in the ratings of both AAL and SAE by region of origin in Africa, the findings follow the argument that language is often used to share a socially and culturally shared communal worldview among Africans in both the Continent and in the Diaspora (Mbiti 1969; Asante 1988). In this case regional identification largely based on shared linguistic, socio-cultural and historical experiences as West Africans, East and South Africans is a plausible explanation for the resultant variation in language attitude by region.

This study has generated important findings based on some of its assumptions, research hypotheses and questions. However some of the assumptions in this study will need further study. They include the following: 1) African immigrants and AAL users will identify with one another based on language usage of AAL and/SAE depending on

existing attitudes they both hold toward one another; 2) Knowledgeable African immigrants will voluntarily enter into dialogue with AAL in solidarity to help confront negative global and historical circumstances, which have often been beyond their control; 3) African immigrants will relate to AAL and its speakers, in the attempt to learn useful skills needed to help them adapt, transform and improve their welfare and that of their families socially and economically in the USA.

It is important to continue to build on the results of this study in order to continue to effectively respond to issues of language and culture, both dynamic processes that continue to evolve and regulate and that often also respond to their users' needs. This especially important among marginalized people of African descent both in Africa and its Diaspora. It is also crucial that future language attitude research continue to investigate in what ways languages such as varieties of African languages and AAL as well as Languages of Wider Communication (LWC), etc. help to create self and collective efficacy. This is vital for social transformation by injecting faith and belief in one's ability individually and that of others (Njogu, 2006).

Further, among Africans, both in the Continent and in the Diaspora, languages also form the "centrality of a worldview based upon Africa as the essence of Afrocentricty, found in every compartment of postmodern history" and which as Diop (1978) shows in his research, "finds its place in the origins of civilizations" (Molefi Asante 1979, 9). Interpreted in this manner, the findings echo the notion that language helps communicate the spiritual and communal nature of the African people's worldview. This African worldview is embodied in the various African Centered languages and the socio-cultural discourses they embody, including African American Language (AAL). Mbiti

demonstrates in *African Religions & Philosophy* (1969) that the African worldview including language is inseparable from the African daily religious beliefs and socio-cultural practices. Consequently this future research might explore in what ways one's language and identity are intrinsically tied since language "is one of the most intimate expressions of identity, indeed 'the skin that we speak'" (Delpit and Dowdy 2002, 47). Similarly, such research might help answer the question of how language is often bound to power and privilege (Fairclough 2001) including the worldview or ideology we subscribe to.

The findings in the present study help sustain the notion that our attitudes and worldviews are all embodied in our languages and cultures. According to Ngúgì (1986) language and culture are inseparable:

> [A] specific culture is not transmitted through language in its universality, but in its particularity as the language of a specific community with a specific history. Written literature and orature are the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world contained in the culture it carries.
>
> Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other . . . Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world . . .. Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world. (15-16)

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH AND IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY

1. Further research should be conducted using a larger sample to help determine language attitudes toward AAL among African immigrants in the USA, based on whether they reside in a large US metropolis compared to living in a small town and whether there are significant differences among respondents who live in the US East, the Mid-west, and the West Coast. This research should also investigate

the nature and significance if any, of the differences in attitudes toward AAL based on whether respondents are college students or already in the workforce. It is recommended similar research be conducted in Africa using the same research approach and analytical models

2. Research is also needed with a larger sample of African immigrants in the US in order to exhaustively replicate the present study using similar data analyses such as Ratings of Means and Rankings, Correlation Coefficient and Factor Analysis available in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). This study should also utilize both the matched-guise technique and the semantic differential scale and should also test for any significant differences based on region, gender, age, and years spent in the USA, level of education, etc.
3. Future research should help to determine the language attitudes of both teachers in higher education and those of prospective employers in various US business establishments. This should help alleviate the stereotype that speaking non-standard varieties such as AAL and other minority languages is detrimental to one's career and that SAE is the only language needed to obtain gainful employment and more equity as both global and US citizens.
4. Additional research that includes surveys and evaluations should be incorporated in programs that include immigrants from around the world along with both AAL and SAE speakers that help train teachers across various school curricula in the US, preferably from elementary school through to college.

