MEANINGS OF GENDERED LEXICAL CONTRASTS IN KENYAN ENGLISH USAGE

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has never been submitted for

examination in any other university.

Signature ………   ……….. Date: 26 September 2022

Achieng E. Ongogo   C50/36112/2019

This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the candidate's

University Supervisors.

Signature **………**   **……**……Date: 27 Sep 2022

Prof. Alfred Buregeya

Signature ……...   ………….. Date: 27 September 2022

Dr. Zipporah Otiso

DEDICATION

To God,

To my late mum, Isabella, and my late dad, Peter

To my dear son, Adams

To the hardworking woman out there

To that very special friend

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER TWO: THE AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS AS A VARIABLE IN THEIR USE AND INTERPRETATION

CHAPTER THREE: THE RESPONDENTS' GENDER AS A VARIABLE IN THEIR USE AND INTERPRETATION

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FLT	Feminist Linguistics Theory
GLCP	Gendered Lexical Contrast Pairs
GLC	Gendered lexical contrasts
M	Male
F	Female
R	Respondents
KenE	Kenyan English
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language

ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate the extent of use of the nuances of eight gendered lexical contrast pairs in English usage in Kenya. The pairs in question are: *aunt* vs. *aunt, lady* vs. *gentleman*, *bachelor* vs. *spinster*, *boy* vs. *girl, father* vs. *mother, brother* vs. *sister*, *son vs. daughter* and *mister (Mr)* vs. *missus (Mrs).* Using the mixed method, the study addressed the twin questions of whether age and gender were a factor in the choice of meanings of the gendered lexical pairs under study. Answers to these questions came from 80 respondents' views on questionnaire items that asked them to indicate a yes, no or not sure against every proposed meaning of each pair; they also came from an analysis of authentic uses of the different pairs in newspapers, magazines, radio, television and face-to-face conversations between people. The results were presented on tables and analysed through percentages. The study did indeed find the gendered contrast pairs in question have been given, in English usage in Kenya, meaning that vary with age and gender. For example, in the pair *gentleman -lady,* while people across all age brackets used *gentleman* and *lady* for 'a well-dressed male or female' respectively, its use as 'a wealthy male or female' respectively, varied in people of various age groups. These meanings also varied with regards to whether the user was male or female. These results call for further research on this topic introducing other social variables like religion, level of education, and social class.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

This study is about the semantic asymmetries that can be observed in the usage of gendered lexical contrasts such as *man* and *woman*, *boy* and *girl*, *bachelor* and *spinster* and so on. Much as their dictionary meanings present such pairs as equivalent opposites, this is not the case in actual usage. Consider the following examples, taken from Kenyan newspapers and magazines:

1. *"[...] which **lady** in her right mind would say no to a proposal from such a **man**?"*
   (From *Parents Magazine,* Issue No. 278, August 2009, p. 47)

2. *"Those **men** have feet that are articulate of poetry, and their **ladies** got hips that sway with coordinated geometry,"*
   (From *The Nairobian* 4 March 2022, p. 5)

3. *"[...] various incidences where **ladies** were happily walking away from proposing **men** [...]"*
   (From *Daily Nation*, 29 January 2022, p. 19)

In examples (1-3), while we should have expected the term *woman* to be used in contrast with *man*, it is the term *lady* which was. The use of the word *woman* seems to have been avoided because it does not express the deserved respect and honour that the females expect. These examples show that the word *lady* has taken on the meaning of *woman,* where this latter was to have sexual connotation. However, though the word '*lady'* may come with more respect and honour attached to it than the term *woman*, the possessive reference to the mentioned females as the 'men's *ladies*' in 'a night-club,' as in (2) also gives it some sexual connotation, as in, they are respectable ladies but 'going out' with *men* (at night).

The phenomenon illustrated by those examples has been documented and discussed, for example, by Trudgill (2000, chapter 4 and 10) and by Wardhaugh (2010, chapter 13).

Trudgill (2000, p. 187) observed that much as the dictionary meanings of the pairs of lexical contrasts define them in a sense that they seem to be equally opposite, this is not true in many instances of the actual usage. He states:

> Even though such pairs appear to be equivalent opposites at first sight, a closer examination of their usage reveals that they are not equivalent. Moreover, it is highly probable that the ways in which their usage differs reflect, and presumably also reinforce, different attitudes in our society to men and women and to gender roles generally.

Further, Trudgill (p. 188) comments that

> The implications of the unequal usage have not escaped notice in the recent years, and increased awareness of the discriminatory nature of this differentiation seems currently to be leading to a linguistic change for some speakers. A number of speakers have begun to avoid using the word *girl* to refer to adult *women*. For some of them, however, it is not entirely clear what they should use instead. Some young women are happy to be referred to as *woman*, but some are not, and it is not always easy to know what reactions will be to the words '*woman* and *girl*.' This seems to be leading, as a way of avoiding this problem, to an increase in the usage of the word *lady* where formerly *girl* would have been more usual - and in a manner which shows that the sexual implications of *woman* have now been acquired by *lady*.

Lakoff (1973), as cited in Trudgill (2000, p.188), in her discussion of variation in sex differentiation, expressed the asymmetries in usage of the gender-based pairs. She observes that there are certain ways that the term *lady* has been used in a manner that does not make any sense to speakers even though the younger speakers would find it quite normal, for example, 'after ten years in goal Harry wanted to find a lady.' She comments that,

> Because language and society are so closely linked, it is possible, in some cases, to encourage social change by directing attention towards linguistic reflections of aspects of society that one would like to see altered. Then, it is hoped, language and society will both be changed.

Speaking of a possible linguistic change that may follow, Lakoff cites various instances where such change is evident especially in the usage of the terms '*lady,' 'girl,' 'woman,' 'boy' and 'gentleman.'* She found out that the term *man* was used much more times than the usage of *woman*. Again, that there was more usage of the terms '*lady'* and '*girl'* than '*gentleman'* and '*boy*.'

> Linguistic changes follow social changes very readily, but it is not always a simple matter to make them precede social changes. This sort of involvement by linguists in issues to do with language and gender is an example of the way in which many sociolinguists feel, quite rightly, that it is important for those of us who have some insight into the nature of the relationship between society and language to make those insights available to the wider community in cases where these insights can be of some value. An even more important contribution of this kind is illustrated by the way in which many linguists are currently becoming increasingly concerned about the loss of linguistic diversity from the world.

Wardhaugh (2010, p. 337), identified non-equivalent usages in gender-based distinctive pairs such as *a) actor vs. actress b) waiter vs. waitress c) master* vs. *mistress d) widow* vs. *widower, and e) bachelor* vs. *spinster.* According to [him], some of the distinctions are not only a reinforcement of entrenched patterns of usages but also semantic development. In the various examples that Wardhaugh used, he explains how the usages of these words have yielded different meanings, some of which have been discriminatorily applied, particularly in favour of the males. Consider the following examples from Wardhaugh (2010, p. 337):

4.   Master vs. mistress

Wardhaugh remarks that though the two terms are considered equivalent opposites, while a woman (say Joan), can be described as a man's (say Fred)'s *mistress,* the opposite is not possible that Fred can be described as 'Joan's *master* and still get an equivalent opposite meaning. In this example, the term *'mistress'* shows sexual connotation as opposed to the term *'master*.' So, while *'mistress'* would sound like 'a man's female sexual partner,' *'master'* on the other hand would be defined in a sense that it has it reflects some aspect of dominance that could equally be expressed either as one's boss or leader.

5. Widow vs. widower

While it is possible for one to say *'she is Fred's widow,'* one would not say, *'he is Sally's widower,'* and still achieve an equivalent opposite meaning. It is unusual in the patriarchal society to call a man *'a woman's widower'* because of acceptance of such societal instances as polygamy or a possibility of marriage after loss of a wife. According to Lakoff (1973), as cited in Wardhaugh (2010, p. 337), equivalent words which refer to men and women do not have similar associations in English.

Lakoff (1973), Trudgill (2000), and Wardhaugh (2010) have all shown how assumed equivalent opposites such as *widow* and *widower* are, in actual usage, not equivalent after all, in L1, or native-speaker English (American and British). It would be interesting to see if their observations could be made about the usage of the same gendered pairs of contrasts in a variety of English that has developed as a second language (L2) variety, which is the case of English in Kenya. Unfortunately, the present researcher was not able to find any literature addressing this topic in English usage in Africa or Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The examples given by Lakoff (1973), Trudgill (2000), and Wardhaugh (2010) show that the usage of a number of gendered lexical terms indicate that they are not exact equivalents. This seems to be the case in the usage of a number of gendered pairs in KenE too as has been shown by usage of terms such as *man* vs. *lady* and not the expected pair of *man* vs. *woman*. This is possibly because of the different meanings that are associated with these terms. The observations made by Lakoff, Trudgill and Wardhaugh do not however show the nuances of meanings that are associated with these 'non-equivalent' gendered pairs. This is the gap that the present study aims to address. It does this by answering two research questions: 1) Do the connotations of gendered contrasts such as *boy* and *girl* differ, in English usage in Kenya, depending on the age of the users of them? 2) Do they differ depending on whether the user is male or female?

1.3 Research objectives

The study was guided by the following research objectives:

1. To establish whether connotations of gendered contrasts differ, in English usage in Kenya, depending on the user's age.

2. To establish whether the connotations of gendered contrasts such as *son* and *daughter* differ, in English usage in Kenya, depending on whether the users of them is male or female.

1.4 Significance of the study

This study helps to explain how various opposite gendered terms are commonly used non-equivalently in various sociolinguistic contexts as a result of the meaning shift in their usages either for the purposes of avoidance of problems that may arise from different connotations that accompany certain terms, or because of need to either demean or empower a particular gender. The findings of this study will make great contribution to the extension of knowledge with regards to Language and gender, precisely, sex differentiation, and to the theoretical framework of the feminist linguistics. This study will therefore, benefit the speakers and teachers of KenE who use English as a second language because there will be a documentation of the various extents of usages of various linguistic pairs necessary for learning purposes.

1.5 Scope and limitations

This study explored sex differentiation within the broad topic of Language, Sex and Gender. It with a focus primarily on the analysis of nuances of meanings that bring about the semantic asymmetries in the usage of gender-based lexical contrasts, particularly in English usage in Kenya, where English is spoken as a second language variety (L2) (hereafter KenE). This study will however, neither dwell on the contexts of usage where the pairs of terms are equivalent opposites nor their dictionary meanings. Again, this study will not focus on other varieties of English in the world, such as British English and American English (hereafter AmE) where English is spoken as a first language (L1).

1.6 Literature review

This literature review is based on the works of a few scholars concerning sex differentiation within the topic of Language, Sex and Gender focusing on the asymmetries in the use of the gendered lexical contrast pairs (GLCP).

Lakoff (1975), on sex differentiation based her discussion particularly on the language of men and women as two distinct varieties of language. In her argument, she highlighted various aspects of English which are characteristic of women's speech with regards to two areas of language, that is, the lexicon and syntax. Her analysis was done with regards to terms like *lady vs. woman, master vs. mistress, widow vs. widower, and Mr. vs. Mrs.* In her discussion of these terms, Lakoff noted specifically the different usages of role terms that are not marked explicitly for sex, for instance, terms that relate to different professions. Her approach to this topic takes a feministic perspective with an exhaustive analysis of the language of women. She argued that the nature of the language of women is as a result of influence from the societal attitude towards a woman. For this reason, women are reflected as marginal with regards to the serious concerns of life that are subsequently pre-empted by the males. She adds that the way women are expected to speak and the speech about the women portrays marginality and powerlessness in them. In her work on liberal feminism, Lakoff (1975), while addressing issues of Language, Gender and Sexuality, mentioned the fact that the imbalances in the meanings of the gendered-contrast terms, and the use of masculine as the generic form and gendered agent nouns are all but an impact of the influence of liberal feminism, whose main objective as to do away with the most overt forms of English language use that was considered sexist.

However, though Lakoff did a lot of work on this broad topic of Language, Gender and Sexuality, she did not particularly do her research on the extent of such asymmetries of meaning as manifested in the usage of the gendered-contrast terminologies in various sociolinguistic contexts.

Coates (1989), on her contribution on Subculture and Conversational style in language use within the topic of language and gender, explored several variations that emerge in conversations between *men* and *men*, between *women* and *women*, between *women* and *men*, between *women friends*, and conversations between *boys* and *girls*. Coates, however, did not explore the sex difference with regards to the gender-based contrast pairs in various sociolinguistic contexts.

Trudgill (2000)'s work borrows a lot from various scholars. In his discussion, on the topic of Language, Sex and Humanity, he describes the binary division of the human race as a semantic universal which is lexicalized into equivalent pairs citing *man-woman*, *boy -girl* and *son-daughter* as examples. His major contribution on sex differentiation was to try to establish the variations that occur in the extent of lexicalization of such differences showing how they differ from one language to another. Trudgill, in an attempt to explain how this is expressed through languages, highlights three main issues concerning such variations: that, *(1),* while in some languages, there are specific terms used to distinguish gender, some languages do not. He cites English language as an example of such languages that do not have this kind of differentiation as opposed to languages like German, where there is lexicalization of some gender terms into male and females, and French, where kinship terms are marked for sex. *(2)* That some languages have 'gender marking' manifested in occupational descriptions, citing English as one of the languages where linguistic pairs such as '*actor' vs. actress,* have their one part marking the male gender while the other opposite part marking the female gender. However, even though the gender marking in such words is present in many English words, the same is mostly inapplicable in the daily usage as the terms marking the female gender are rarely used, and instead, the gender-neutral terms, which also mark the male gender, are actually used to refer to both males and females. *(3)* That sex differences can manifest grammatically through pronouns, articles, adjectives, and through verb forms. He views the differences of such usages as a reflection of different attitudes that a society holds, not only towards *men* and *women* but also to their gender roles, laying emphasis on the differences in the extents of lexicalization of such sex differences. Concerning the non-equivalent usage of the opposite gendered terms, Trudgill noticed that the actual usage of these terms reveal that the terms are not actually equivalents as they seem to be. He illustrates such non-equivalent using three pairs of terms such as, *lady* vs. *gentleman*, *man* vs. *'woman'* and *'boy* vs. *girl.'* Though Trudgill's evidence of the non-equivalent usage of the three gender-based opposite pairs, to the best of my knowledge, he did not provide the methodology he used in his research specifically on the asymmetries in meanings that arise from the actual usage of the pairs to warrant such conclusion. However, Trudgill did not expand his study to other Englishes, but limited his study to one variety of English, i.e., British English, which he explored as his first language variety.

Wardhaugh (2010) describes gender as an idea that we cannot avoid because it's basically part of a system in which the societies are ordered around us even though done differently according to every society. He sought to address three main concerns: firstly, whether or not there is a connection that lies between language structures and vocabularies, ways of using a language and the social roles that are held by the *men* and *women* who use that language. Secondly, to ascertain whether or not the Whorfian hypothesis can be confirmed in the way *men* and *women* use language, and thirdly, to ascertain whether or not the differences that exist in language use is only but a way different sexes relate to each other in a particular society, and so on. In his discussion, Wardhaugh, in his book, opts to use the term 'gender' which he sees as a social construct involving genetic, psychological and cultural differences that exist between males and females. He evades the use of the term 'sex' because of the fact that the term is largely biologically determined in nature. In his study, Wardhaugh explores the difference that exists in *men* and in *women* with regards to its biological aspect, in terms of the size, differences in rate of maturity, voice differences, weight, and ranges of verbal skills. But worth noting is the realization that these differences that exist between males and females may have been as a result of the practical difference in socialization. Actually, Wardhaugh posits that women live longer than men, and that, their longevity may be dependent on the roles they play in the society or the responsibilities they attend to. Wardhaugh's major contribution to Language and Gender was largely on the distinction between the speech of *men* and *women* claiming that the bias in usage of English that is reflected in the speech of *men* and *women* is because women's speech is determined by men, and that it is actually the speech of men that provides the norm which women speak. He also discussed the gender differences in terms of the phonological perspective and in terms of the morphological and vocabulary difference. In terms of vocabulary, Wardhaugh cites Lakoff (1973)'s claim that while women use some particular colour words and certain adjectives in their speech, men do not. It is on this note that he discusses the bias of usage in pairs such as, *lady* vs. *gentleman, woman* vs. *man, boy* vs. *girl*, *master* vs. *mistress*, *and widow* vs. *widower*. Wardhaugh emphasizes the non-equivalent usage of the gendered contrast pairs positing that in most cases, where some terms are used, the counterpart cannot be used, for instance, it is common for one to say, *the widow of John,* but not *the widower of Mary.*

It is therefore, worth noting that the few earlier works done concerning the non-equivalent usage of the gender-based opposite terms were based on British English usage and not

KenE. Their study was more useful to the native speakers of English as their (L1) and not speakers of English as a second variety of language (L2) who may have found it needful for varied reasons.

1.8 Theoretical framework: Feminist Linguistics

The current study adopts the Feminist Linguistics theoretical (FLT) framework according to Kortmann (2020, p. 228) which dates back to the 1960s and 1970s feminist movement that had taken place in the USA. Feminist Linguistics Theory, according to Kortmann, is a philosophy that emerges from the theory of feminism. This theory purposes to address the various social inequalities that relates to Language and Gender. Feminist linguistics appreciates the idea of 'context' in finding the various meanings of a terminology. This means that while applying this theory, the idea of semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics must play along. As Kortmann explains, the major concern of FLT is to tackle typical sociolinguistics and issues of pragmatics. According to him, because while in a particular situation a terminology may appear sexist or discriminatory, yet in another situation the same terminology may not, the idea of 'context' mustn't therefore be omitted. Worth noting is the fact that application of various terminologies is always changeable, and may vary with different variables such as the age of the user or referent, the social setting of the speaker, the sex/gender of the users, culture, attitude, religion, social class and level of education among others.