5. Research is also needed to help monitor language use among immigrants and speakers of both SAE and AAL, to help measure allocation of resources in advancing multilingualism in US schools.
6. Broaden language attitude studies to include writing, speaking and other forms of communication in order to examine how AAL's phonology, syntax, lexicon, discursive strategies, etc. impact attitudes of both non-users and users toward the variety.
7. Maximize the benefits of multidimensional research approaches (i.e. diversify methodology to include both qualitative (e.g. in-depth interviews) and quantitative (e.g. structured questionnaires) methodologies.
8. Research is needed to understand how language attitudes toward AAL among other varieties are mediated and impacted by various forms of emerging/evolving "new media" available on/off the www (i.e. *Chat rooms, You Tube, My Space, Cell Phone technology, iPods*, etc.)

The aim of this study was to determine the nature of attitudes of African immigrants in the US toward AAL. The findings of the study suggest there is immense potential for replicating them in future research. The study also lends itself to more extensive Pan-Africanist language attitude studies that are focused on various attitudes toward languages spoken in Africa and its Diaspora. Such an approach will be following the Pan African linguistic studies pioneered by Turner (1949), Beryl Bailey (1965) and Smitherman (1977, 1986, 2000, et al) among other scholars and activists. Because our area of study is in the US among African immigrants, we note that many language attitude studies have in the past mainly focused on European and very rarely and/or

positively on African languages. These studies have also been conducted separately either among Africans on the Continent or among both AAL users and nonusers in the USA. Major language attitude studies toward AAL among Africans on the Continent or as immigrants in the US are largely nonexistent. This study hopes to begin to fill this research gap.

Finally, the findings in this study are likely to help counter both the reproduction and maintenance of negative attitudes by Africans and African Americans toward one another. The results might also assist in helping to address negative academic discourses that have traditionally occupied themselves in conceptualizing AAL and African languages "within the framework of a linguistic deviant model."

Constructive language attitude studies should continue to be more methodologically sophisticated and to proactively re-assess research both in AAL and in African languages. This should be combined with consistent advocacy and meaningful scholarly contributions in the preservation of these languages. This type of scholarship and activism will also most likely help encourage both users and non-users of marginalized languages globally, to have favorable attitudes toward these languages as well as their own. It can also positively impact and add value toward more meaningful forms of language education and tolerance manifested in more peaceable citizenship and co-existence. This is critical given the multiple challenges posed by the numerous significant global socio-cultural, political and economic dynamics present within an increasingly multilingual world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE ELICITATION OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Instructions

All your responses will be treated confidentially. Thank you very much for participating in this survey.

Please note that this questionnaire is in **three parts**

Part I: Please listen to the twelve speakers that you will hear in the recordings. In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed. For example, consider the characteristic of friendliness:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Friendly _____ unfriendly

If you think the speaker sounds "extremely or very friendly," you would rate him/her a "1." If you think the speaker sounds "extremely or very unfriendly," you would rate the speaker a "7." If you think the speaker falls somewhere in between "extremely or very friendly" and "extremely or very unfriendly," you would use the numbers from 2 to 6 to indicate the degree of friendliness or unfriendliness that you think the speaker's voice represents.

After your rating of the voices, please try to identify each speaker's language pattern as African American Vernacular English or Standard English (Part II).

Finally, please provide information about yourself (Part III).

Voice # 1

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording. In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Confident---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Gentle---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 2

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Well-educated ---------- not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Responsible ---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 3

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Well-educated ---------- not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Responsible ---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 4

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated ---------- not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible ---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 5

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Well-educated ---------- not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Responsible ---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 6

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated ---------- not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible ---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 7

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 8

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 9

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 10

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident ---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle ---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 11

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Voice # 12

Please listen to the speaker that you will hear in the recording.
In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Well-educated----------not well educated

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Confident---------- not confident

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Responsible---------- not responsible

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Gentle---------- not gentle

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Friendly ---------- not friendly

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Polite ---------- not polite

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Leader-like ---------- not leader-like

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Patient ---------- not patient

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Proud ---------- not proud

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
High status ---------- low status

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Trustworthy ---------- not trustworthy

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Social ---------- not Social

Part II

Please match each voice with its owner. Indicate if you think the voice is that of a speaker of African American Language (AAL) or speaker of Standard American English Speaker (SAE).