According to Kortmann, even though the idea of feminism is considered by many people to be solely concerned with the role of women in the society as the initiators and drivers of change in social networks and local speech communities, and that women are oriented towards the overtly standard variety, this theory addresses much broader perspective of inequality within the study of gender. These include the inequalities that occur in actual usage of the gender-based lexical contrast pairs, which is the basis of the present research. The theory also helps to explain how certain linguistic pairs express biasness and dominance of one gender over another, that is, in some situations, the meaning that one gender term has in certain contexts, does not come out as an equivalent opposite meaning of its counterpart as is expressed in another context or as is expressed in the dictionary and many grammar books. Such situations of inclinations towards one gender over another are expressed in such scenarios as where one gender is assigned some derogatory attribute while the other opposite gender does not. There are also situations where

one gender seems to have more or lesser gender roles in the society than the other gender. Layoff 2004 [1975], posits that this theory concerns itself with addressing the social inequalities present in the society, particularly between the male and female genders, which is a very important aspect of this study, considering the patterns of usage of some linguistic categories of gender. FLT also aims to investigate sex differentiation with regards to gender-specific language use with a focus on how variation interacts with gender, and identify the behaviours meant for *men* and those meant for *women*. It posits that speakers actively construct their gender through language.

Feminist Linguistics (FLT), therefore, not only explores sex differentiation involving the 'sexist' use of language, and the fact that many gender-based terms are structured in a way that does not favour *women*, but also the patterns of usage of the gender-based terms including the overt asymmetries in the semantics of some of the gendered pairs. However, even though one of the main aims of feminist linguistics theory was to make females visible in language in a society where they are treated as of considerably lower status than males, this has changed greatly today because of the many changes that have occurred in language. Today the status of women in the society has significantly moved higher hence gained inclusivity in language. Considering Lakoff (1975)'s discussion on feminist linguistics, with regards to liberal feminism on the early foundations of language, gender and sexuality research, she highlights how it has been partly successful in the twentieth and the twenty-first century in its mission to eradicate sexism that overtly manifested in the English language. Today we see how such instances of success are expressed, for example, where some gendered agent nouns that were once considered neutral yet existed in the *masculine* gendered form*, e.g., *chairman, mailman, policeman* and so on*, have today had their opposites gaining acceptance, both in spoken and in written form. An example is the use of '*chairlady'* which is slowly gaining acceptance as an equivalent opposite of *chairman, policewoman.* The goal of feminist linguistics has partly been achieved by adopting the use of neutral terms that do not prejudice on either gender among other therapies to discriminative usage of language that is reflected in various gendered contrast pairs. This study therefore found out that it is considerably evident that most of the lexicalized pairs do not portray an equal usage partly because of the effect of male domination over women or because of the difference in gender roles.

Kortmann, in his book suggests two basic assumptions of FLT:

- Firstly, he posits that women, and the language they use are a product of the male-dominated society,

- Secondly, language structure and language use do not only reflect male dominance, but also used to perpetuate this dominance.

It is worth nothing, that though the two assumptions appear to be different, one may overlap into another in this discussion. The present study attempts to explain how male dominance affects the meaning shift of various gender-based terminologies from one context to another resulting into the inequalities expressed in their usage. The two assumptions fit into the present study as follows:

1.8.1 Assumption one: *Women, and the language they use, are a product of the male-dominated society."*

It is notable that societal attitudes and gender roles between males and females may have an effect in the formation of the linguistic pairs which may have resulted to the discriminatory usages of gender-based pairs of terms in the patriarchal society. All sociocultural interactions assume that gender roles are an achieved *status* in a social environment hence influencing the social behaviour of a society. Such interactions are manifested, for example in various occupations. Kortmann gives a few examples of occupational terms which trigger bias gender associations such as *doctor, president, surgeon, lawyer* and so on. That people will automatically associate them with male gender as opposed to terms like *nurse, clerk, and secretary* and so on that people will associate with female gender. This is also similar to the KenE usage where terms like *driver*, *pilot, engineer* etc., trigger male associations as opposed to terms like *tailor, nurse,* which have female associations. However, an attempt to assign an expression of sex to a term that does not show any stereotypical sex could either cause stigma or not. For instance, today, adding the term *male* to the term *nurse* as in *male nurse* apparently, wouldn't cause any stigma and yet addition of the term *female or lady* to the term *doctor* as in *lady doctor* or *female doctor* would. Considering the gendered- contrast pair, *author* vs. *authoress*, even though the term *authoress* is marked for female gender, in the actual usage of English in Kenya, this term is hardly ever used for the supposed gender. In many cases, whether a book is written by a male or by a female, the term *author* is always used instead to refer to either gender even though it marks the male gender. The same inclination is expressed in such terms as *hunter vs. huntress* or

11

benefactor vs. benefactress. Another example is the shift towards the use of the lexical contrast *man* and not *gentleman* as an equivalent opposite of *lady*. The reason behind this non-equivalent usage in the Kenyan context is because of the derogatory senses that term *woman* yields in the male-dominated society. In Kenya, one doesn't need to add the term 'gentle' to the term *man* in order to qualify him to a powerful state because, the term *man* is already dominant regardless of the addition of the word '*gentle.'* Against this reference, females prefer to use, or be referred to by a term that would give them a sense of power and recognition in the patriarchal world, and make them feel somewhat equal to *men* in terms of value, respect and honour. In this case, the term *lady* becomes most preferable. Again, while there are instances where the term *woman* is assigned some sexual connotations, there are instances of usage where it is somehow demeaning, as in situations where women are made to feel like children, or treated by the society as children.

Consider the kind of societal stereotypical groupings where *women* are always clustered with *children* as in "*women and children*" in many cases, for example during war and calamities. Whenever rescue measures are put in place, *women* and *children* are always treated together, almost always treated as equals. This is also expressed in some churches where there are sections where separate seats are assigned for *men* and others for *women and children.* This kind of degradation makes it impossible for females in Kenya to accept the term *woman* as a respectful term of reference, hence, a linguistic shift to the *term* lady.

1.8.2 Assumption two: "*Language structure and language use do not only reflect male dominance, but also used to perpetuate this dominance.*"

The nature of the language of *women* clearly shows that their language is served to serve male dominance. To some extent, the language of women is considered weaker than the language of men is in Lakoff (1975)'s discussion on *language and women's place*. She posit that the consistency in the usage of what she calls 'persuasive and polite phrases' or structures such as *would you mind,* and so on, the use of hedging, which includes phrases like, '*kind of,'* and so on, and the use of tag questions like, *'isn't it?,* and so on by women during a conversation portrays women as less authoritative than men because such language would not be dominant in a conversation. Also, the consistent use of apologising phrases when asking for something, for instance*, I am sorry, but would I be able to ...* and so on, indicate that women are weak before a man. It shows that women are submissive and are likely not to give straight order as men would

12

do. The consistent use of verbs particularly the modal constructions including *ought, would, should* and *could* throughout their conversation allows them to be subservient towards men. Zimmerman and West (1975, p.123), in their Dominance model explains the motivation of men's dominance over women with a focus on the interaction of both men and women's speech; that because women's language lacks quality, men will deliberately use language in a certain way that undermines and oppress the women. One characteristic of men's language in conversation with women is their tendency to employ overlaps and interruptions to deliberately violate women's turns in conversation; that when women use delayed minimal responses in a conversation, then it is because they are interested and engaged in a conversation. But when men use the same, it is because of their lack of interest in the conversation. This makes women to feel undermined and that their conversation is pointless. Finally, Pamela Fishman (1980)'s conversational insecurity posits that, while women use tag questions in order to help enforce and create communication, men always use minimal responses to avoid and blunt the conversation. This causes women to feel that their conversations are probably not interesting or that they are unnecessary after all hence disengaging the conversation. Therefore, the structure of a woman's language is weaker and therefore allowing men's communication to dominate.

1.9 Methodology

1.9.1 The respondents

The sample of respondents was selected from the compiled list of 176 male and female attendants in a teachers' and students' seminar for Language teaching and learning conducted in Ololunga Sub-county, Narok County on 20th June 2022. The population was divided into 11 discussion groups that dealt with different topics. Each group was used to discuss the various meanings of the gendered contrast terms according to their English usage in Kenya. A questionnaire was later given to the whole population of 176 to test the frequency of usage of eight pairs of lexical contrast terms. Answers to these questions came from 176 respondents' views on questionnaire items that asked them to indicate a YES, NO or UNSURE against every proposed meaning of each pair; they also came from an analysis of authentic uses of the different pairs in newspapers, magazines, radio, television and face-to-face conversations between people. The questionnaires were then collected for analysis. First, they were sorted according to the four age groups: (16-25yrs), (26-35yrs), (36-45yrs) and (46 and above years) for the analysis and

testing of the first objective regarding age as a variable. The first 20 questionnaires in every age bracket were randomly picked counting 1 of every 2 questionnaires. This represented a total of 80 respondents. For the analysis of the second objective regarding gender as a variable, the questionnaires were regrouped and sorted according to gender. The first 40 males and 40 females were selected through the same process. Again, this represented a total of 80 respondents. The females were assigned odd numbers while the males were assigned even numbers for identification in further analysis. In line with the two research objectives, the sample of respondents in the present study was composed of the two sub-samples, to represent the two variables: age and gender.

1.9.2 Data collection procedure

Eight pairs of words were selected based on how one term was used as an opposite of another by users in different contexts. The following pairs were selected randomly: *aunt* vs. *aunt, lady* vs. *gentleman*, *bachelor* vs. *spinster*, *boy* vs. *girl, father* vs. *mother, brother* vs. *sister, son vs. daughter* and *mister (Mr.)* and missus (*Mrs.)*

1.9.3 Sources of the data and how these were collected

This study used authentic data from various sources such as books, newspapers and magazines, daily conversations on radio and TV, social media posts and comments, church sermons, teacher's staff meetings, and social interactions between travellers, people in the streets and at the market place, family gatherings, public and political functions. Each pair of opposite words that was used in the conversations was noted down on the basis of antonyms.

1.10 Data analysis procedure

The results of the research were presented on tables according to the first and the second objective of the research, that is, a) to establish whether the connotations of gendered contrasts differ in English usage in Kenya depending on the user's age, and 2) to establish whether the connotations of gendered contrasts differ, in English usage in Kenya, depending on whether the users of them is male or female. The total frequencies of usage of each lexical contrast term according to the specific meanings that KenE speakers assign to them were converted into percentage. For objective one, the percentage of each age category were analysed to determine

whether or not a specific meaning gains more or less usage comparably by younger or older speakers. For objective two, the percentage of each gender category were analysed to determine whether or not a specific meaning gains more or less usage comparably by females or male speakers in the context of English usage in Kenya.

1.11 Structure of the study

This study is organized into four chapters. Chapter one is the introduction, Chapter 2 presents and discusses the results related to the age variable, chapter 3 presents and discusses the results related to the gender variable, and chapter 4 is the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

THE AGE OF THE RESPONDENTS AS A VARIABLE IN THE USE AND INTERPRETATION IN KENE USAGE

This chapter reports and discusses the results related to the first objective of the study, namely to establish whether the meanings of the gendered contrasts under study differ in English usage in Kenya depending on the age of their users.

2.1 Presentation of the results

The results are first presented in charts/tables that indicate the various meanings of the lexical contrasts as used in various contexts in English usage in Kenya as opposed to their dictionary meanings. The various meanings discussed below were first proposed by the respondents in a group discussion before being subjected to acceptance of judgements by a sample of 80 participants comprising of both males and females of different ages. These respondents were given the codes R1 – R80, with R- representing 'Respondent.' They were categorized into four age groups: 16-25yrs, 26-35yrs, 36-45yrs and 46yrs and above. The results presented in this chapter concern the following contrasts: *uncle* vs. *aunt, gentleman* vs. *lady, bachelor* vs. *spinster, boy* vs. *girl, father* vs. *mother, brother* vs. *sister* and *son* vs. *daughter.* According to the dictionary, these linguistic pairs can be used as equivalent opposites, for example in the following instances: a) *uncle*, used to mean 'brother to your father,' and the lexical contrast *aunt* to mean 'sister to your father.' b) *uncle* means 'brother to your mother,' an *aunt* is used to mean 'sister to your mother.' However, as shown in the tables below, the pairs are also used in KenE usage with other meanings that suggest that the lexical contrasts are not always equivalent.

2.2 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

*2.2.1 Results of **uncle** vs. **aunt***

Table1: Meanings of *uncle* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *Uncle*		16-25yrs ((N=20))	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot N=80)	%
a.	Brother to your husband/wife	Yes	11	13.75%	9	11.25%	6	7.5%	3	3.75%	29	36.25%
		No	9	11.25%	11	13.75%	14	17.5%	17	21.25%	51	63.75%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	Your sister's husband	Yes	15	18.75%	13	16.25%	11	13.75%	0	0%	39	48.75%
		No	3	3.75%	5	6.25%	5	6.25%	20	25%	33	41.25%
		Not sure	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	4	5%	0	0%	8	10%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	Husband to your father's sister	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	Husband to your mother's sister	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	Any male stranger	Yes	8	10%	3	3.75%	5	6.25%	4	5%	22	25%
		No	11	13.75%	17	21.25%	14	17.5%	16	20%	56	72.5%
		Not sure	1	1.25%	0	0%	1	1.25%	0	0%	2	2.5%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	Male house-help	Yes	3	3.75%	1	1.25%	0	0%	0	0%	4	5%
		No	17	21.25%	19	23.75%	20	25%	20	25%	76	95%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

Table 2: Meanings of *aunt* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Meaning of a*unt*			16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Sister to your husband/wife	Yes	14	17.5%	13	16..25%	12	15%	11	13.75%	50	62.5%
		No	6	7.5%	7	8.75%	8	10%	9	11.25%	30	37.5%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
b.	Your brother's wife	Yes	15	18.75%	12	15%	6	7.5%	2	2.5%	35	43.75%
		No	4	5%	6	7.5%	11	13.75%	17	21.25%	38	47.5%
		Not sure	1	1.25%	2	2.5%	3	3.75%	1	1.25%	7	8.75%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
c.	Wife to your father's brother	Yes	11	13.75%	13	16.25%	10	12.5%	9	11.25%	43	53.75%
		No	6	7.5%	5	6.25%	9	11.25%	6	7.5%	26	32.5%
		Not sure	3	3.75%	2	2.5%	1	1.25%	5	6.25%	11	13.75%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
d.	wife to your mother's brother	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
e.	Any female stranger	Yes	20	25%	15	18.75%	18	22.5%	15	18.75%	68	85%
		No	0	0%	5	6.25%	2	2.5%	5	6.25%	12	15%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
f.	Female house-help	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	17	21.25%	13	16.25%	70	87.5%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	3	3.75%	7	8.75%	10	12.5%
		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%

*The Kenyan English meanings of **uncle** vs. **aunt/auntie***

a. More younger people than the older ones use 'brother to one's husband/wife' or 'sister to one's husband/wife' for *aunt/auntie*

In table 1, the trend of percentages of the results from the respondents in all the four age groups shows that the usage of *uncle* as 'brother to one's husband' reduced from the younger respondents to the older ones. This was also evident in the percentage usages of *aunt* for 'sister to one's husband.' It thus seems that in KenE usage, while there will be more usage of *aunt* (62.5%) than *uncle* (36.25%) according to this meaning, the older people are less likely to use the lexical contrast *uncle* or *aunt* for 'brother to one's husband' or 'sister to one's husband.'

b. More younger people than the old ones use *uncle* for 'husband to your sister' or *aunt/auntie* for 'wife to your brother'

From the results of the respondents in all the four age groups as shown in table 1, the trend of the percentages of the respondents with regards to the usage of *uncle* as 'husband to one's sister' reduced from the younger to the older age groups. This was also evident in the percentage usages of *aunt* for 'wife to one's brother.' Except for the small difference in the percentages of both *uncle* and *aunt* in this context, it seems that in KenE usage, while slightly more people (48.75%) will use *uncle* for 'husband to one's sister' than they will use 'wife to one's brother' for *aunt* (43.75%), it is also evident that more younger people than the older ones will use this pair according to this meaning.

c. While speakers across all age categories use *uncle* for 'husband of your father's sister,' age doesn't inform the usage of *aunt* for 'wife of your father's brother.'

As shown in table 1, 100% of respondents across all age groups used the lexical contrast *uncle* to refer to a 'husband to your father's sister.' However, looking at the usage of *aunt* for 'wife of one's father's brother' in table 2, though the findings indicate that the last two older age groups had low usage (12.5% and 11.25%) than the first age group (13.75%), it is evident that the second age category registered a higher usage (16.25%). This irregularity of the results does not clearly show whether or not the age of the respondents determined the usage of the lexical contrast *aunt*. It seems therefore, from the results that in KenE usage, while all respondents

across all age groups would use *uncle* for 'husband to one's father's sister,' age does not seem to determine the usage of *aunt* for 'wife of one's father's brother.'

d. **Speakers across all age categories use 'husband to your mother's sister' *uncle* and 'wife of your mother's brother for *aunt/auntie***

Tables 1 and 2, show equal usage of the pair *uncle* and *aunt* according to the meanings. 100% of the respondents across all age groups defined an *uncle* as 'husband to your mother's sister,' and an *aunt* as 'wife to your mother's brother.' This shows that in KenE usage, everyone, regardless of age, will use the lexical contrast *uncle* and *aunt* as 'Husband to your mother's sister' and 'wife of your mother's brother' respectively.

e. **Age doesn't inform the usage of *uncle* for 'any male stranger' and *aunt/auntie* for 'any female stranger'**

From the results in table 1, there is evidence of less usage of *uncle* for 'any male stranger,' by only 25% of respondents in all the age groups than *aunt* for 'any male stranger' by a larger 85% as shown in table 2. However, considering the irregular trend of percentage increase and decrease in the usage of *uncle* starting from the youngest to the oldest age group and *aunt,* starting from the youngest to the oldest age group it is not clear whether or not it was age that informed the differences in the percentages in the usage of this pair. The results therefore show that in KenE usage, while there will be more usage of the lexical contrast *aunt* for 'any female stranger' than *uncle* for 'any male stranger' age doesn't seem to be a determiner in the usage of the pair according to the given meaning.

f. **More younger speakers than the older ones use *uncle* for 'a male house-help' and *aunt/auntie* for 'female house-help'**

Table 1 shows that whereas only 5% of the respondents in all age groups used *uncle* for 'a male house-help,' a larger 87.5% of the respondents as shown in table 2, used *aunt* for 'a female house-help.' This shows that there was more usage of *aunt* in this context than *uncle.* It therefore seems that in KenE usage, while there will be more usage of *aunt* for 'a female house-help' than *uncle* for 'a male house-help,' the results show that more younger people than the older ones used the pair according to this meaning. According to a number of respondents, the responsibility

to undertake the various house chores, baby-sitting and other simple day-to-day errands in a home setting was initially solely in the hands of females, including mothers, aunts and daughters, and not males. This informed the common and frequent usage of *aunts* than *uncles* for females employed to do this kind of duty.

2.2.2 Results of *gentleman* vs. *lady*

Table 3: Meanings of *gentleman* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *gentleman*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Well-dressed male	Yes	20	25%	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	15	18.75%	**71**	**88.75%**
		No	0	0%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	5	6.25%	**9**	**11.25%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
b.	Polite male	Yes	18	22.5%	16	20%	16	20%	12	15%	**62**	**77.5%**
		No	2	2.5%	4	5%	4	5%	8	10%	**18**	**22.5%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
c.	Well-behaved male	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
d.	Wealthy male	Yes	12	15%	13	16.25%	11	13.75%	12	15%	**48**	**60%**
		No	8	10%	7	8.75%	9	11.25%	8	10%	**32**	**40%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
e.	Educated male	Yes	20	25%	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	**74**	**92.5%**
		No	0	0%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	**6**	**7.5%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
f.	Male working in an office	Yes	20	25%	19	23.25%	17	21.25%	20	25%	**76**	**95%**
		No	0	0%	1	1.25%	3	3.75%	0	0%	**4**	**5%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	2%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
g.	Unmarried male	Yes	10	12.75%	13	16.25%	8	10%	5	6.25%	**36**	**45%**
		No	5	6.25%	3	3.75%	6	7.5%	7	8.75%	**22**	**27.5%**
		Unsure	5	6.25%	4	5%	6	7.5%	8	10%	**22**	**27.5%**
			20	25%	20	2%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
h.	Married male	Yes	7	8.75%	8	10%	5	6.25%	7	8.75%	**27**	**33.75%**
		No	11	13.75%	8	10%	13	16.25%	10	12.75%	**42**	**52.5%**

			16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
		Unsure	2	2.5%	4	5%	2	2.5%	3	3.75%	**11**	**13.75**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
i.	Religious male	Yes	9	11.25%	10	12.75%	16	20%	18	22.5%	**53**	**66.25%**
		No	11	13.75%	10	12.75%	4	5%	2	2.5%	**27**	**33.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

Table 4: Meanings of *lady* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

	Meaning of *lady*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Well-dressed female	Yes	20	25%	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	15	18.75%	**71**	**88.75%**
		No	0	0%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	5	6.25%	**9**	**11.25%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	Polite man	Yes	11	13.75%	11	13.75%	15	18.75%	19	23.75%	**56**	**70%**
		No	9	11.25%	9	11.25%	5	6.25%	1	1.25%	**24**	**30%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	Well-behaved female	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	Wealthy female	Yes	10	12.75%	9	11.25%	9	11.25%	8	10%	**36**	**45%**
		No	10	12.75%	11	13.75%	11	13.75%	12	15%	**44**	**55%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	Educated female	Yes	20	25%	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	**74**	**92.5%**
		No	0	0%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	**6**	**7.5%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	Female working in an office	Yes	20	25%	19	23.75%	17	21.25%	20	25%	**76**	**95%**
		No	0	0%	1	1.25%	3	3.75%	0	0%	**4**	**5%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
g.	Unmarried female	Yes	10	12.5%	13	16.25%	8	10%	5	6.25%	**36**	**45%**

		No	5	6.25%	3	3.75%	6	7.5%	7	8.75%	**22**	**27.5%**
		Unsure	5	6.25%	4	5%	6	7.5%	8	10%	**22**	**27.5%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
h.	Married female	Yes	20	25%	15	18.75%	12	15%	15	18.75%	**62**	**77.5%**
		No	0	0%	4	5%	8	10%	4	5%	**16**	**20%**
		Unsure	0	0%	1	1.25%	0	0%	1	1.25%	**2**	**2.5%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
i.	Religious female	Yes	9	11.25%	10	12.5%	16	20%	18	22.5%	**53**	**66.25%**
		No	11	13.75%	10	12.5%	4	5%	2	2.5%	**27**	**33.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

a. **More younger speakers than older ones use *gentleman* for 'a well-dressed male' and *lady* for 'a well-dressed female' for *spinster***

In table 3, the trend of percentages of the results from the respondents in all the four age groups shows that the usage of *gentleman* for 'a well-dressed male' reduced from the younger respondents to the older ones. This was also evident in the percentage usages of *lady* for 'a well-dressed female' as shown in table 4. It thus seems that in KenE usage, while there will be equal usage of *gentleman* and *lady* (88.75%) according to this meaning, the older people are less likely to use the lexical contrast *gentleman* or *lady* for 'a well-dressed male' or 'a well-dressed female' respectively.

b. **While a *gentleman* for 'a polite male' is used by more younger speakers than older ones, a *lady* for 'a polite female' is used by more older speakers than younger ones**

While in table 3, the percentages of the respondents on the usage of a *gentleman* for 'a polite male' decreased from the younger to the older age groups, in table 4, the percentages of the respondents on the usage of a *lady* for 'a polite female' increased from the younger people to the older ones. It is then likely, that in KenE usage, while more younger people than older ones will use *gentleman* for 'a polite male,' more older respondents than younger ones will use *lady* for 'a polite male.' Otherwise, there was more usage of gentleman for 'a polite male' than *lady* for 'a polite female.' In this context of usage, many respondents argued that the meaning was purely based on the notion of gentility or politeness.

c. **Speakers across all age categories use 'a well-behaved male' for *gentleman* and 'a well-behaved female' for *lady***

The table shows that 100% of all respondents across all ages defined a *gentleman* and a *lady* as either 'a well-behaved male' or 'a well-behaved female' respectively. As argued by many respondents, 'good behaviour' generally encompasses a bit of every other meaning proposed here. Therefore, as seen above, the pair fits as equivalent opposites in this context of meaning as defined by respondents of all the various age categories without bias in either younger or older

respondents. This shows that in the KenE usage, speakers of all age categories will define the pair of lexical gendered contrasts according to this meaning.

To further support this meaning, an excerpt from the Daily Nation is given below,

6. *"Kibaki, the gentleman of politics"*

(From the Daily Nation, 30 March, 2022, p.7)

All respondents across all age categories equally described the late Kenyan president as the *gentleman* of politics because of the respect he expressed in handing political matters.

d. While age doesn't seem to inform the usage of *gentleman* for 'a wealthy male,' age informs the usage of *lady* for 'a wealthy female'

Looking at the results in table 3, there doesn't seem to be an indication that age played a role in the usage of *gentleman* for 'a wealthy male' as indicated by the percentages of respondents. This is however different in table 4 where the reduction of percentages from the younger age groups to the older ones seems to indicate that more of the older people than the younger ones used *lady* for 'a wealthy female.' Therefore, in KenE usage, though it is not clear if age informs the usage of *gentleman* for 'a wealthy male,' age seems to have informed the usage of *lady* for 'a wealthy female.' The results also show that in KenE usage, there will be more usage of *gentleman* for a 'rich male' than there will be for *lady* for a 'rich female.' With regards to possession of wealth, according to many respondents, a number of respondents across all ages said that being a *gentleman* or *lady* should not be determined by how much wealth one possesses because in most cases, according to respondent R4, wealth makes more people arrogant than humble.

e. More younger people than the older ones used *gentleman* for 'an educated male' and *lady* for 'educated female'

As observed, there was an equivalent usage of the pair *gentleman* vs. *lady* by respondents across all ages as represented by 92.5% for each contrast term. However, though the majority of the respondents used *gentleman* and *lady* for 'an educated male' or 'an educated female' respectively, the reduction in percentages from the younger age groups to the older ones indicate that age factor played a role in the usage. This shows that in the KenE usage, more of the younger people than the older ones used the pair according to this meaning.

f. Age doesn't inform the usage of *gentleman* for 'a male doing office work' and *lady* for 'a female doing office work'

As observed, there was an equivalent usage of the pair by respondents across all ages as represented by 95% for each lexical contrast term. However, though the majority of the respondents used *gentleman* and *lady* for 'a male doing office work' or 'a female doing office work' respectively, the pattern of the percentages from the younger age groups to the older ones doesn't seem to indicate that age factor played a role in the usage. This shows that in the actual KenE usage, it is not clear whether or not age plays a role in the usage of this pair according to this meaning. The 5% of respondents who rejected the usage argued against the assumption that working in an office automatically qualifies a person to acquire such reference, and that not all working in the office have qualities that may make them appear honourable and respected.

g. Age doesn't inform the usage of *gentleman* for 'an unmarried male' and *lady* for 'unmarried female'

As observed in table 3 and 4, though only a minority, as represented by only a total of 45% of the respondents in each lexical contrast used the pair according to this meaning, the results show equivalent usage of the pair by respondents across all ages. However, looking at the pattern of usage across the age groups, as shown by the percentages, it doesn't seem that age factor did play a role in the usage of the pair according to this meaning. This shows that in the actual KenE usage, it is not clear whether or not age plays a role in the usage of this pair according to this meaning.

h. Age doesn't inform the usage of *gentleman* for 'a married male' and *lady* for 'a married female'

The results on the table show non-equivalent usage of the pair as either 'a married male' or 'a married female.' That while only 33.75% of respondents used *gentleman* as a 'married male,' a larger 77.5% of the respondents used *lady* as a 'married female.' This means that the lexical contrast *lady* acquires this meaning more than the lexical contrast *gentleman*. It was however not clear from the results of usage of the pair whether age is a factor in the usage of the lexical contrasts or not, because almost the same number of both younger and older respondents used this pair in this context.

27

i. **More older people than the younger ones used *gentleman* for 'a religious male' and *lady* for 'a religious female'**

Though a total of 66.25% of respondents across all age categories used *gentleman* and *lady* as a 'religious male' or 'a religious female' indicating an equivalent usage of the pair, the results in both table 3 and 4 shows that there was a percentage decrease from the younger age groups to the older ones. This shows that in the context of KenE usage, more of the older people than the younger ones will use *gentleman* for 'a religious male' and *lady* for 'a religious female.'

The non-equivalent usage of this pair *gentleman* and *lady,* is also discussed by Trudgill (2000, p. 187) where he establishes that even though the word *lady* is seen as the opposite of the word *gentleman*, this is not always the case because of instances such as where the word *lady* is equated to *man*, as in 'salesman' vs. 'saleslady' or 'men's wear' vs. 'ladies' wear' as in the case of Britain. In (p.188), Trudgill cites Lakoff's (1973) argument that the word *lady* is used as euphemism for *woman* because of some negative connotations held by some people to accompany the lexical contrast *woman.* Citing examples such as,

7. "*she's only thirteen but she is already a **woman**,"* and
8. "*she is only thirteen but she's already a **lady**,"*

In her argument, such sexual connotations as seen in these sentences, may have arisen as a result of the 'low status of women in the male-dominated society.' This is why referring to any female person as a *woman* may sometimes be treated as both offensive and impolite.

Considering data (1), (2) and (3) as earlier cited in chapter 1, though the dictionary meaning and usage of *lady* has always demonstrated that it is an equivalent opposite of *gentleman,* the data above demonstrates that they are apparently not equivalent in actual English usage in Kenya, as in every instance where the lexical contrast *'lady'* or *'ladies'* has been used, it is equated to *'man'* and not '*gentleman.'*

This is also similar to the sentiment in Trudgill (2000, p. 187) that says:

> The connotations of the word *lady*, for example, are rather different from those of the word *gentleman*, and as far as usage is concerned, *lady* is in many respects actually an equivalent to *man*.

Consider the following examples from Kenyan Newspapers and magazines as previously shown in data 1, 2 and 3:

Data 1: *"[…] which **lady** in her right mind would say no to a proposal from such a **man**?"*

(From *Parents Magazine,* Issue No. 278, August 2009, p.47)

Data 2*: "Those **men** have feet that are articulate of poetry, and their **ladies** got hips that sway with coordinated geometry,"*

(From *The Nairobian* 4 March 2022, p. 5)

Data 3: "[…] various incidences where ***ladies*** were happily walking away from proposing ***men***,"

(From *Daily Nation*, 29 January 2022, p. 19)

Here are more examples from the Daily Nation Newspaper:

9. *"I came across this quote '[…].' I think this quote is very necessary for both **ladies** and **men**."*
10. *"It should be hung on […] so that the **ladies** should read it and remember it whenever they are about to stress **men**."*
11. *So, **ladies**, don't stress your **men**, give them a peace of mind […]"*
    (Data 5-7, From *The Nairobian* Newspaper, 25 -31 March, 2022)
12. *"I interacted with a **lady** who was bitter and […] about marrying a **man** who lured her into marriage after form 4."*

(From the *Daily Nation*, 4 March 2022, p. 22)

This shows that in the KenE usage, the lexical contrast *lady* is more equivalent to *man* than it is to *gentleman.*

2.2.3 Results of *bachelor vs. spinster*

Table 5: Meanings of *bachelor* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *bachelor*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	An unmarried male	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**
b.	A male divorcee	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**
c.	A widower	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**
d.	A man living alone	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**

Table 6: Meanings of *spinster* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *spinster*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	An unmarried female	Yes	3	3.75%	4	5%	2	2.5%	5	6.25%	14	17.5%
		No	17	21.25%	16	20%	18	22.5%	15	18.75%	66	82.5%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	80	100
b.	A female divorcee	Yes	13	16.25%	9	11.25%	7	8.75%	5	6.25%	34	42.5%
		No	4	5%	7	8.75%	9	11.25%	13	16.25%	33	41.25%
		Unsure	3	3.75%	4	5%	4	5%	2	2.5%	13	16.25%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**
c.	Widow	Yes	0	0%	3	3.75%	4	5%	3	3.75%	10	12.5%
		No	19	23.75%	16	20%	14	17.5%	17	21.25%	66	82.5%
		Unsure	1	1.25%	1	1.25%	2	2.5%	0	0%	4	5%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**
d.	A woman living alone	Yes	3	3.75%	2	2.5%	4	5%	2	2.5%	11	13.75%
		No	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	11	13.75%	8	10%	47	58.75%
		Unsure	3	3.75%	4	5%	5	6.25%	10	12.5%	22	27.5%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100**

According to the respondents, in the English usage in Kenya, a *bachelor* and *spinster* are generally 'any male or female living a free life without a partner.' As seen in table 5 and 6 above, all respondents would refer to any male regardless of his age, who for some reason lives alone as a *bachelor*, and that, when such male advances in age, he will be referred to as a 'senior *bachelor*.' However, this was different in the usage of the lexical contrast *spinster* as is discussed below:

a. **Age does not inform the use of *bachelor* for an 'unmarried male' and *spinster* for an 'unmarried female'**

While 100% of the respondents across all the age groups would refer to an 'unmarried male' as *bachelor*, only 17.5% of the respondents referred to an 'unmarried female' for a *spinster*. However, 82.5% rejected the usage of *spinster* for an 'unmarried female.' This means that while in KenE usage, many people will refer to an 'unmarried male' as *bachelor*, less people will refer to an 'unmarried female' as *spinster*. According to the respondents across all ages, instead of *spinster*, they would use 'single lady' instead. However, looking at the pattern of the percentages, these results do not reflect any influence of age on the usage of this pair according to this context.

b. **Age does not inform the use of *bachelor* for a 'male divorcee' and *spinster* for a 'female divorcee'**

While 100% of the respondents across all the age groups referred to a 'male divorcee' as *bachelor*, only 42.5% of respondents of the four age groups referred to a 'female divorcee' as a '*spinster*.' However, 41.25% rejected the usage of *spinster* as a 'female divorcee' as 16.25% in the respective groups indicated that they were not sure of this meaning. There was no evidence that age contributed to the choice or usage of this pair in this context.

c. **Speakers across all age categories use *bachelor for* a 'widower' and *spinster* for 'widow'**

While 100% of the respondents across all the age groups referred to a 'widower' as *bachelor*, only 12.5% of respondents of the four age groups used *spinster* for 'a widow.' However, 82.5%

rejected this usage of *spinster* and 5% in the four age groups indicated that they were not sure of this meaning. Even though only a few people as represented by 5% of respondents would use *spinster* in this context, no evidence indicates that in the KenE usage age would determine the usage of a particular lexical contrast term.

d. Speakers across all age categories use *bachelor* for a 'man living alone' and *spinster* for a 'woman living alone'

While 100% of the respondents across all the age groups referred to a 'man living away from his family' for reasons such as work as *bachelor,* 13.75% of respondents of in the four age groups used *spinster* as a 'female living away from his family.' From these results, there seems to be no evidence that age contributes to the choice or usage of this pair in this context. As gathered from the respondents, *spinster* is a lexical contrast rarely used by many people, and instead, people have adopted the usage of the phrase 'single woman/lady' for any female living alone, and not under any restrictions of a partner.

Again, while we may assume that because any single man is automatically a *bachelor,* the same is often not true that its opposite will always be *spinster* in actual usage of Kenyan English. This is seen in a number of instances such those in in data 13-17 below, as found in *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7, where the term *bachelor* has been contrasted to other lexical terms like *lady/ladies* and *woman.*

Considering the data below,

13. *"At bridal shower, **women** are told to […] while **bachelors**, in their party, are told to […].*

While it is expected that because the term *bachelors,* has been used for 'unmarried men' in the context of a bridal shower, perhaps the term *spinsters,* should have been used for 'unmarried women,' as the opposite of *bachelor*, instead, the term *spinsters,* has been avoided and replaced by *women.* This means that in this context, the intended meaning given to the term *bachelor* could have only been appropriate if equated to *woman.* The same is observed in data 14 and 15, and in 17, the term *ladies,* has been used instead of *spinster* according to the intended meaning in that context.