Voice # 1 ----------
Voice # 2 ----------
Voice # 3 ----------
Voice # 4 ----------
Voice # 5 ----------
Voice # 6 ----------
Voice # 7 ----------
Voice # 8 ----------
Voice # 9 ----------
Voice # 10 ----------
Voice # 11 ----------
Voice # 12 ----------

Part III

Please provide the following information about yourself.

1. Gender (*please circle*)
    a) Male
    b) Female
2. Place of region (*please circle*)
    a) East Africa
    b) West Africa
    c) Central Africa
    d) Southern Africa
3. Age (*please circle*)
    a) 18-21
    b) 22-25
    c) 26-29
    d) 30-33
    e) 34-39
    f) 40 and over
4. Number of years you have lived in the U.S_____.
5. Which languages do you commonly speak? _____.
6. What is your occupation? _____.
7. If you're in college, what is your major? _____.
8. If a student, what is your status in college?
    a) Freshman
    b) Sophomore
    c) Junior
    d) Senior
    e) Graduate

Thank you very much for participating in this research.

Christopher Kuria Gìthiora
Department of English
201 Morrill Hall, Michigan State University
East Lansing, MI, 48824
Telephone: 517-355-7572
Personal Telephone: 517-353-0975
Email: githior1@msu.edu

APPENDIX B: Informed consent document

The purpose of this research is to find out about African immigrants' attitudes toward African American Language (AAL) in Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan. The study is being conducted by the researcher as part of the fulfillment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree in Language Studies and Sociolinguistics, in the Department of English at Michigan State University.

There are no known risks associated with participation in this study. Your participation is entirely voluntary. While you will not benefit from participating in this study, your participation in this study may contribute to the understanding of relationships between Africans and African Americans. You are being requested to listen carefully to the recorded voices and then complete the accompanying questionnaire to the best of your knowledge and ability. Please listen to the four speakers that you will hear in the recordings. In the space provided, rate the speaker on the seven-point scale that represents your evaluation of the speaker for the characteristic listed. You are welcome to ask any questions to the researcher at any time during and after the course of the survey. You can also withdraw from participating at any point during the survey without being penalized. You are also free to complete only those parts of the questionnaire you feel comfortable with. The time for participating in the study is thirty minutes or less.

All your responses will be treated confidentially and no personal names or addresses will be required and/or used in this study. Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. If you have any questions about this study, please contact the Responsible Project Investigator: Dr. Geneva Smitherman, University Distinguished Professor, English Department, Michigan State University, 221 Morrill Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824-1036, Telephone: 517-353-9252;Email smither4@msu.edu.

In addition, if you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact - anonymously, if you wish - Peter Vasilenko, Ph.D., Director of the Human Subject Protection Programs at Michigan State University, by phone: (517) 355-2180, fax: (517) 432-4503, email: irb@msu.edu, or regular mail: 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Thank you very much for participating in this study

Christopher Kuria Gìthiora
1634H Spartan Village, East Lansing, MI. 48823
Telephone: 517-353-0975
Email: githior1@msu.edu

I voluntarily agree to participate in the study.
Name_____
Signature_____
Today's Date_____

REFERENCES

Achebe, Chinua. *A Man of the People.* London: Heinemann, 1966.

---. *Home and exile.* Oxford & New York: Oxford UP, 2000.

Adegbija, E. "Language Issues in Post-Literacy and Basic Level Education: Three. Nigerian Experiences and Their Implications," L.A.U.D., Series B: Applied and Interdisciplinary Papers, No. 219: Duisburg, 1992.

---. *Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Multilingual Matters Ltd. Philadelphia: Clevedon, 1994.

---. "Language attitudes in West Africa. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* (141) 2000: 75–100.

Agheyisi, R. & Fishman, J. "Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches." *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 17 (5), 1970: 137-157.