Regarding the discussions on the connotations of a *bachelor*, many respondents regarded *'bachelorhood'* derogatorily. According to respondent R28, this is an individual who fears commitment and responsibility and is therefore, seen as a time-waster and irresponsible. This is supported by the data below also as found in *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7 portraying the derogatory senses of *bachelor:*

14. *"Be a **bachelor**; but stop wasting **women's** time."*
15. *"As much as [...] claim to remain **bachelors**, they have a string of **women** who they change like clothes."*
16. *"**Bachelors** have become deadbeat fathers."*
17. *"[...] remain **bachelors** but keep away from innocent **ladies** I they think they can do without them."*

It was however realized that attitude, though not an independent variable in this research played a role in the usage of the pair *bachelor* vs. *spinster.* From the data below, as extracted from the respondents R18 and R26, collected in 20 June 2022, it is evident that the term *bachelor* is given more derogatory senses than its lexical opposite *spinster.*

18. *"[...] living like a **bachelor**"*
19. *"I live on a **bachelor's** diet."*

Many respondents' argument was that while (18) meant a 'sketchy life,' (19) meant a 'sketchy diet.' This sounded rather biased to the males with regards to the societal gender roles where some responsibilities like cooking and organizing a man's life is solely in the hands of a woman such that when the man (*bachelor*) is left alone, then he can only be 'sketchy' because he is managing stuffs that only a woman should. These kinds of assumptions give the lexical contrast *bachelor* some negative connotations that a *spinster* does not possess.

The non-equivalent usage of the pair *bachelor* and *spinster* is clear in the data above, where the lexical contrast *bachelor* is sometimes equated to *women,* instead of *spinster* in a sense that gives it some sexual connotation as in (14) and (15), and in (17) where *women* is replaced with *ladies*. In (14) and (15), a *bachelor* portrays some aspect of irresponsibility with regards to how they treat the *women*. In (16), though a *bachelor* is commonly defined in a sense that he is not a married man and therefore not a father, here, he is a father but an irresponsible one referred to as 'deadbeat.' This data supports the reference by respondents R6 and R22 that we also have 'married *bachelors*,' which refers to men who are perfect fathers while at home with the family,

but as long as they are away from the family, they act 'single.' (15) shows an aspect of recklessness on *bachelors* where they are said to possess a string of women whom they change like clothes. This is why (14) and (15) gives a clear warning against *bachelors* abusing women.

2.2.4   Results of *boy* vs. *girl*

Table 7: Meanings of *boy* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *boy*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	A male student	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
b.	A male lover	Yes	12	15%	11	13.75%	10	12.5%	8	10%	**41**	**51.25%**
		No	8	10%	9	11.25%	10	12.5%	12	15%	**39**	**48.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
c.	An unmarried male	Yes	13	16.25%	11	13.75%	8	10%	8	10%	**40**	**50%**
		No	7	8.75%	9	11.25%	12	15%	12	15%	**40**	**50%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
d.	Man	Yes	13	16.25%	11	13.75%	8	10%	8	10%	**40**	**50%**
		No	7	8.75%	9	11.25%	12	15%	12	15%	**40**	**50%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
e.	An uncircumcised male	Yes	11	13.75%	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	16	20%	**55**	**68.75%**
		No	8	10%	4	5%	3	3.75%	4	5%	**19**	**23.75%**
		Unsure	1	1.25	2	2.5%	3	3.75%	0	0%	**6**	**7.5%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
f.	A son	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
g.	A male worker	Yes	13	16.25%	15	18.75%	15	18.75%	16	20%	**59**	**73.75%**
		No	7	8.75%	5	6.25%	5	6.25%	4	5%	**21**	**26.25%**

			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
h.	Any strange young-looking male		Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
			No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**

Table 8: Meanings of *girl* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *girl*			16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+ (N=20)	%	Tot (N=20)	%
a.	A female student		Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
			No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
b.	A female lover		Yes	20	25%	17	21.25%	13	16.25%	10	12.5%	60	75%
			No	0	0%	3	3.75%	7	8.75%	10	12.5%	20	25%
			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
c.	An unmarried female		Yes	20	25%	19	23.75%	18	22.5%	15	18.75%	**72**	90%
			No	0	0%	1	1.25%	2	2.5%	5	6.25%	**8**	10%
			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0%**	0%
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
d.	Woman		Yes	7	8.75%	6	7.5%	6	7.5%	6	7.5%	**23**	28.75%
			No	13	16.25%	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	**57**	71.25%
			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	0%
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
e.	An uncircumcised female		Yes	3	3.75%	5	6.25%	5	6.25%	6	7.5%	**19**	23.75%
			No	13	16.25%	12	15%	12	15%	9	11.25%	**46**	57.5%
			Unsure	4	5%	3	3.75%	3	3.75%	5	6.25%	**15**	18.75%
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
f.	A daughter		Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	100%
			No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	0%
			Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	0%
				20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25**	**80**	**100%**
g.	A female casual		Yes	15	18.75%	15	18.75%	17	21.25%	17	21.25%	**64**	80%

	worker	No	5	6.25%	5	6.25%	3	3.75%	3	3.75%	**16**	20%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
h.	Any strange young-looking male	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	0%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

*The Kenyan English meanings of **boy** vs. **girl***

a. Speakers across all age categories use *boy* for a 'male student' and *girl* for a 'female student'

Tables 7 and 8, show an equivalent usage of the lexical contrasts according to this context of meaning as represented by 100% of respondents in each case. This means that that all the respondents across all age categories would use the pair *boy* and *girl* for a 'school-going male' and a 'school-going female' respectively. It thus seems that in the KenE usage, age does not play a role in the choice of pair according to this meaning.

b. More younger speakers than older ones use *boy* for a 'male lover' and 'female lover'

According to the results on table 7, whereas 51.25% used *boy* as a 'male lover,' in table 8, a larger 75% of total respondents used *girl* for 'a female lover.' This indicates that in the KenE usage, while it is likely that more speakers will use the lexical term *girl* for a 'female lover' than they will use its opposite *boy* as a 'male lover,' it is also evident from the percentages that more younger people than the old ones will use this pair according to this meaning.

c. More younger speakers than older ones use *boy* for 'unmarried male' and *girl* for an 'unmarried female'

According to the findings, whereas 50% of the total respondents across all age groups used *boy* for an 'unmarried male,' 90% of the respondents used *girl* as an 'unmarried female.' The results indicate that in the KenE usage, it not only seems that more speakers would define *girl* as an 'unmarried female' than they would define *boy* as an 'unmarried male,' but also that more younger speakers than the older ones are likely to define the pair in this context.

Many respondents argued that love relationships grow to age with age, and as one grows older, the more likely they will slowly abandon the lexical contrasts that portray one as young. In the discussion, more of the older respondents suggested the usage of the contrast 'my man' or 'my woman' as opposed to '*my boy'* or '*my girl'* in their love relationships. According to a number of respondents, marriage alone does not qualify one to stop being either *boy* or *girl*

because some people may not marry till old age. Such people cannot continue to be *boy* or *girl* at that advanced age. Respondent R18, in his comment, quotes:

20. *You are such a boy!*

21. *You are such a girl!*

According to the respondent, these two statements cannot mean the same thing when used for much older people. That while (17) would portray a male adult as a 'child' or an 'immature reasoning male,' data (18) would portray the female adult as 'beautiful and young-looking.' Therefore, whereas for grown females, regardless of their age, would find the second statement pleasing, for the males, being referred to as a *boy* would be treated as impolite. Respondent R26 further said that *boy* can be used as euphemism for 'immaturity.' While the majority of respondents, older respondents, especially above 25yrs old defined a *boy* as a young male human of averagely 20 to 23years and below, more younger respondents than the older ones stated that the age of an individual who should be called *boy* should go lower than that, to between 0 to 15yrs or 18yrs who still portrays some aspect of immaturity and innocence of a child.

According to the majority, two main factors contributed to the high percentage of usage, of 90% on the meaning of *girl* as an 'unmarried female,' these were: the societal expectation of a female to be married once she attains a particular age without which, she remains a *girl* which to some extent doesn't sound polite when used by people below her age. Secondly, there is preference of such lexical terms by females because of a feeling of being young despite her advanced age. This is why, regardless of her marital status, a female may still find it okay to be referred to as *girl.* This effect is however, more on the female way of reference than there is to the males. That while more unmarried females would be called *girl,* less unmarried males will be called *boys.*

d. More younger speakers than older ones use *boy* for 'man' and *girl* for 'a woman'

According to table 7 and 8, whereas 50% used *boy* for a 'man,' 28.75% used *girl* for a 'woman.' This indicates that there was a non-equivalent usage of the pair as more respondents defined *boy* as 'a man' than they defined *girl* as 'woman.' Seemingly, in the KenE usage, not only would more younger speakers than the older ones define *boy* and *girl* as 'man' and 'woman' respectively, but also that *boy* will gain more usage as 'man' than *girl* will be used as 'woman.'

Trudgill (2000, p. 188) says:

> […] girl and boy are also by no means precise equivalents. Boy refers of course to a young male person, but many people feel uncomfortable about using it to refer to anyone older than early teenage, and it is certainly not in very wide use for individuals aged over about twenty. On the other hand, girl can be used for women considerably older than this, and it is not unusual to hear of a group of people that it consisted of, say, five men and six girls. It has been, in other words, more usual to use the more childlike word for women than for men.

e. More older speakers than younger ones use *boy* for an 'uncircumcised male' and *girl* for an 'uncircumcised female'

While in table 7, a total of 68.75% of the respondents across all the four age categories used *boy* for an 'uncircumcised male,' in table 8, only 23.75% of respondents across all ages used *boy* for an 'uncircumcised female.' This shows that seemingly, in the KenE usage, more respondents from the older categories than the younger ones will use *boy* and *girl* in this context. It is also worth noting, as observed in the two tables, that according to this meaning, the two opposites are non-equivalent as there was more usage of *boy* (68.75%) than *girl* (23.75%).

Arguing from the cultural point of view, many respondents stated that circumcision was such a key cultural practice in many societies, and that it is an important phase that transforms a male from *boy* to *man*. However, there are other respondents who argued that not all societies are affiliated to this practice and so to them, it was 'null and void' as expressed by respondent R1 and R69. There are other respondents who spoke of circumcision in other societies that was done, not as a rite of passage from *boy* to *man*, but for other reasons as of health among others. This explains the higher percentage (68.75%) of respondents who defined *boy* in this sense against 23.75% who defined *girl* in this sense. Looking at the response for *girl* with regards to this definition, many respondents, including representatives from the societies who practice it disregarded it as inappropriate for *girls* arguing about its detrimental health effects. This explains the high percentage (57.5%) of those who were in objection to this meaning against the 23.75% who objected to this meaning of *boy*. Again, while only 7.5% of respondents were not sure of this usage of *boy,* 18.75% were not sure of its usage for *girl*.

f. Speakers across all age categories use *boy* for a 'son' and *girl* for 'daughter'

Tables 7 and 8, show an equivalent usage of the lexical contrasts according to this context of meaning as represented by 100% of respondents in each case. This means that that all the respondents across all age categories would use the pair *boy* and *girl* for a 'son' and a 'daughter' respectively. It seems therefore, that in the KenE usage, age does not play a role in the choice of pair according to this meaning.

g. More older speakers than the younger ones use *boy* for a 'male casual worker' and *girl* for a 'female casual worker'

While the results show that while 73.75% of the respondents used *boy* for a 'male casual worker, in table 8, a larger 80% of total respondents used *girl* as a 'female casual worker.' This shows that in KenE usage, much as many people would use the pair according to this meaning, the lexical contrast *girl* for 'female helper' still acquires more usage than the lexical contrast *boy* for a 'male helper.' Age fairly played a role as more respondents from older categories used the pair in this regard than the younger ones as observed in the pattern of percentage increase from younger speakers to the older ones.

h. Speakers across all age categories use *boy* for 'any strange young-looking male' and *girl* for 'any strange young-looking female'

From the results, there was an equivalent usage of the pair *boy* and *girl* with regards to this meaning as in both cases, there was 100% support of this meaning by the respondents across all age groups. This indicates that in the KenE usage, the usage of this pair of lexical contrasts according to these meanings is seemingly determined by the age of the user as observed in both tables 7 and 8, that the same number of older and younger respondents used the pair in this context.

2.2.5 Results of *father* vs. *mother*

Table 9: Meanings of *father* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *father*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Your male leader or your boss	Yes	10	12.5%	8	10%	6	7.5%	5	6.25%	**29**	**36.25%**
		No	10	12.5%	12	15%	14	17.5%	15	18.75%	**51**	**63.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
b.	A father-in-law	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
c.	A male sponsor/guardian/ Mentor	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
d.	A male or female priest/pastor	Yes	11	13.75%	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	16	20%	**55**	**68.75%**
		No	8	10%	4	5%	3	3.75%	4	5%	**19**	**23.75%**
		Unsure	1	1.25%	2	2.5%	3	3.75%	0	0%	**6**	**7.5%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
e.	Your former male teacher	Yes	11	13.75%	10	12.5%	13	16.25%	12	15%	**46**	**57.5%**
		Yes	9	11.25%	10	12.5%	7	8.75%	8	10%	**34**	**42.5%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
f.	A brother to your father	Yes	18	22.5%	14	17.5%	16	20%	18	22.5%	**66**	**82.5%**
		No	2	2.5%	6	7.5%	4	5%	2	2.5%	**14**	**17.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
g.	Any elderly male	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%

Table 10: Meanings of *mother* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *mother*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (80)	%
a.	Your female leader or your boss	Yes	16	20%	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	13	16.25%	57	71.25%
		No	4	5%	6	7.5%	6	7.5%	7	8.75%	23	28.75%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
b.	A mother-in-law	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
c.	A female sponsor/guardian/ Mentor	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
d.	A female priest/pastor	Yes	9	11.25%	7	8.75%	7	8.75%	5	6.25%	28	35%
		No	11	13.75	13	16.25%	13	16.25%	15	18.75%	52	65%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
e.	Your former female teacher	Yes	11	13.75%	10	12.5%	13	16.25%	12	15%	46	57.5%
		No	9	11.25%	10	12.5%	7	8.75%	8	10%	34	42.5%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
f.	A sister to your father	Yes	18	22.5%	14	17.5%	16	20%	18	22.5%	66	82.5%
		No	2	2.5%	6	7.5%	4	5%	2	2.5%	14	17.75%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
g.	Any elderly female	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	80	100%

*The Kenyan English meanings of **father** vs. **mother***

a. **While more older speakers than younger ones use *father* for a 'male leader /boss,' more younger speakers than older ones use *mother* for a 'female leader/boss'**

   While in table 9, only 36.25% of the respondents used *father* for a 'male leader/boss,' in table 10, a larger 71.25% used *mother* for a 'male leader/boss.' The tables show that while more of older respondents than the younger ones used the lexical contrast *father* according to this meaning, more of the younger respondents than the older ones would use the lexical contrast *mother* according to this meaning. This shows a non-equivalent usage of the linguistic pair. From this finding, it appears like in the KenE usage, while more respondents from the older categories than the younger ones will use *father* for a 'male leader /boss,' to the contrary, more younger speakers than older ones will use *mother* for a 'female leader/boss.' This shows that age plays a big role in the choice of this pair for the meaning above.

b. **Speakers across all age categories use *father* for 'father-in-law' and *mother* for 'mother-in-law'**

   According to tables 9 and 10, 100% of the total respondents used the pair *father* and *mother* for 'father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law' respectively. According to respondent R2, 46yrs old, this kind of reference was because of the societal demand for respect, and that it brings the relationship closer than when the suffix 'in-law' is added to it. It therefore, appears like in the KenE usage of this pair, age did not play a role in the choice of the pair for the meaning above.

c. **Speakers across all age categories use *father* for a 'male sponsor/guardian/mentor' for *father* and *mother* for a 'female sponsor/guardian/mentor'**

   The lexical contrasts above were used by the respondents to refer to a *father* or *mother* with regard to the role they play in a subject's life. Being someone's sponsor, guardian or mentor means one has to take the role that should have been played by a *father* or a *mother*. This explains why 100% of respondents referred to a *father* or *mother* in this sense. It was, however, worth noting that in most cases, it is most likely that more younger people than older ones will have guardians or sponsors except for sponsorship that comes from institutions that may not be

based on age. Therefore, as it appears, in KenE usage, all speakers across all ages will refer to *father – mother* according to the meanings above.

d. While more older speakers than the younger ones use *father* for a 'male priest/pastor,' more younger speakers than the older ones use *mother* for a 'female priest/pastor'

According to the table 9, whereas 68.75% of the respondents used *father* for a 'male priest/pastor,' in table 10, only 35% used *mother* for a 'female priest/pastor.' This shows that *father* for 'a male priest/pastor' acquired more usage than its contrast *mother* for 'a female priest/pastor.' From the findings, it is evident from the percentage decrease from the younger respondents to the older respondents in table 9, that more older respondents than the younger ones used the lexical contrast *father* in this context. However, this was different in table 10, where the percentages increased from the younger respondents to the older respondents showing that more younger respondents than the older ones used the lexical contrast *mother* in this context. This shows that in the KenE usage, while more, older speakers than the younger ones will use *father* for a 'male priest/pastor,' more, younger speakers than the older ones will use *mother* for a 'female priest/pastor.' It is also likely that more people will refer to their male pastors or priests as *father* than they will refer to their female priest/ priestesses or pastors as *mother*. This shows a non-equivalent usage of the linguistic pair. During discussion, a number of respondents stated that in many protestant churches, the use of the forms *daddy* and *mammy,* were more common than *father* and *mother*.

e. Age doesn't inform the usage of *father* for a 'male teacher' and *mother* for a 'female teacher'

From table 9 and 10, there was an equal number of respondents who used *father* as 'a male teacher' and those who used *mother* as 'a female teacher.' As evident in tables, 57.5% of the respondents in both cases referred to a 'male teacher' as *father,* and a 'female teacher' as *mother*. This shows that the pair gained equal usages. However, from the irregular percentage increase and decrease in the various age representations as observed in the two tables, the usage of this pair cannot be attributed to age factor.

f. Age doesn't inform the usage of *father* for a 'brother to your father' and *mother* for 'sister to your father'

According to the results, while 82.5% of the respondents used *father* for a 'brother to your father,' another 82.5% of the respondents used *mother* for a 'sister to your father.' This shows that both lexical contrasts acquire equal usages in the context of KenE usage according to this meaning. However, considering the irregular increase and decrease in percentages from the younger age categories to the older ones, it is evident that the usage of this pair in this context cannot be attributed to the age factor.

Many respondents across all age categories argued that, though these kinship relationships are commonly referred to as 'uncle or 'aunt,' many people have always considered a 'brother to one's father' as *father,* and a 'sister to one's mother' as *mother* for lack of an equivalent vocabulary in other instances. For example, according to respondent R7, from the sociolinguistic perspective of the Luo community, what the term 'uncle' translates to, can only apply to 'brother to your mother' and not any other male relations such as brother to your father, husband to your aunt, husband to your sister and so on. According to this community among others, 'brother to your father' is often referred to what translates as 'small/younger father or big/elder father.' On the other hand, in the usage of *father* to mean a 'brother to your mother' and *mother* to mean 'a sister to your father,' a number of the respondents, for example respondent R51 speaking from the sociolinguistic perspective of the Luhya community stated that these two would only remain 'uncle' and 'aunt' respectively.

g. Speakers across all the age categories use *father* for 'any elderly male' and *mother* for 'elderly female'

Table 9 and 10 shows an equal number of respondents who used *father* as 'any elderly male' and those who used *mother* as 'any elderly female.' As evident on the table above, 100%, of respondents of all the age brackets would refer to 'any elderly male' as *father,* and 'any elderly female' as *mother.* This indicated an equivalent usage of the pair. The results show that in KenE usage, both the younger and older speakers will refer to *father* or *mother* in this context of meaning.

Other contexts of usage of *father* **vs.** *mother*

a. Context of the Catholic Church

According to a number of respondents across all ages, from the Catholic Church, the usage of the lexical contrast *father* has been quite common especially in the context of the Catholic Church where a priest is designated as *father*. It is however worth noting that though in the dictionary meaning, and in the many actual usages, the lexical contrast *father* means that one has children, either from a marriage or another arrangement of relationship, this is not true in the context of the Catholic Church where the lexical contrast '*father'* has nothing to with marriage or child-bearing except for the assumption that he leads a crowd of people who are seen as his 'flock' or children as partly explained in meaning (a) above. On the other hand, while *father*, should have its opposite as *mother,* it is worth noting that the latter bears a completely different meaning that cannot be an equivalent to *father* with regards to their roles. The role of a *father* in church cannot be undertaken by a *mother* as his female opposite, for instance, while *father* can conduct a mass, *a mother* cannot conduct a mass. While in *mother*, famously known as '*mother superior*' is a slightly older nun who is assigned a role as the head of all other nuns, a *father's* position is constant whether he is old or not, and cannot be elevated to a *'father superior.'* Again, while a *mother* is in most cases defined as a female parent of a child, in catholic, *mother* has nothing to do with child bearing or marriage.

b. As *step-father vs. step-mother.*

Regarding responses from various respondents, it emerged from almost everyone that one's *step-mother* refers to either the current 'other wife of your father' or 'the co-wife of your mother' or the previous one that existed before separation, divorce, death or issues of wedlock. However, one cannot always define a *step-father* as the current 'other husband of one's mother,' or 'one's father's co-husband' except after a separation, divorce, death or cases of wedlock. Many respondents across all ages argued from the context of the norms of traditional African society where, much as polygamous relationships are legitimate, polyandrous relationships are not recognized as legitimate. In Kenya, while almost every community recognizes that men can have many wives who are all living with him at the same time; it is almost unacceptable that women should have many husbands living with her at the same time. This means that a *step-father* can

only exist after a divorce, separation or death. But then again, according to the discussion, it emerged that the usage of the lexical contrast '*step-*' comes with some connotation of illegitimacy and some sort of negativity silently expressed in many cases regardless of whether they stay with the children or not. Considering the article below about possibilities of polyandrous relationships cropping up in Kenya, the usage of *step-father* is likely to rise in the near future because there is no law prohibiting that from happening.

22. *In August 2013, Kenyan witness polyandry when two men decided to be husbands to one woman they both love. It is noteworthy that Kenyan laws don't explicitly forbid Polyandry and legal action can't be taken against people who practice it. There have also been reported cases of polyandry among the Maasai people of Kenya.*

By Akinwale Akinyaode, 19 June, 2019, 9.00am

(From the internet
https://guardian.ng/life/places-where-women-have-more-than-one-husband
Accessed on 13 July 2022 at 22:17

Whereas a *step-mother* can be used for a present or an on-going polygamous relationship, a *step-father* cannot. This shows non-equivalent usage of this pair. It also shows the bias that men express towards women, that while the society can legitimize polygamy, the same society cannot legitimize polyandry. Again, according to respondent R6, R13, R28, and R33, a *step-father* also has another meaning: that it can also refer to 'a brother to one's father' who is commonly defined as an *uncle*.

2.2.6 Results of *brother* vs. *sister*

Table 11: Meanings of *brother* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *brother*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	A male friend/associate	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	A male colleague/co-worker	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	A male alumnus	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	A male accomplice/ally	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	A male church member	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	A male age mate	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

Table 12: Meanings of *sister* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *sister*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	A female friend/associate	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	A female colleague/co-worker	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	A female alumnus	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	A female accomplice/ally	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	A female church member	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	A female age mate	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

*The Kenyan English meanings of **brother** vs. **sister***

According to tables 11 and 12, 100% of respondents used the pair *brother - sister* with regards to all the meanings in the table. This shows that in KenE usage, the gendered contrasts are equivalent. Regarding age as a factor, speakers across all the four age categories use:

a. *Brother* for 'a male friend/associate' and *sister* for 'a female friend/associate.'
b. *Brother* for 'a male colleague/co-worker' and *sister* for 'a female colleague/co-worker'
c. *Brother* for 'a male alumnus' and *sister* for 'a female alumnus'
d. *Brother* for 'your male accomplice/ally' and *sister* for 'your female student/mentee'
e. *Brother* for 'a male church member' and *sister* for 'a female church member'
f. *Brother* for 'a male age mate' and *sister* for 'a female age mate''

Respondent R12, (37yrs), defined '*brotherhood*' or '*sisterhood*' in a sense of 'togetherness.' In many social contexts where the youths refer to each other as '*brother*,' most respondents in the 16-26yrs age group stated that they prefer the shortened for '*bro*' or *siz,* which to them sounded very dear and more friendly. However, the older age groups, especially the 45yrs and above category preferred the complete form *brother/ sister* claiming that the shortened forms are meant for either younger people or people who are not yet so serious in life. As gathered from the respondents, the contracted form of the lexical contrasts *brother* and *sister* as *bro* or *siz,* may be used among peers to express politeness towards the addressee, when one intends to appear persuasive or when sending a strong message without sounding offensive. For instance, in his reply message to Dr. Miguna Miguna on his twitter handle on the case of legalizing marijuana, Prof. George Wajackoyah said:

23. *"The intention for the legalization is not to solve all problems Kenya has … For instance, your problem of not being allowed in Kenya can't be solved by marijuana. Chill **bro** […]"*

(From twitter Web App on 17: 08. 11 June 22. Accessed on 20 July 2022)

2.2.7 Results of *son vs. daughter*

Table 13: Meanings of *son* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *son*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Any male age mate/friend to your child	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	Your son in law	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	Your friend's male child	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	Your nephew	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	Your male student	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	The male child you sponsor	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
g.	A female church member under leadership of the clergy	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

Table 14: Meanings of *daughter* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *son*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Any female age mate/friend to your child	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	Your daughter-in-law	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	Your friend's female child	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	Your niece	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	Your female student	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	The female child under your care/ sponsorship	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
h.	A female church member under leadership of the clergy	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

*The Kenyan English meanings of **son** vs. **daughter***

According to table 13 and 14 above, in all the instances, there was an equal usage of the linguistic pairs as shown in every age category as represented by 25% of the respondents who used the pair. This resulted to a total of 100% of respondents. Therefore, in KenE usage, it seems like speakers across all age categories will use the pair *son - daughter* with regards to the following meanings:

a. *Son* for 'any male age mate/friend to your child' and *daughter* for 'any female age mate/friend to your child'

b. *Son* for 'son-in-law' and *daughter* for 'daughter-in-law'

c. *Son* for 'your friend's male child' and *daughter* for 'your friend's female child.'

d. *Son* for 'nephew' and *daughter* for 'niece'

e. *Son* for 'male student' and *daughter* for 'female student'

f. *Son* for 'male child under your care/sponsorship' and *daughter* for 'female child/person under your care/sponsorship'

g. *Son* for 'a male church member under the clergy' and *daughter* for 'a female church member under the clergy'

How age of the speaker partly informs the usage of lexical contrasts

Even though the gendered contrasts *son* and *daughter* are majorly applicable in the usage in a relationship between a younger versus an older person, there are biological contexts where even a person much younger may refer to an older person as either a *son* or *daughter* depending on whether she is male or female respectively. This may not always be applicable in address. For instance, as explained earlier in the usage of *uncle* and *aunt* with regards to the age of the respondent versus age of the referent, while your brother or sister, for example, may have a *son* (your nephew) or *daughter* (your niece) much older than you, addressing him or her as *my son,* or *my daughter* may be rather awkward. However, when such relations are younger than the speaker, then such references are easy to use, or when referring to them in the sense of a third party.

As *step-son vs. step-daughter*

Considering the respondents' usage of the pair above, much as many people called a male/female child of a step-wife or step-husband as *step-son/daughter* respectively, the same relationship was also given to the children of one's sister or brother. That while one would have used the lexical contrast nephew or niece; they sometimes called them 'steps' because of the first language (L1) influence. In many Kenyan native languages like Dholuo, the lexical contrast nephew or niece is not lexicalized, instead, many would refer to them as 'son/daughter to my brother/sister' which translates to the English 'nephew' or 'niece.' In this case, the two lexical contrasts in the linguistic pair are used quite equivalently.

Context of a church:

As gathered from the respondents, while many members of the church, regardless of age would refer to their church priests/pastors either as *father* or *mother, daddy* or *mommy,* depending on the referent's gender, the priests/pastors would also refer to the male and female members of their churches as either *son* or *daughter* respectively regardless of their age.

2.2.8   Results of *mister (Mr.)* vs. *missus (Mrs.)*

Table 15: Meanings of *Mister (Mr.)* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *mister* (*Mr.*)		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	A male teacher	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	A husband of a teacher	Yes	11	13.75%	11	13.75%	13	16.25%	16	20%	**51%**	**63.75%**
		No	9	11.25%	9	11.25%	7	8.75%	4	5%	**29%**	**36.25%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	An employed male	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	A male of a high rank in office	Yes	18	22.5%	14	17.5%	14	17.5%	15	18.75%	**61**	**76.25%%**
		No	2	2.5%	6	7.5%	6	7.5%	5	6.25%	**19**	**23.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	A smart/well-dressed male	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	A male who wears expensive suits	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
g.	Any adult male	Yes	12	15%	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	13	16.25%	**45**	**56.25%**
		No	4	5%	8	10%	4	5%	5	6.25%	**21**	**26.25%**
		Unsure	4	5%	2	2.5%	6	7.5%	2	2.5%	**14**	17.5%
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

Table 16: Meanings of *missus (Mrs.)* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's age (N=20 for each age bracket)

Ser. No	Meaning of *missus (Mrs.)*		16-25yrs (N=20)	%	26-35yrs (N=20)	%	36-45yrs (N=20)	%	46+yrs (N=20)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	A female teacher	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
b.	A wife of a teacher	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
c.	Any employed female	Yes	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	20	25%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
d.	A female of a high rank in office	Yes	14	17.5%	13	16.25%	16	20%	18	22.5%	**61**	**76.25%**
		No	6	7.5%	7	8.75%	4	5%	2	10%	**19**	**23.75%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	A smart/well-dressed female	Yes	13	16.25%	11	13.75%	12	15%	15	18.75%	**51**	**63.75%**
		No	7	8.75%	9	11.25%	8	10%	5	6.25%	**29**	**36.25%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
e.	A female who wears expensive suits	Yes	13	16.25%	11	13.75%	12	15%	15	18.75%	**51**	**63.75%**
		No	7	8.75%	9	11.25%	8	10%	5	6.25%	**29**	**36.25%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**
f.	Any adult female	Yes	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	11	13.75%	**42**	**52.5%**
		No	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	9	11.25%	**38**	**47.5%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			20	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**20**	**25%**	**80**	**100%**

*The Kenyan English meanings of **mister** vs. **missus***

According to the respondents, in the KenE usage, these titles are regarded highly and their mention triggers a perception of a personality as one with high standards.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) state that,

> "Address by title alone is the least intimate form of address in that titles usually designate ranks or occupations, as in *Colonel, Doctor*, or *Waiter*. They are devoid of 'personal' content".

The following meanings emerged from the respondents:

a. **Speakers across all age categories use *mister* for 'a male teacher' for *missus* a 'female teacher'**

As observed above, 100% of respondents across all age categories used the term *mister* for a 'male teacher' and *missus* for a 'female teacher.' This means that in the KenE usage, the mention of *mister* or *missus* as a title of either a male or a female referent triggers the thought of a teacher. As it appears, this pair is used as equivalent opposites according to this meaning by speakers across all the four categories.

b. **More older speakers than the younger use *mister* for a 'husband of a teacher' while users across all age categories use *missus* for 'a wife of a teacher'**

The tables show that while a total of 63.75% of the respondents used *mister* for a 'husband of a teacher,' 100% of the respondents used *missus* for a 'wife of teacher.' This shows that *mister* gained more usage than *missus* according to this meaning. However, looking at the distribution of respondents per age group, more of the older people than the younger ones used *mister* for this meaning. This shows that while in KenE usage, more older speakers than the younger ones will use *mister* for a 'husband of a teacher,' all users across all age categories will use *missus* for 'a wife of a teacher.'

c. **Speakers across all age categories used** *mister* vs. **for 'any employed male' and** *missus.* **for 'any employed female'**

The table shows that 100% of all respondents across all ages defined a *mister* and a *missus* as either 'any employed male' or 'any employed female' respectively. As argued by many respondents, employment itself raises the standard of a person and is therefore, seen above ordinary standards which to KenE speakers equate to either a *mister* or *missus.* Therefore, as seen above, the pair fits as equivalent opposites in this context of meaning as defined by respondents of all the various age categories without bias in either younger or older respondents.

d. **Age doesn't inform the usage of** *mister* **for a 'male of a high rank' and** *missus* **for a 'female of a high rank'**

The tables show that while a high percentage of 76.25% of respondents used *mister* for a 'male of a high rank in office,' a similar percentage used *missus* for a 'female of a high rank in office. However, even though the percentages show that more people used *mister* according to this meaning than they used *missus,* the percentage usage by the various age groups varied from the younger to older ages. However, the irregular pattern of these percentages does not show whether or not in KenE usage, age contributed to the different usages according to this meaning.

e. **Speakers across all age categories use** *mister* **for 'a well-dressed male' and** *missus* **for 'a well-dressed female'**

As observed above, while 100% of respondents across all age categories used the term *mister* for a 'male teacher,' only 63.75% used *missus* for 'a well-dressed male.' Of the 36.25% of respondents who rejected the usage of *missus* for 'a well-dressed females,' the majority opted for the usage of 'madam' to refer to 'a well-dressed female.' As argued, the term 'madam' appeared to be more neutral, and does not influence a shift of focus from her smartness to her marital status. Looking at the percentage per age bracket, even though it is not clear whether age factor informed the choice of terminology according to this pair of meanings, it seems that the older age category of 45yrs and above used *missus* according to this meaning than all the younger age categories. Again, from the percentage per age bracket, even though it is not clear whether age factor informed the choice of terminology according to this pair of meanings, it is evident that there was more usage of *mister* than *missus* according to this meaning. Therefore,

whereas in the KenE usage, age does not seem to inform the usage of this pair according to this meaning, more speakers from in age 45yrs and above will refer to a male or female who wears expensive suits as *mister* or *missus.*

f. Speakers across all age categories use *mister* for 'a male who wears expensive suits' and *missus* for 'a female who wears expensive suits'

The findings show that the result in (e) above is the same as (f). That while 100% of respondents across all age categories used the term *mister* for 'a male who wears expensive suits' only 63.75% used *missus* for 'a female who wears expensive suits.' Again, the respondents who rejected the usage of *missus* for 'a female who wears expensive suits' opted for the usage of 'madam' for 'a male who wears expensive suits.' This means that wearing expensive suits, and being well-dressed are considered to equally equate to smartness. Again, from the percentage per age bracket, even though it is not clear whether age factor informed the choice of terminology according to this pair of meanings, it is evident that there was more usage of *mister* than *missus* according to this meaning. Therefore, while in the KenE usage, age does not seem to inform the usage of this pair according to this meaning, more speakers from in age 45 and above will refer to a male or female who wears expensive suits as *mister* or *missus.*

g. Age does not inform the usage of *mister* for 'any adult male' and *missus* for 'any adult female'

The tables show that while a total of 56.25% of the respondents used *mister* for 'any adult male,' a total of 52.25% of the respondents used *missus* for 'any adult female.' Though the table shows that fairly more people used *mister* according to this meaning than they used *missus* it was not clear from the percentage usage by each age category whether age of respondents informed the usage of this pair. According to the results, except for the 45yrs and above age group which yielded 13.35%, 12.5% in each of the other three age groups used *missus* for 'any adult female.' This shows that age played a minimal role in the usage of *missus* according to this meaning. however, regarding the usage of *mister* as 'any adult male' the respective percentage differences from the younger to the older respondents did not indicate that age was a determining factor in the usage. This shows that much as in KenE usage, age isn't a factor in the

usage of this pair, to a minimal extent, it played a role in the usage of *missus* according to this meaning.