Akere, F. "Language use and language attitudes in a Yoruba suburban town: A sociolinguistic response to the factors of traditionalism and modernity." *Anthropological Linguistics,* Vol. 24 (3) 1982: 344-362.

---. "Language Attitudes in West Africa." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* (141) 2001: 75-100.

Angongo, R. & Hancock, I. "English in Africa: Emerging Standards or Diverging Regionalisms?" In *English World-Wide: A Journal of Varieties of English 1* (1) 1980: 67-96.

Asante, Molefi Kete. *Afrocentricity*, rev. ed., Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1988.

---. *Kemet, Afrocentricity, and knowledge.* Africa World Press, 1990.

Bailey, Beryl L. "Toward a New Perspective in Negro English Dialectology." *American Speech*, Vol. 40 (1965): 171-177.

Bailey, L. & GÖrlach, M. (Eds.). *English as a World Language.* Ann Arbor: UM Press, 1982.

Baker, Collins. *Attitudes and Language.* Clevendon. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1992.

Bakhtin, M.M. *The dialogic imagination.* Austin: U of TX Press, 1981.

Baldwin, James. *If Black English Isn't a Language, Then Tell Me, What Is?* The *New York Times*, Op-Ed Section, July 29, 1979 <http://www.nytimes.com/books/98/03/29/specials/baldwin-english.html>

---. "My Quarrel with the English language." In *A Prophet Is Not Without Honor* . *Talking at the Gates: A Life of James* Baldwin by James Campbell. Review author[s]: Ekwueme Michael Thelwell. *Transition*, No. 58 (1992): 90-113. <http://www.jstor.org/view/00411191/dm994470/99p00592/0>

Bamgbose, Ayo, Ayo Banjo, and Andrew Thomas. Eds. *New Englishes: A West African Perspective.* Ibadan, Nigeria: Mosuro, c1995.

Baugh, John. *Black Street Speech.* Austin: UTX P, 1983.

Berger, Peter & Thomas Luckman. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.

Berry, Jack & Greenberg, Joseph H. "Sociolinguistic Research in Africa." *African Studies Bulletin,* Vol. 9 (2) Sept. 1966:1-9.

Bokamba, Eyamba G. "The Africanization of English." In Kachru, B.B. (Ed.). *The Other Tongue. English Across Cultures.* Urban Champaign: U of Illinois Press, 1981: 77-98.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power.* Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Ed. John B. Thompson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1991.

Bryman, Alan & Cramer, Duncan. Quantitative *Data Analysis with SPSS 12 and 13. A Guide for social scientists.* London and New York: Routledge Publishers, 2005.

Callan, Victor J. & Gallois, Cynthia. "Anglo-Australians' and Immigrants' Attitudes toward Language and Accent: A review of Experimental and Survey Research." *International Migration Review,* Vol. 1 (21) spring 1987: 48-69.

Ciapopo, J.T. and R.E. Petty. "Language variables, attitudes, and persuasion." *Attitudes Toward Language variation: Social and Applied Contexts.* Ed. Ryan, E.B. and Howard Giles. London: Edward Arnold, 1982. 189-207.

Delpit, L., & Dowdy, J.K. Eds. *The skin that we speak: Thoughts on language and culture in the classroom.* New York: The New Press, 2002.

Djite, Paulin G. "Shifts in linguistic identities in a global world." *Language Problems and Language Planning*, Vol. 30 (2006): 1–20.

Dillard, J.L. *Black English.* Random House, 1972.

Diop, Cheikh A. *Cultural Unity of Black Africa: The Domains of Patriarchy and of Matriarchy in Classical Antiquity.* Chicago: Third World Press, 1978.

Du Bois, W.E.B. *The souls of Black folk.* Introduction by John Edgar Wideman. New York: Vintage Books/The Library of Congress, 1990.

Dwyer, David J. *An Introduction to West African English.* African Studies Center, Michigan State U., 1969.

Edwards, Walter F. "Sociolinguistics behavior in a Detroit inner-city black neighborhood." *Language in Society,* Vol. 21 (1992): 98-115.

Fabrigar, L. R., Wegener, D. T., MacCallum, R. C., & Strahan, E. J. "Evaluating the use of exploratory factor analysis in psychological research." *Psychological Methods (4)*1999: 272-299.

Farb, Peter. "Linguistic Chauvinism." *Word Play: What Happens When People Talk.* New York: Vintage Books, 1973. 138-164.

Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power* (2nd Ed.). Harlow, England: Pearson Ed. Ltd, 2001.

Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth; pref. Jean-Paul Sartre.* Trans. Constance Farrington. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1967.

---. "The Negro and Language." In *Black skin, white masks.* Trans. Charles Lam Markmann. London: Pluto, 1986, c1967. 17-40.

Fishman, J. *Bilingualism in the barrio.* Bloomington: IN UP, 1971.

Giles, H. "Patterns of Evaluation in reaction to RP, South Welsh and Somerset accented speech." *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, Vol. 10 (1971): 280-281.

Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1993.

Githiora, Cege. "Sheng: peer language, Swahili dialect or emerging Creole?" *Journal of African studies*, Vol. 15 (2), (2002): 159-181.

Graff, David, William Labov, and Wendell A. Harris. "Testing listener reactions to Phonological markers of ethnic identity: A new method for sociolinguistic research." *Diversity and diachrony.* Ed. Sankoff, David. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1986. 45-58.

Green, Lisa J. *African American English: A Linguistic Introduction.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2002. 216-244.

Harper, Frederick D., Kisha Braithwaite, and Ricardo D. LaGrange. "Ebonics and Academic Achievement: The Role of the Counselor." *Journal of Negro Education,* Vol. 67 (Winter 1998): 25-33.

Hinnebusch, Thomas J. "Bantu" in J. Bender-Samuel (Ed.). *The Niger-Congo Languages.* Lanham, MD: UPenn Press, 1980.

Hymes, Dell H. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics,* Philadelphia, PA: U of PA P, 1974.

Ibrahim, A. '"Whassup, homeboy?" Joining the African Diaspora: Black English as a symbolic site of identification and language learning.' *Black Linguistics: Language, Society, and Politics in Africa and the Americas.* Ed. Sinfree Makoni, Geneva Smitherman, Arnetha F. Ball, Arthur K. Spears. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. 169-185.

Jackson, Jennifer V. & Mary E. Cothran. "BLACK VERSUS BLACK: The Relationships Among African American and African Caribbean Persons." *Journal of Black Studies,* Vol. 5 (May 2003): 576-604.

Karenga, Maulana. *Introduction to Black Studies,* 2nd ed., Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1993.

Labov, William. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City.* Washington, D.C.: CAL, 1966.

---. "The logic of non-standard English. *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular.* Philadelphia: UPenn. Press, 1972. 201-240.

Lambert, Wallace E. at al. "Evaluational reaction to spoken language." *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychological Psychology.* Vol. 60 (1960): 44-51.

---. and Otto Klineberg. *Children's views of foreign peoples; a cross-national study.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts [1966, c1967].

---. & Tucker, G. R. *The Bilingual Education of Children.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1972.

LeMay, Michael C. *U.S. immigration: a reference handbook.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, c2004.

Linguistics Society of America (LSA). *Resolution on the Oakland "Ebonics" Issue.* Unanimously Adopted at the Annual Meeting of Chicago, Illinois, January 3, 1997 <http://www.-personal.umich.edu/~jlawler/ebonics.lsa.html>

Lippi-Green, R. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Makalela, Leketi. "Language Harmonization in South Africa: Practices and Attitudes of University Students." Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2005.

Marable, William M. "African Nationalist: The Life of John Langalibalele Dube." PhD. Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1976.

Mazrui, Alamin M. "Linguistic dilemmas of Afrocentricty: The Diaspora experience. *Language and Ideology: Cognitive Theoretical Perspectives.* In *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory Series*. Ed. Rene Dirven, Bruce Hawkins and Esra Sandikclioglu. Philadelphia: John, 2001. 141-164.

Mazrui, Ali A. & Alamin M. Mazrui. *The Power of Babel: Language and governance in the African experience.* Oxford: James Currey, 1998.