Again, worth noting from the respondents is that much as *mister* and *missus* are said to be opposites, this cannot be true because in actual usage, while an unmarried male above 23-25yrs old can be referred to as *mister,* an unmarried female of the same age will not be referred to as *missus*. And while a female once married will always be referred to as *missus* as a title attached to her maiden name, a man even once married is still referred to as *mister*. Furthermore, while *missus* can be attached to a woman's maiden name to show that she is married, *mister* cannot be attached to a man's name to show that he is married, for instance, while a married woman can be referred to (say) *missus* Bakari- (her husband), a married man cannot be called (say) Mr., Achieng- (His wife). This illustrates how non-equivalent the two opposite terms can be in actual usage.

Summary

This chapter discussed age as a factor in the assigning of various meanings to seven lexical contrast pairs in the English usage in Kenya. The pairs include: *uncle* vs. *aunt, lady* vs. *gentleman*, *bachelor* vs. *spinster, man* vs. *woman*, *boy* vs. *girl*, *father* vs. *mother, brother* vs. *sister, son* vs. *daughter*. From the findings, a number of observations were made, firstly, there was evidence that in a number of instances, a particular lexical contrast term yielded more usage than its opposite pair. For example, in *bachelor* vs. *spinster,* the findings indicate that in KenE usage, the contrast pair *spinster* is hardly ever used in actual conversation by speakers across all age groups. Secondly, it was evident in a number of instances that in deed age of the respondent determines the meaning assigned to a particular linguistic pair. In some cases, a meaning attached to a particular lexical contrast was more preferred by younger respondents than the older respondents and vice versa. For example, in the linguistic pair *uncle* vs. *aunt,* while many younger people would use the pair for 'brother/sister to their mother/father' older than them respectively, older categories would not use the pair for 'brother/sister to their mother/father' younger than them respectively. Thirdly, the connotations attached to some of the contrast terms within a pair may range from positive to derogatory depending on the age of the respondents. For instance, referring to a person older than you as *girl* or *boy* may be considered as impolite as opposed to such reference by persons younger than you. Finally, there was an element of biasness or discrimination in the usage of these pairs, for instance where *man* vs. *woman*, as opposed to the dictionary meaning where the two are equivalent, in actual usage, woman, as gathered from respondents across all ages is assigned more negative connotations than the contrast *man.* It can therefore be concluded that in deed age plays a very big role in the actual usage of the various lexical contrast pairs.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESPONDENTS' GENDER AS A VARIABLE IN THEIR USE AND INTERPRETATION IN KENE USAGE

This chapter reports and discusses the results related to the second objective of the study, namely to establish whether the meanings of the gendered contrasts under study differ in English usage in Kenya depending on the gender of their users.

3.1 Presentation of the results

Like the previous section, the results are first presented in tables that indicate the various meanings of the lexical contrasts as used in various contexts in the English usage in Kenya contrary to the dictionary meanings. The population sample of 80 respondents was subdivided into two major categories comprising of 40 males and 40 females. All the males (M) were assigned 40 even numbers between R1 and R80, whereas the females (F) were assigned 40 odd numbers between R1 and R80. Thereafter, the meanings were given to the respondents of each gender category to find out whether or not, they would use the lexical contrasts according to the various meanings provided.

3.2 DISCUSSIONS OF THE RESULTS

3.2.1 Results of *uncle* vs. *aunt*

Table 23: Meanings of *uncle* and *aunt* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Meaning of *uncle*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *aunt*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a Brother to your husband/ Wife	Yes	5	6.25%	24	30%	29	36.25%	Sister to your husband/ wife	Yes	10	12.5%	31	38.75%	41	51.25%
	No	35	43.75%	16	20%	51	63.75%		No	30	37.5%	9	0%	39	48.75%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b Your sister's husband	Yes	9	11.25%	28	35%	37	46.25%	Your brother's wife	Yes	9	11.25%	26	32.5%	35	43.75%
	No	25	31.25%	10	12.5%	35	43.75%		No	26	32.5%	12	15%	38	47.5%
	Unsure	6	7.5%	2	2.5%	8	10%		Unsure	5	6.25%	2	2.5%	7	8.75%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	00%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c Husband to your father's sister	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Wife to your father's brother	Yes	21	26.25%	22	27.5%	43	53.75%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	13	16.25%	13	16.25%	26	32.5%
	Unsure	0	0%	0h	0%	0	0%		Unsure	6	6.25%	5	6.5%	11	13.75%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d Husband to your mother's sister	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Wife to your mother's brother	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Not sure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
e Any male stranger	Yes	10	12.5%	13	16.25%	23	28.75%	Any female stranger	Yes	31	38.75%	35	43.75%	66	82.5%
	No	29	36.25%	26	32.5%	55	68.75%		No	9	11.25%	5	6.25%	14	17.5%
	Unsure	1	1.25%	1	1.25%	2	2.5%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
f Male house-help	Yes	1	1.25%	3	3.75%	4	5%	Female house-help	Yes	35	43.75%	35	43.75%	70	87.5%
	No	39	48.75%	37	46.25%	76	95%		No	5	6.25%	5	6.25%	10	12.5%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%

The Ken English usage meanings of **uncle** *vs.* **aunt/auntie**

Table 15 shows the distribution of usages of the pair *uncle – aunt* according to male and female users. However, as discovered from the previous chapter on age as a variable, the same cannot be ignored in this section because in other contexts, there was more usage of the pair by younger females or males than it was used by the older females or males and vice versa.

a. More females than males use *uncle* for 'brother to one's husband/wife' and *aunt/auntie* for 'sister to one's husband/wife'

According to table 15, while only 6.25% of the male respondents used *uncle* for 'brother to one's husband/wife,' 30% of the female respondents used the contrast according to this meaning. And while only 12.5% of the male respondents used *aunt* for 'sister to one's husband/wife,' 38.75% of the female respondents used the contrast according to this meaning. This shows that in this context of usage, the pair of lexical contrasts is used non-equivalently by male and female respondents. Therefore, seemingly, in KenE usage, even though more females than males will use *uncle* for a 'brother to one's husband/wife,' and *aunt* for a 'sister to one's husband/wife,' table 15 shows that there is more usage of 'sister to your husband/wife' for *aunt/auntie* than 'brother to one's husband/wife,' for *uncle*.

b. More females than males use *uncle* for 'your sister's husband' and *aunt/auntie* for 'your brother's wife'

From the results in table 15, while only 11.25% of the male respondents used *uncle* for 'husband to one's sister,' 35% of the female respondents used it for this meaning. On the other hand, while 11.25% of the male respondents used *aunt* for 'wife to one's brother,' 32.5% used the lexical contrast according to this meaning. Though in this context, there was an equivalent usage of this pair by male respondents (11.25%), a slight difference was realized in the usage of this pair by female respondents as 35% of them used *uncle* for 'brother to one's husband/wife' while 32.5% of them *aunt* for a 'wife to one's brother.' This shows that in KenE usage, not only are more females than males likely to use the lexical contrast *uncle* or *aunt* for 'brother to one's husband' or 'sister to one's husband' respectively, but also that males will use this pair equally.

c. **While there is an equal usage of *uncle* for 'husband of your father's sister' by males, slightly more females than males used *aunt/auntie* for 'wife of your father's brother'**

While 100% of the male and female respondents used the lexical contrast, *uncle* for 'husband to one's father's sister,' only 26.25% of the male and 27.5% of the female respondents used *aunt* for 'wife of one's father's brother.' It thus, appears like in KenE usage, while both males and females would equally use *uncle* for 'husband to one's father's sister,' there are those who would not use the lexical contrast *aunt* for 'wife of one's father's brother. Again, considering the small difference between 26.25% of male respondents and 27.5% female respondents who used the lexical contrast *aunt* according to this meaning, it appears like in the KenE usage, there would be an almost equivalent usage of *aunt* for 'wife to one's father's brother' by the males and females.

d. **Both males and females use *uncle* for 'husband to your mother's sister' and *aunt* for 'wife to your mother's brother' equally**

From the results above, 100% of both male and female respondents used *uncle* as 'husband to one's sister' and *aunt* for 'wife to one's brother.' This shows that in KenE usage, both males and females will use the lexical contrasts, *uncle* and *aunt* to refer to 'brother to one's husband' or 'wife to one's brother' respectively.

e. **More females than males use *uncle* for 'any male stranger' and *aunt/auntie*' for any female stranger'**

Table 15 shows that while only 12.5% of male and 16.25% of female respondents used *uncle* to refer to 'any male stranger,' 38.75% and 43.75% of male and female respondents respectively used *aunt* for 'any female stranger.' In this context of usage, the pair of lexical contrasts are used non-equivalently. That while only 28.75% of the male and female respondents would use *uncle* to refer to 'any male stranger,' a higher percentage of 82.5% of the male and female respondents used *aunt* for 'any female stranger.' This indicates that in KenE usage, while it seems that more people would use the lexical contrast *aunt* for 'any female stranger' than they would use *uncle* for 'any female stranger,' it was also observable that more females than males are likely to use the lexical contrast *uncle* or *aunt* to refer to 'brother to one's husband' or 'sister to one's husband' respectively.

f. More females than males use *uncle* for 'sister to one's husband' than *aunt/auntie* for 'brother to one's husband.'

According to table 15, while only 1.25% of male respondents and 3.75% of female respondents used *uncle* for 'a male house-help,' 43.75% of male respondents and an equal percentage of the female respondents used *aunt* for lexical contrast *aunt* for 'a female house-help.' Only a total of 12.5%, of the male and female respondents rejected this usage. Therefore, while in this context of usage, the males and the females equally used the lexical contrast *aunt* to refer to 'a female house-help,' only 5% of the male and female respondents used *uncle* according to this meaning. This showed a non-equivalent usage of the lexical contrasts. Therefore, in KenE usage, while it seems that more people will use the lexical contrast *aunt* than they will use *uncle* in this context of usage, it also seems that more females than males are likely to use the lexical contrast *aunt* to refer to 'sister to one's husband' than *uncle* to refer to 'brother to one's husband.'

3.2.2 Results of *gentleman* vs. *lady*

Table 16: Meanings of *gentleman* and *lady* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Ser. No	Meaning of *gentleman*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *lady*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Well-dressed male	Yes	33	41.25%	38	47.5%	71	88.75%	Well-dressed female	Yes	34	42.5%	37	46.25%	71	88.75%
		No	7	8.75%	2	2.5%	9	11.25%		No	6	7.5%	3	3.75%	9	11.25%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b.	Polite male	Yes	29	36.25%	33	41.25%	62	77.5%	Polite female	Yes	26	32.5%	30	37.5%	56	70%
		No	11	13.75%	7	8.75%	18	22.5%		No	14	17.5%	10	12.5%	24	30%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c.	Well-behaved male	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Well-behaved female	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d.	Rich male	Yes	24	30%	24	30%	48	60%	Rich female	Yes	18	22.5%	18	22.5%	36	45%
		No	16	20%	16	20%	32	40%		No	22	27.5%	22	27.5%	44	55%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
e.	Educated male	Yes	36	45%	38	47.5%	74	92.5%	Educated female	Yes	37	46.25%	37	46.25%	74	92.5%
		No	4	5%	2	2.5%	6	7.5%		No	3	3.75%	3	3.75%	6	7.5%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
f.	Male working in an office	Yes	37	46.25%	39	48.75%	76	95%	Female working in an office	Yes	37	46.25%	39	48.75%	76	95%
		No	3	3.75%	1	1.25%	4	5%		No	3	3.75%	1	1.25%	4	5%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
g.	Unmarried male	Yes	19	23.75%	17	21.25%	36	45%	Married female	Yes	19	23.75%	17	21.25%	36	45%
		No	11	13.75%	13	16.25%	24	30%		No	11	13.75%	13	16.25%	24	30%

		Unsure	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	20	25%		Unsure	10	12.5%	10	12.5%	20	25%
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
h.	Married male	Yes	33	41.25%	29	36.25%	62	77.5%	Unmarried female	Yes	34	41.25%	29	36.25%	62	77.5%
		No	6	7.5%	10	12.5%	16	20%		No	6	7.5%	10	12.5%	16	20%
		Unsure	1	1.25%	1	1.25%	2	2.5%		Unsure	1	1.25%	1	1.25%	2	2.5%
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
i.	Religious male	Yes	24	30%	29	36.25%	53	66.25%	Religious male	Yes	23	28.75%	33	41.25%	53	66.25%
		No	16	20%	11	13.75%	27	33.75%		No	17	21.25%	7	8.75%	27	33.75%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**

*The Kenyan English meanings of **gentleman** vs. **lady***

a. **More females than males use *gentleman* for a 'well-dressed male' and *lady* for a 'well-dressed female'**

As observed in table 16, 41.25% and 47.5% of the male and female respondents used *gentleman* for a 'well-dressed male' while 42.5% and 46.25% of the male and female respondents respectively used *lady* according to this meaning. According to the results, even though there was an equal usage of *gentleman* and *lady* (88.75%) according to this meaning in both cases, it was evident that generally, more females than males used this pair according to the meanings above. According to many female respondents, a poorly-dressed woman does not deserve to be referred to as *lady*. Respondent R23 attributes *lady* to smartness as opposed to being sketchy. For more emphasis, she elaborated the point in the phrase 'dress like a lady' to be not short of smartness.

b. **More females than males use *gentleman* for a 'polite male' and *lady* for a 'polite female'**

Table 16 shows that the majority of both the male and female respondents (77.5%) used the pair *gentleman* vs. *lady* with regards to the notion of 'politeness.' While 77.5% of the respondents attributed the idea of politeness to *gentleman*, 70% attributed it to *lady*. However, while 36.25% of the male respondents and 41.25% of the female respondents used *gentleman* to refer to 'a polite male,' 32.5% of the male respondents and 37.5% of the female respondents would use *lady* to refer to a 'polite female.' This shows that in the KenE usage, more females than males are likely to use *gentleman* as a 'polite male' and *lady* as a 'polite female.'

c. **Both males and females equally use *gentleman* for a 'well-behaved male' and *lady* for 'well-behaved female'**

The table shows that all the male and female respondents used a *gentleman* and a *lady* for either 'a well-behaved male' or 'a well-behaved female' respectively as indicated 100% of respondents in each pair. As argued by many respondents, 'good behaviour' generally encompasses a bit of every other positive meaning proposed herein. According to the respondents, this includes any male or female who can give mature, reasonable and sound

opinion or idea in any discussion or argument should be defined as *gentleman*, or *lady* respectively.

Referring the data (1), *"Kibaki, the gentleman of politics"* as earlier mentioned, from the Daily Nation, 30 March, 2022, p.7, it seems that as many males as females would describe a man or woman of such wisdom and sobriety in handing political matters without breaching peace as of the late former president, as either *gentleman* or *lady*.

d. Both males and females equally used *gentleman* for 'a wealthy male' and *lady* for 'a wealthy female'

The table shows a slightly more usage of the term *gentleman* for a wealthy male than *lady* for a wealthy male. While 60% of the respondents used *gentleman* as a 'rich male,' 45% of the respondents used a *lady* for a 'wealthy female.' However, in both cases, an equal number of males and females (30%) and (22.5%) respectively used 'a wealthy male' for *gentleman* and 'a wealthy female' for *lady* respectively. This shows that seemingly, in the English usage in Kenya, males and females use the pair equally with regards to this meaning.

Though according to a number of male and female respondents in objection to this meaning argued that money is all but 'material' and not "character" that should define a person, other respondents argued that wealth can 'refine' a person and his character. Respondent R52 among other respondents, argued that both of the lexical contrasts *gentleman* and *lady* have some connotation of humility; a tribute which unfortunately, most wealthy females don't have comparably to the rich males. This explains the non-equivalent usage in the linguistic pair as shown in the table above. For this reason, despite the differences in percentages, a number of both male and female respondents argued that the pair should not be determined by how much wealth one processes because in most cases, according to respondent R4, wealth makes many people more arrogant than humble. It was however, interesting, as it came from the respondents that, while a section of the society considers 'a wealthy male' as 'reserved,' a 'wealthy female' is considered 'arrogant' or 'tough.' Ironically, it is because of the two attributes yielded by the females that bring forth the reference of *'iron lady'* which in this case is all but a compounded word.

e. Both males and females frequently use *gentleman* for an 'educated male' and *lady* for an 'educated female'

The table indicates that in this context of usage, a majority of 92.5% of both male and female respondents assumed that because of the value of education, any learned male or female is presumably a *gentleman* or *lady* respectively. From the findings, while 45.5% and 47.5% of the male and female respondents respectively, used *gentleman* for 'a learned male,' 5% and 2.5% of male and female respondents respectively were in objection to this meaning. A similar representation of male and female respondents used *lady* for a 'learned female.' Most respondents in objection to the usage of this pair in this context thought that not all learned persons have attributes that make them honourable and respected, but arrogant. Respondent R42, among other respondents in objection argued against the assumption that being learned automatically qualifies a person to be called *gentleman* or *lady*. Therefore, according to the results in the table, though both males and females used this pair almost equivalently according to this meaning in the KenE usage, there was a slight usage of this pair by females than males.

f. Majority of both males and females use *gentleman* for 'a male working in an office' and *lady* for 'a female working in an office'

From the table above, while 46.75% and 48.75% male and female respondents respectively, used 'a male working in an office' as *gentleman*, a similar representation of male and female respondents used *lady* for 'a female working in an office.' The respondents who rejected this usage argued against the assumption that working in an office automatically qualifies a person to acquire such reference, and that not every male or female working in an office have attributes that are either '*gentlemanly*' or '*ladylike*.' From the findings, the two terms can be used as equivalent opposites in this context of the KenE usage.

g. More males than females use *gentleman* for an 'unmarried male' and *lady* for an 'unmarried female'

The results show that less than a half of both male and female respondents used a *gentleman* and a *lady* as either an 'unmarried male' or 'unmarried female' respectively. Whereas only 23.75% and 21.25% of male and female respondents respectively, supported this meaning, a similar response was realized from males and females with regards to the usage of *lady*

according to the meanings above. Therefore, much as there was evidence of minimal usage of this pair with regards to the context of being either an 'unmarried male' or 'unmarried female,' more males than females used this pair according to the meaning above. However, even though many respondents argued that the idea of 'marriage' has nothing to do with being a *gentleman* or *lady*, more males than female respondents thought that the change of status of a person through marriage may change one's behaviour or mannerisms that qualify them to be either *gentleman* or *lady*. Therefore, from the findings, in English usage in Kenya, the two terms can be used as equivalent opposites in this context.

h. More males than females use *gentleman* for 'a married male' and *lady* for 'a married female'

The results show anon-usage of the pair as either a 'married male' or 'married female.' While a larger majority of 77.5% of the respondents defined both *gentleman* and *lady* as a 'married male,' and 'married female,' 41.25% and 36.25% of the males and females respectively used *gentleman* as a 'married man,' as a similar pair of percentage of male and female respondents used *lady* to refer to a 'married female.' This therefore, shows that in the KenE usage, more males than females will consider referring to 'married male' and a 'married female' as *gentleman* and *lady* respectively.

i. Females use *gentleman* for a 'religious male' and *lady* for a 'religious female' more than men do.