Mbaabu, Ireri. *Language Policy in East Africa: A Dependency Theory Perspective.* Nairobi: Educational Research and Publications, 1996.

Mbiti, John S. *African Religions and Philosophy*. New York: Doubleday, 1969.

Mboya, Tom. *The Challenge of Nationhood: A Collection of speeches and writings by Tom Mboya.* Fwd. by Jomo Kenyatta, President of the Republic of Kenya. Postscript by Mrs. Pamela Mboya. New York & Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1970.

Milroy, Lesley. *Language and social networks.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1980.

Moag, Rodney F., Albert J. Schütz, and Paul Geraghty. Ed. Albert J. Schütz. *Fijian language studies: borrowing and pidginization.* Suva, Fiji: Fiji Museum, 1982, c1978.

Morgan, Marcelina. "The Africanness of Counter- Language among Afro-Americans." Ed. Mufwene, S.S. *Africanisms in Afro-Americans Language Varieties*. Athens, GA: UGA Press. 1993.

Mútonya, Múngai. "Attitudes of Educated Africans Toward Regional Varieties of English." Unpublished MA Thesis, Michigan State University, 1997.

Mwangi, Evan. *Guide to Encounters from Africa. New York*: Longhorn, 2002.

Ngúgì wa Thiong'o. *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1986.

---. *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms*. London: James Curry, 1993.

Niedzielski, Nancy. "Attitudes Toward Midwestern American English." In Niedzielski, Nancy & Dennis R. Preston. *Folk Linguistics.* Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000, c1999. 217.

Njogu, Kimani. "Language key tool in changing societies." *East African Standard online Edition,* Monday September 18, 2006: <http://www.eastandard.net/archives/cl/print/news.php?articleid=1143958347>

Norušis, M.J. *SPSS 13.0 guide to data analysis.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005.

Obama, Barack. *Dreams from my father: a story of race and inheritance.* New York: Times Books & Random House, c1995.

Odinga, Ajuma Oginga. *Not yet Uhuru: the autobiography of Oginga Odinga.* Fwd. Kwame Nkrumah. London: Heinemann, 1967.

Ogawa, David. "Small Group Stereotypes of Black Americans." *Journal of Black Studies,* Vol. 1 (1971): 273-81.

Preston, Dennis R. "Talking black and talking white. A study in variety imitation." *Old English and new: Papers in honor of Frederic G. Cassidy on the occasion of his 85th birthday.* Ed. Joan H. Hall, Nick Doane, and Dick Ringler. New York: Garland, 1992. 327- 55.

Ruether, Katie. "A Study of the Effects of Awareness of Black English on Language Attitudes." February 28, 2006 <http://www2.truman.edu/~mshapiro/Reuther.html>

Rickford, J. R and Penelope Eckert Eds. *Style and sociolinguistic variation.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2001.

---. *African American vernacular English: features, evolution, educational implications.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.

--- and Russell John Rickford. *Spoken soul: the story of Black English.* Fwd. by Geneva Smitherman. New York: Wiley, c2000.

Roberts, Sam. "More Africans Enter U.S. Than in Days of Slavery." *New York Times* (February 21, 2005). May 4, 2005 <http://www.amren.com/mtnews/archives/2005/02/more_africans_e.php>

Reidlinger. Trans. From French by Wade Baskin. Newy York: Philosophical Library, 1959.

Schmied, J. "Language use, attitudes, performance and sociolinguistic background: A Study of English in Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia." In *English World Wide.* 11 (2) 1990: 217-238.

Smitherman, Geneva. *Talkin and Testifyin: The Language of Black America.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.

---. *"Black English" and the Education of Black Children and Youth: Proceedings of the National Invitational Symposium of the King Decision*, 2-13 February. Ed. And Introduction by Smitherman, Geneva. Detroit: Center for Black Studies, Wayne State University, 1981.

Smitherman-Donaldson, Geneva. "Discriminatory discourse on Afro-American speech." *Discourse and discrimination.* Ed. Geneva-Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. van Dijk. Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1988.144-175.