The table shows that 30% and 36.25% of male and female respondents respectively used a *gentleman* for a 'religious male' while 28.78% and 41.25% of the male and female respondents respectively used *lady* for a 'religious female.' Therefore, even though generally, there was an equal response of 66.25% in both cases to the usage of *gentleman* and *lady* in this context, it was observed that more females than males used the lexical contrasts *gentleman* and *lady* for a 'religious male' and a 'religious female' respectively basing their assumption on the level of discipline that is expected of them. This means that in the KenE usage, more females than males will use the pair for *gentleman* and *lady* for a 'religious male' and a 'religious female' respectively.

3.2.3 Results of *bachelor* vs. *spinster*

Table 17: Meanings of *bachelor* and *spinster* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Ser. No	Meaning of *bachelor*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *spinster*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	An unmarried male	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	An unmarried female	Yes	8	10%	6	17.5%	14	17.5%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	32	40%	34	42.5%	66	82.5%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b.	A male divorcee	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A female divorcee	Yes	18	22.5%	16	20%	34	42.5%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	13	16.25%	20	25%	33	41.25%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	9	11.25%	4	5%	13	16.25%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c.	A widower	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A widow	Yes	7	8.75%	3	3.75%	10	12.5%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	31	38.75%	35	43.75%	66	82.5%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	2	2.5%	2	2.5%	4	5%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d.	A male living alone	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A female living alone	Yes	6	7.5%	5	6.25%	11	13.75%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	23	28.75%	24	30%	47	58.75%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	11	13.75%	11	13.75%	22	27.5%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%

*The Kenyan English meanings of **bachelor** vs. **spinster***

Generally, as gathered from the majority of respondents, in English usage in Kenya, a *bachelor* and *spinster* are generally 'any male or female living a free life without a partner.' According to the results on the table above, 100% of the respondents referred each of the meanings listed above as *bachelor*. It therefore, appears like in the KenE usage, any man living alone in the sense that he has no female partner will be referred to as a *bachelor* regardless of the reason behind being alone. According to a few respondents, in the KenE usage, there exist two terms: a 'married *bachelor*' and a 'senior *bachelor*.' A 'married *bachelor*' is used to refer to a man who is married or in a love relationship with any female but behaves in a manner that portrays him as not married for instance 'hanging out' with his younger unmarried mates in clubs and so on, or engaging in activities that only unmarried men should do. On the other hand, while speakers would refer to any male who for some reason lives alone as a *bachelor*, when such male advances in age, he will be referred to as a 'senior *bachelor*.' However, as observed in the table above, this was different in the usage of the lexical contrast *spinster* as is discussed below:

a. **All males and females use *bachelor* for an 'unmarried male' while more males than females use *spinster* for an 'unmarried female'**

While 100% of both the male and female respondents referred to an 'unmarried male' and as *bachelor* only 23.75% of male and 17.5% of female respondents used *spinster* for an 'unmarried female' with a total of 58.75% who rejected this usage. As gathered from the respondents, in the KenE usage, people are used to referring to ladies who live alone as 'single ladies' as opposed to *spinster*. However, it is quite rare for males to be referred to as 'single men.' This shows that while the term *bachelor* is a common term in the English usage in Kenya, its contrast, *spinster* is hardly ever used. Finally, in this context of usage, there was slightly more usage of *spinster* by males (23.75%) than females (17.5%).

b. **All males and females use *bachelor* for a 'male divorcee' while more males than females use *spinster* for a 'female divorcee'**

While 100% of both the male and female respondents used *bachelor* for a 'male divorcee,' only 22.5% of male and 20% of female respondents, used *female* for an 'unmarried female' as

spinster. However, a total of 41.25% of the respondents rejected this usage, as 16.25% of the respondents indicated that they were not sure of this meaning in usage. Again, as gathered from the respondents, in the KenE usage, people tend to use 'single lady' as opposed to *spinster* to refer to a 'female divorcee.' This shows that, though both the male and female respondents used *bachelor* for a 'male divorcee' in this context of usage, there was evidence of only a minimal effect of gender on the choice and usage of *spinster* as there was slightly more of its usage by males (22.5%) than females (20%).

c. **All males and females use *bachelor* for a 'widower' while more males than females use *spinster* for a 'widow'**

As gathered from a number of respondents, a *widower* or *widow* is seen as a person who has no female or male partner respectively. However, in this context, there was an equivalent usage of the lexical contrasts. As seen in the table above, while 100% of the respondents referred to a 'widower' as *bachelor,* only 8.75% and 3.75% of male and female respondents respectively (12.5%) used *spinster* as 'widow.' However, 52.5% of the respondents rejected this usage of *spinster,* as 2.5% of each gender indicated that they were not sure of this usage. Again, this shows that in the KenE usage, though both male and female speakers will all use *bachelor* for 'widower,' only a very few people will use *spinster* for 'widow.' As seen above, more male (8.75%) than female (3.75%) speakers will use *spinster* for 'widow.'

d. **All males and females use *bachelor* for a 'a man living alone' while more males than females use *spinster* for a 'a woman living alone'**

According to the respondents, concerning people living alone because of such reasons as working away from their families may either be referred to as, *bachelor* or *spinster* because of the lonely life they live. However, many while 100% of both the male and female respondents referred to a 'man living alone' as *bachelor,* only 7.5% and 6.25% of male and female respondents respectively totalling to a low 13.75% used *spinster* as a 'female living alone.' A total of 58.75% of respondents rejected this usage of *spinster*, as 27.5% of the respondents indicated that they were not sure of this meaning. Therefore, from these results, there seems that in the KenE usage, any male living without a partner, whether for reasons of work or by choice,

is likely to be referred to as *bachelor*. This was a slight difference in the usage of *spinster* as 'any female living alone*,'* as slightly more males (7.5%) than females (6.25%).

Though attitude was not an independent variable in this study, from the discussions, it was evident that the society regarded *bachelorhood* and *spinsterhood* as some inadequacy on the side of both males and females respectively. According to many respondents, both males and females should marry after attaining a certain age that that was varied according to different respondents.

3.2.4 Results of *boy* vs. *girl*

Table 18: Meanings of *boy* and *girl* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Ser. No	Meaning of *boy*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *girl*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Male student	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female student	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0	0	0	0	0%		No	0	0	0	0	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b.	Male lover	Yes	15	18.75%	26	32.5%	41	51.25%	Female lover	Yes	34	42.5%	26	32.5%	60	75%
		No	25	31.25%	14	17.5%	39	48.75%		No	6	7.5%	14	17.5%	20	25%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c.	Unmarried male	Yes	13	16.25%	27	33.75%	40	50%	Unmarried female	Yes	32	40%	40	50%	72	90%
		No	27	33.75%	13	16.25%	40	50%		No	8	10%	0	0%	8	10%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d.	Man	Yes	13	16.25%	27	33.75%	40	50%	Woman	Yes	15	18.75%	8	10%	23	28.75%
		No	27	33.75%	13	16.25%	40	50%		No	25	31.25%	32	40%	57	71.25%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
e.	Uncircumcised male	Yes	29	36.25%	11	13.75%	55	68.75%	Uncircumcised female	Yes	13	16.25%	6	7.5%	**19**	**23.75%**
		No	10	12.5%	24	30%	19	23.75%		No	20	25%	26	32.5%	**46**	**57.5%**
		Unsure	1	1.25%	5	6.25%	6	7.5%		Unsure	7	8.75%	8	10%	**15**	**18.75%**
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	100%
f.	Son	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Daughter	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	**80**	**100%**
		No	0	0	0	0	0	0%		No	0	0	0	0	**0**	**0%**
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	100%
g.	Male casual	Yes	36	45%	23	28.75%	59	73.75%	Female casual	Yes	28	35%	36	45%	**64**	**80%**
		No	4	5%	17	21.25%	21	26.25%		No	12	15%	4	5%	**16**	**20%**

	worker	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	worker	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**	**100%**
h.	Any strange young-looking male	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Any strange young-looking female	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	
		No	0	0	0	0	0	0%		No	0	0	0	0	0	0%	
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**	**100%**

The Kenyan English meanings of **boy** vs. **girl**

a. Both males and females will use *boy* **for 'a male student' and** *girl* **for 'a female student'**

Table 7 and 8 above, shows that all the respondents, represented by 100% in all age categories used the pair *boy* and *girl* to refer to a 'a male student' and a 'female student' respectively. This shows that in KenE usage, both males and females will use the pair according to this meaning.

b. More females than males used *boy* **as a 'male lover' while more males than females used** *girl* **for a 'female lover'**

According to table 18, whereas 18.75% and 32.5% male and female respondents respectively used *boy* as a 'male lover,' a total of 48.75% rejected the usage. On the other hand, 42.5% and 32.5% of the male and female respondents used *girl* as a 'female lover,' a total of 25% rejected the usage. This indicates that in KenE usage, while more females than males will use *boy* as a 'man,' more males than females will use *girl* as a 'woman.' As gathered from the respondents, males don't like the usage of *boy* as a term of reference beyond age 20-23 because it makes them feel young and immature.

Trudgill (2000, p.188) said, "Boy refers of course to a young male person, but many people feel uncomfortable about using it to refer to anyone older than early teenage, and it is certainly not in very wide use for individuals aged over about twenty."

Many of the males therefore, preferred to be called *man* instead. On the other hand, *girls* don't like to be defined as *woman,* because of the sexual connotations that accompany the term *woman.* Many would therefore opt for *lady* instead. However, from the findings, there was more usage of *boy* for 'man' at 50% than its opposite *girl* as 'woman' at only 28.75%. As gathered from the respondents, while it always sounds offensive for males to be referred to as *boy,* females love the term *girl* because it makes them feel young and beautiful despite their age. In p.188, Trudgill further says, "[…] It has been, in other words, more usual to use the more childlike word for women than for men."

Considering the data below:

24. *"The twilight* **girls** *use […] to lure* **men** *into sex, […]"*

(From *The Nairobian* Newspaper, 4 March 2022, p. 5)

Looking at the data above, according to the respondents, *girl* acquires the meaning of *woman* because of the sexual connotations that it holds in this statement where *girls,* is equated to *men* instead of *boys*. *Girl* in this context may not have necessarily been used to refer to females who are still underage as would have appeared had it been equated to *boys*. Many respondents stated that the usage of the lexical contrast *boy* does not portray much sexual connotation as is implicitly expressed in the lexical contrast *girl* in the data above. Equating *girls* to *men* as expressed in the data above, shows that their role in this context is only equivalent to the role of grown *men* and not *boys.*

c. **More females than males use *boy* for an 'unmarried male' and *girl* for 'unmarried female'**

The results in the table show that while 16.25% and 33.75% of the male and female respondents respectively representing 50% used *boy* as an 'unmarried male' with 33.75% and 16.25% rejecting the usage, 40% and 50% of male and female respondents representing a larger 90% of total respondents used *girl* as an 'unmarried female' with 10% of the male respondents rejecting the usage. This indicates that in KenE usage, more females than males will use *boy* and *girl* as 'unmarried male' and 'unmarried female' respectively. However, comparing this meaning in usage of the pair, there was generally more usage of *girl* than *boy* as shown by 90% usage for *girl* as a 'unmarried female' and 50% for its opposite *boy* as a 'unmarried male' respectively.

d. **More males than females use *boy* for 'man,' while *girl* for 'woman' is used equally by both males and females**

The results in the table show that while 16.25% and 33.75% of the male and female respondents respectively representing 50% used *boy* as 'man,' only 18.75% and 10% of male and female respondents respectively used *girl* for 'woman,' with 31.25% and 40% rejecting the usage. This indicates that in KenE usage, while more males than females will use *boy* for 'a male who has not achieved any status,' an equal number of both males and females will use *girl* equally as a female who has not achieved any status. However, comparing this meaning in usage of the pair, there was generally more usage of *girl* than its opposite *boy* in this context. According to the table, the similarity between this response and (c) above indicate that in KenE usage, males and females see marriage equally as an 'achieved status,' and therefore, just as seen

above, while more females without an achieved status would be called *girl,* less males without achieved status will be called *boys.* Having discussed the respondents' views on the connotations of *boy,* and the reaction of the male respondents towards its usage as a term of reference, this conclusion reveals some bias on the female gender as opposed to the male gender.

e. More females than males use *boy* for an 'uncircumcised male' and *girl* for 'uncircumcised female'

As observed above, while 36.25% and 13.75% of the male and female respondents respectively used *boy* for an 'uncircumcised male,' 16.25% and 7.5% of the male and female respondents respectively used *girl* as an 'uncircumcised female.' This shows that in KenE usage, more males than females will use *boy* as an 'uncircumcised male,' and *girl* as an 'uncircumcised female.' However, as observed above, according to this meaning, the pair of opposites is non-equivalent as there was more usage of *boy* in this context by a higher percentage of 68.75% than *girl* at a lower percentage of 23.75%.

Culture, though not an independent variable in this research played a role in this meaning. Many male respondents especially those that hailed from communities that practiced circumcision emphasized on how much key this cultural practice is as it transforms a male from *boy* into *man*. However, with regards to the female respondents, it is worth noting that much as a number shied away from discussing this particular point, there were a few who though they would define *girl* in this context.

f. Both males and females equally used *boy* for 'a son' and *girl* for 'daughter'

As observed from table 18, it is clear from the responses that in the KenE usage, the lexical contrasts, *boy* and *girl,* will be equivalently used, as in both cases, 100% of the male and female respondents were in support of using *boy* as a 'son' and the *girl* as a 'daughter.'

g. More males than females use *boy* for a 'male or female casual worker' while more females than males use *girl* for a 'female casual worker'

The results show that while 45% and 28.75% of the male and female respondents respectively representing 73.75% used *boy* as an 'male casual worker,' 35% and 45% of the male and female respondents respectively representing a larger 80% of total respondents used *girl* as a

'female casual worker.' This indicates that in KenE usage, while more females than males will use *girl* as 'female casual worker', more males than female will use *boy* as a 'male casual worker.' Many respondents identified one setting where the term *boy* is more used than *girl* is in the Indian shops where the Indian bosses are fond of this reference to the males working for them. According to a number of respondents, considering the sexual connotation that is implicitly expressed in the usage of *boy* and *girl*, it would be rather awkward for a male to refer to a female worker as '*my girl*' just as it would sound awkward for a female to refer to a male worker as 'my *boy.'* This shows that much as more people would use the pair according to this meaning, there is a high likelihood that speakers will use *girl* more for their 'female helpers' than they will use *boy* for their 'male helpers.'

h. Both males and females equally use *boy* for 'any strange young-looking male' and *girl* for 'any young-looking female'

From the responses in table 18, again, it is clear that in the KenE usage, the lexical contrasts, *boy* and *girl,* will be equivalently used, as in both cases, 100% of the male and female respondents indicated that they would use *boy* as 'any strange young-looking male' and *girl* as a 'any strange young-looking female.'