---. "Discourse, Ethnicity, Culture and Racism" (in collaboration with Teun A. van Dijk, Stella Ting- Toomey and Denise Troutman). *Discourse as Social Interaction.* Ed. Teun A. van Dijk. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1997.144-180.

---. " 'The Chain Remain the Same': Communicative Practices in the Hip-Hop Nation," *Journal of Black Studies*, September 1997.

--. "From 'Hujambo to Molo': The Study of and interest in African Languages among African Americans." In K.K. Prah (Ed.), *Between Distinction and Extinction* (243-253). Johannesburg: Witwatersrand UP, 1998.

---. "African Americans, Ebonics and U.S. Language Planning-Policy." *Comparative Perspectives on Language and Literacy.* Ed. Leslie Limage. Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO, 1999. 51-64.

---. *Talkin The Talk: Language, Culture and Education in African America.* London: Routledge Publishers, 2000.

---. "A Commentary on Ebonics: From a Ghetto Lady Turned Critical Linguist." *Ebonics and Language Education.* Ed. Clinton Crawford. New York and London: Sankofa World Publishers, 2001. 214-234.

---. "Language and Democracy in the United States of America and South Africa."

Language and Institutions in Africa. Ed. Sinfree B. Makoni and Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu. Cape Town: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, 2001.

---. *Word from the Mother.* New York: Routledge, 2006.

Shuy, Roger W. & Ralph W. Fasold (Eds.). Language *Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP, 1973. 174-201.

Singler, John. *An introduction to Liberian English.* With J. Gbehwalahyee Mason ... [et al]. [East Lansing]: Peace Corps/ African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1981.

Taylor, Hanni U. *Standard English, Black English, and Biadelictalism. A Controversy.* New York: Peter Lang, 1989.

Taylor, Orlando L. "Teachers' attitudes toward black and nonstandard English as measured by the language attitude scale." *Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects.* Roger W. Shuy and Ralph W. Fasold (Eds.) 174-201. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP, 1973. 174-201.

Thiba, Tumelontle, M. "The Language Attitudes and Practices of High School Learners, Teachers and Parents in the Mafikeng and Vryburg Districts of the North West Province, South Africa." Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2000.

Trudgill, Peter. "Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change of the urban British English of Norwich." *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society.* Harmondsworth: Penguin (1983), 215-46.

Tucker, G. Richard and Wallace E. Lambert. "White and Negro Listeners' Reactions to Various American English dialects." In Fishman, Joshua A. (Ed.), *Advances in Sociology of Language*, Vol. II. The Hague and Paris: Mouton & Co. Publishers, 1972. 178-184.

Turner, L.D. *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect.* Chicago: U of Chicago P., 1949.

Van Sertima, Ivan. "My Gullah Brother and I: Exploration into a Community's Language and Myth through its Oral Tradition." *Black English: A Seminar.* Ed. Harrison, D.S. and Trabasso, T. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum Associates, 1976.

Walcott, Derek. 'A Far Cry from Africa' in *Collected Poems* 1948-1984. New York: The Noonday Press, 1986. 18.

---. *The Bounty.* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1997. 19.

Walker, Alice. *The Color Purple: A Novel.* New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982.

Walker, Alice. *The Color Purple.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1996, 59-60.

Williams, Robert L. Ed. *Ebonics: The True Language of Black Folks.* St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Black Studies, 1975.

Williamson-Ige, Dorothy K. "Approaches To Black Language Studies: A Cultural Critic." *Journal of Black Studies,* Vol. 15 (1) Sept. 1984:17-29.

Wilson, Clint et al. *Racism, Sexism and the Media: The Rise of Class Communication in Multicultural America.* Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003.

---. *Media Research: An Introduction (Sixth Ed.)* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 2000. 390-395.

Wolfram, Walt and Natalie Schilling-Estes. *American English: dialects and variation.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub. 2006.

Woods, David R. "Attitudes toward French, national languages, and mother tongues across age and sex in Congo." In Akinbiyi Akinlabi (Ed.). *Theoretical Approaches to African Linguistics.* Trenton, NJ: African World Press, 1995. 403-15.