Table 19: Meanings of *father* and *mother* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Ser. No	Meaning of *father*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *mother*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	Your male leader or your boss	Yes	9	11.25%	20	25%	29	36.25%	Your female leader or your boss	Yes	25	31.25%	32	40%	57	71.25%
		No	31	38.75%	20	25%	51	63.75%		No	15	18.75%	8	10%	23	28.75%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b.	A father-in-law	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A mother-in-law	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c.	A male sponsor/guardian/ Mentor	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A female sponsor/ guardian/ Mentor	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	O	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d.	A male priest/pastor	Yes	21	26.25%	34	42.5%	55	68.75%	A female priest/pastor	Yes	9	11.25%	19	23.75%	28	35%
		No	7	8.75%	12	15%	19	23.75%		No	31	38.75%	21	26.25%	52	65%
		Unsure	4	5%	2	2.5%	6	7.5%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	40	50%
e.	Your former male teacher	Yes	16	20%	18	22.5%	34	57.5%	Your former female teacher	Yes	16	20%	18	22.5	34	42.5%
		Yes	24	30%	22	27.5%	46	42.5%		No	24	30%	22	27.5%	46	57.5%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
f.	A brother to your	Yes	33	41.25%	33	41.25%	66	82.5%	A sister to your	Yes	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		No	7	8.75%	7	8.75%	14	17.5%		No	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%

	father	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	father	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
h.	A brother to your mother	Yes	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	A sister to your mother	Yes	11	13.75%	13	16.25%	24	30%
		No	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%		No	29	36.25%	27	33.75%	56	70%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
g.	Any elderly male	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Any elderly female	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**

a. More females than males use *father* for a 'male leader /boss' and *mother* for a 'female leader/boss'

According to table 19, while 11.25% and 25% of the male and female respondents respectively used *father* for a 'male leader/boss,' 31.25% and 40% of the male and female respondents respectively, used *mother* for a 'female leader/boss.' However, in both genders, while a total of 63.75% rejected this context of usage for *father,* only 28.75% of the respondents rejected the usage of *mother* for a 'female leader/boss.' This shows that in the KenE usage, it appears like much as more speakers are likely to use *mother* for a 'female leader/boss' than they will use *father* for a 'male leader/boss,' more females than males will use the pair in this context. This shows a non-equivalent usage of the linguistic pair, *father* vs. *mother.*

According to a number of respondents, in many instances, the president of the republic of Kenya has commonly been referred to as the '*father* of the nation' meaning, he leads this nation. But, because Kenya has not had a female president, there was no evidence from the respondents that they would refer to a female president as *mother* even though the mother to the president has in a few occasions been referred to as '*mother* of the nation.' Respondent R80 elaborated that in areas where governors and other political positions are held by females, the citizens have always referred to them as *mother*. In her example of such instances, the respondent spoke of the current race for the anticipated August 8th 2022 election where supporters of the personality running for presidency alongside a female running mate is referred to as *father* while lady running mate, eyeing the Deputy Gubernatorial seat, has commonly been referred to as *mother* as recorded from the daily news on radio and television from the many political rallies. Interesting to note is, as gathered from majority of respondents, that much as a larger number would refer to a female leader as *mother*, fewer people referred to their male leaders as *father*. It was also discovered from the respondents that in other few occasions, for lack of a better lexical contrast to refer to, or address their bosses, some servants or maids have referred to them as *father* or *mother*. On this note, when respondents spoke about the boss in charge of a brothel, the findings reveal that while females managing or owning a brothel or bureaus for maids are referred to as *mother,* in the few cases where males managed or owned such institutions, they are not referred to as *father,* but by other lexical contrasts as uncle, boss, some pen name or a code.

b. Both females and males equally used *father* for 'father-in-law' and *mother* for 'mother-in-law'

According to the table, 50% of respondents in each gender category representative of 100% of the total population used the pair *father* and *mother* for 'father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law' respectively. This shows that the pair *father* vs. *mother* is used equivalently in this context in regard to the English usage in Kenya.

c. Males and females equally use *father* for a 'male sponsor/guardian/mentor' and *mother* for a 'female sponsor/guardian/mentor'

The lexical contrasts above were used in this context by the respondents in regard to the role they play in a subject's life. Being someone's sponsor, guardian or mentor means one has to take the role that should have been played by a *father* or a *mother*. This explains why 100% of both male and female respondents referred to a *father* or *mother* in this sense in the context of KenE expressing an equivalent usage.

d. More females than males use *father* for a 'male priest/pastor' and *mother* for a 'female priest/pastor.'

According to the table, while 26.25% and 42.5% of the male and female respondents respectively used *father* for a 'male priest/pastor' only 11.25% and 23.75% of the male and female respondents respectively used *mother* for a 'female priest/pastor.' However, in both genders, while a total of 68.75% of the respondents used this context of usage for *father,* only 35% used 'female leader/boss' for *mother.* This indicates that in the KenE usage, while speakers are more likely to use *father* in reference to a 'male priest/pastor' than they will use *mother* to refer to a 'female priest/pastor,' it is evident that more females than males are likely to use the pair according to this meaning. This shows a non-equivalent usage of the linguistic pair, *father* vs. *mother.* Consider the data below:

> 25. *"Abel D., I am glad to be a daughter, mentee and a follower of this great man of God. He [...] doctrinal persuasion. Celebrating my **father**."*
>
> (From facebook post, by Jane O.O. on 8 October 2022. Accessed on 10 October 2022, Monday 12:29pm).

The female speaker is referring to her male pastor as *father.*

e. Slightly more males than females used *father* for a 'male teacher' and *mother* for a 'female teacher'

The table shows that, while only 20% of the male and 22.5% of the female respondents used *father* for a 'male teacher,' a similar percentage of respondents used *mother* according to this meaning. However, a larger 57.5% of the respondents in both genders rejected this usage for both *father* and *mother*. This shows that in the KenE usage, though there would be the same frequency of usage of *father* and *mother* by both males and female speakers, it is evident that slightly more females than males used this pair according to this meaning.

f. Both males and females equally use *father* for 'brother to your father' while *mother* for 'sister to your father' is hardly used

According to the table, while 41.25% of the male respondents and another 41.25% of the female respondents, totalling to 82.5% used *father* for a 'brother to your father,' 0% percentage of the respondents used *mother* for 'sister to your father.' A total of 17.5% of respondents rejected this context of usage specifically for *father*. This shows that in KenE usage, while both males and females would use *father* for 'brother to your father,' none would use *mother* for 'sister to your father.' This shows a clear evidence of non-equivalent usage of the linguistic pair of the lexical contrasts.

g. Both males and females hardly use *father* for 'brother to your mother' as they use *mother* for 'sister to your mother'

According to the table, while none of the male respondents used *father* for 'brother to your mother' 13.75% and 16.25% of the male and female respondents respectively used *mother* for a 'sister to your mother.' 36.25% and 33.75% of respondents in the respective gender categories rejected this context of usage specifically for *mother*. This shows that in KenE usage, there would be non-equivalent usage of the pair of contrasts by both males and females.

h. Both males and females equally use *father* for 'any elderly male' and *mother* for 'any elderly female'

According to the table, 100% of the respondents used the pair *father* and *mother* for 'an elderly male' and 'an elderly female' respectively. This shows that the pair *father* vs. *mother* is used equivalently in this context in regard to the English usage in Kenya.

3.2.6 Results of *brother* vs. *sister*

Table 20: Meanings of *brother* and *sister* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Ser. No	Meaning of *brother*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *sister*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a.	A male friend/asso ciate	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female friend/ass ociate	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b.	A male colleague/c o-worker	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female colleague/ co-worker	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c.	A male alumnus	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female alumnus	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d.	A male accomplice /ally	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female accomplic e/ally	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
e.	A male church member	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female church member	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
f.	A male age mate	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Female age mate	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%

*The Kenyan English meanings of **brother** vs. **sister***

According to table 20, 100% of the respondents were distributed equally amongst the two gender categories in every contrast term. This shows that in KenE usage, both males and females use the pair equally as follows:

a. *brother* for 'a male friend/associate' and *sister* for 'a female friend/associate'

b. *brother* for 'a male colleague/co-worker' and *sister* for 'a female colleague/co-worker'

c. *brother* for 'a male alumnus' and *sister* for 'a female alumnus'

d. *brother* for 'your male accomplice/ally' and *sister* for 'your female student/mentee'

e. *brother* for 'a male church member' and *sister* for 'a female church member'

f. *brother* for 'a male age mate' and *sister* for 'a female age mate'

Majority of respondents equated '*brotherhood*' or '*sisterhood*' to the idea of 'togetherness.' As observed above, therefore, it seems that in the KenE usage, it does not matter whether or not one is female or male, to be able to use one lexical contrast term in a linguistic pair over another as the pairs were used equally by both genders in all the contexts listed.

In the context of usage of this pair as *step-brother* and *step-sister,* it was gathered from both male and female respondents that the irregularity in meanings that occurred in the usage of this pair, for instance, whether a *step-brother* or *step-sister* is a 'son to the "co-wife" of one's mother,' a son to 'one's 'other father,'' a 'male or female paternal/maternal cousin,' did not depend on whether the user was male or female.

Considering the following data:

26. *"The Wiper leader […] reconciliatory note […] him and Wetangula are **brothers** […]."*

(The Standard Newspaper, Tuesday, 25 January, 2022, p. 8)

Here, the lexical term '*brothers*' is not used in a biological sense, but as political mates or associates.

27. *'Reporting on COTU leader Mr Atwoli's speech about Mr Mudavadi and Ford Kenya leader Moses Wetangula said, "Speaking in Kilifi yesterday, the COTU boss [...] Dr Ruto was sitting pretty at the meeting knowing he has 'married the two **sisters**'"*

(From, *The Standard* Newspaper, Tuesday, 25 January 25, 2022, p.7)

The metaphorical use of *sisters* in data (27) above was uttered by a political opponent in an attempt to trivialize the political union between the two political parties. Because there's no way two male politicians can ever share *sisterhood*, the term '*sisters*' is used in this sense in a sarcastic manner to mock the two male politicians who had been wooed from their own party into another's party. In the African context, a female is seen as subordinate to the male who marries her. And therefore, speaking of marrying two *sisters* insinuates that the ones who were 'married' will be subordinates of the one who 'married them.' Responding to the contextualization of 'marriage' in the data above, according to the respondents, while Ruto who owns the party that absorbed (married) the two male politicians was 'muscularized,' the other two politicians, Moses Wetangula and Mr. Mudavadi are 'feminized' hence the idea of marriage of the 'two *sisters*.' Therefore, the usage of the lexical contrast '*sisters*,' acquires a negative connotation to insinuate 'weakness.'

28. *"The political debts atmosphere can be traced back to the first government of Jomo Kenyatta, [...] this, to the **brothers** from Luo land has made them believe that they also deserve to be paid back."*

*(*From, *The Standard* Newspaper, Thursday, 23 September 2021, p. 2)

Considering (24), according to the respondents, *brothers* is used as an inclusive lexical term for both males and females' and therefore, the statements speaks of a whole community, including its men and women, being a 'sibling' of another community. The non-equivalent usage of the term *brother* and *sister* is expressed where, much as *brother* would mean both males and females in actual usage, *sister* does not apply to males and females, but to females only.

3.2.7 Results of *son* vs. *daughter*

Table 21: Meanings of *son* and *daughter* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Meaning of *son*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *daughter*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a. A male age mate/friend to your child	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A female age mate/friend to your child	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
b. Son-in-law	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Daughter-in-law	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
c. Your friend's male child	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Your friend's female child	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
d. Your nephew	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Your niece	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
e. Your male student/ Mentee	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	Your female student	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
f. The male child you sponsor	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	**80**	**100%**	The female child you sponsor	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	**80**	**100%**
	No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
g. A male church member (under a priest/pastor)	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	**80**	**100%**	A female church member (under a priest/pastor)	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	**80**	**100%**
	No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		No	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	**0**	**0%**
		40	50%	40	50%	80	100%			40	50%	40	50%	80	100%

*The KenE meanings of **son** vs. **daughter***

According to the table above, 100% of the male respondents and 100% of the female respondents used the GLCP according to the following meanings:

a. *Son* for 'any male age mate/friend to your child' and *daughter* for 'any female age mate/friend to your child'

b. *Son* for 'a son-in-law' and *daughter* for 'a daughter in law'

c. *Son* for 'your friend's male child' and *daughter* for 'your friend's female child'

d. *Son* for 'your nephew' and *daughter* for 'your niece'

e. *Son* for 'your male student/mentee' and *daughter* for 'your female student/mentee.'

f. *Son* for 'the male child under your care/sponsorship' and *daughter* for 'the female child under your sponsorship.'

g. *Son* for 'a male member of a church under a priest/pastor/preacher' and *daughter* for 'a female member of a church under a priest/pastor/preacher'

Considering again data (24) in the previous discussion of *father* vs. *mother*,

*"Abel D., I am glad to be a daughter, mentee and a follower of this great man of God. He […] doctrinal persuasion […]. Celebrating my **father**"*

The female speaker having referred to her preacher as *father,* being a member of the preacher's church, she considers herself as a *daughter* to the said preacher.

Table 21 shows an equivalent usage of the GLCP. This shows that in the KenE usage, both males and females will use *son* and *daughter* equally according to the meanings above. According to a number of respondents, referring to anyone not biologically related to one as either *son* or *daughter* actually sounds very polite, dear and respectful. As observed above, it did not matter whether one was male or female; the pairs were used equally by both genders.

However, as expressed in the other context of usage of this pair as *step-son* and *step-daughter,* a number of respondents stated that there is some sense of stigma that comes along with relations prefixed by 'step-,' for both male and female users of language. That, much as a 'step-son' or a 'step-daughter' should basically be someone's *son* or *daughter*, the idea of 'illegitimacy' stigmatizes both the addressor and the addressee. This is why in the KenE usage, speakers are likely to use the terms *son* or *daughter* for *step-son* or *step-daughter.*

Therefore, much as in the KenE usage, speakers are likely to use *father* and *mother* for the meanings listed above, there are other contexts of usage where fewer males than females will use one term over the other. For example, as gathered from the majority of respondents in the context of usage in church, more female than male church members would refer to their church priests/pastors as either *father* or *mother,* more so, *daddy* or *mommy.* In the same spirit, the priests/pastors would also refer to the male and female members of their churches as either *son* or *daughter* respectively. Most male respondents, however, expressed their disregard for the usage of such terms for referent to their leaders.

3.2.8 Results of *mister (Mr.)* vs. *missus (Mrs.)*

Table 24: Meanings of *mister (Mr)* and *missus (Mrs)* in Kenyan English usage according to the respondent's gender (N=40 for each gender)

Meaning of *mister (Mr.)*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%	Meaning of *missus (Mrs.)*		M (N=40)	%	F (N=40)	%	Tot (N=80)	%
a. A male teacher	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A female teacher	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
b. Husband of a teacher	Yes	27	33.75%	24	30%	51	63.75%	Wife of a teacher	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	13	16.25%	16	20%	29	36.25%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
c. An employed male	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	An employed female	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
d. A male in a high rank	Yes	29	36.25%	26	32.5%	55	76.25%	A female in a high rank	Yes	27	33.75%	34	42.5%	61	76.25%
	No	11	13.75%	14	17.5%	19	23.75%		No	13	16.25%	6	7.5%	19	23.75%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
e. A well-dressed male	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A well-dressed female	Yes	24	30%	27	33.75%	51	63.75%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	16	20%	13	16.25%	29	36.25%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
f. A male who wears expensive suits	Yes	40	50%	40	50%	80	100%	A well-dressed female	Yes	24	30%	27	33.75%	51	63.75%
	No	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		No	16	20%	13	16.25%	29	36.25%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**50%**	**80**	**100%**
g. Any adult male	Yes	19	23.75%	23	28.75%	42	52.5%	Any adult female	Yes	19	23.75%	23	28.75%	42	52.5%
	No	21	26.25%	17	21.25%	38	47.5%		No	21	26.25%	17	21.25%	38	47.5%
	Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		Unsure	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
		40	**50%**	**40**	**25%**	**80**	**80%**			**40**	**50%**	**40**	**25%**	**80**	**80%**

*Kenyan English meanings of **mister** and **missus***

a. Both male and female speakers use *mister* for 'a male teacher' for *missus* a 'female teacher'

As observed above, while 100% of the male and female respondents used *mister* for a 'male teacher,' 100% of the male and female respondents used *missus* to refer to a 'female teacher.' This shows that in the KenE usage, the mention of *mister* or *Mrs* as a title of either a male or a female referent equally triggers the thought of teacher profession for both males and female speakers. As it appears, both male and female KenE users will this pair equivalently according to this meaning.

b. While more males than females use *mister f*or a 'husband of a teacher,' both males and females use *missus* for a 'wife of a teacher.'

As observed in the table above, while 33.75% and 30% of the male and female respondents respectively used *mister* for a 'husband of a teacher,' 100% of the female respondents used *mister* to refer to a 'wife of a male teacher.' This means that in the KenE usage, while more men than women will use *mister* for a 'husband of a teacher,' both the males and females will use *missus,* for a 'wife of a teacher.'

c. Gender of speakers does not inform the usage of *mister* for 'an employed male' or *missus* for 'an employed female'

The table shows that 100% of all respondents in both genders used *mister* and *Mr* for 'any employed male' and 'any employed female' respectively. As argued by many respondents, employment itself elevates one's standards. To KenE speakers, a person who is educated is highly esteemed thus considered as either a *mister* or *missus.* Therefore, as seen above, the pair fits as equivalent opposites in this context of meaning as defined by both male and female respondents. In this context, gender was not a determining factor in the usage of this pair.

d. More males than females use *mister* for a 'male of a high rank' while more females than males use *missus* for a 'female of a high rank.'

The results on the table above show an equal total percentage representation of both opposite terms. However, as observed in the usage by male and female respondents, though slightly more males (36.25%) than females (32.5%) used *mister* for a 'male of a high rank,' more females (42.5%) than males 33.75%) defined *missus* as a 'female of a high rank. According to respondent R36, the reason *mister,* for a 'male in high rank' is more frequent is because while seemingly the term *mister* is constant with regards to marital status of a male, the term *missus* is affected by the marital status of a female. This is why, while 'a male in a high rank' can be referred to as *mister* whether married or not, 'a female in a high rank' can only be referred to as *missus* if she is married.

While this is true, a number of the respondents argued that a person of high rank should instead be referred to by a more neutral term 'boss' or as either 'madam' for females or 'sir' for males. This shows that in the KenE usage, for lack of much knowledge about titles, there are a number of speakers who think the pair 'madam' and 'sir' are of a higher rank than *mister* and *missus.* The discussion on other nuances of 'sir' and 'madam' as used in KenE appears in the works of a few scholars such as Buregeya (2019) on his discussion of some address terms used in professional and academic circles and those in political ones, and Otiso (2018), on her analysis of the terms 'boss' and 'madam' among other address terms in her work on the gender variable in meaning assigned to three English address terms by teachers in Kenya.

e. While all males and females use *mister* for 'a well-dressed male,' slightly more fmales than males use *missus* for 'a well-dressed female'

The table shows that 100% of all respondents in both genders used *mister* for 'a well-dressed male.' However, while only 30% of male respondents used *missus* for 'a well-dressed female,' 33.75% used *missus* for the same meaning. According to the male and the female respondents' argument, being well-dressed is attributed to smartness, and that a person who is well-dressed commands a lot of respect in the society thus, considered as either a *mister* or *missus.* However, though most respondents were in support for the usage of this pair according to this meaning, the question of standards arose, on what exactly would males or females consider as 'good dressing,' and whether what females would refer to as

'good dressing' would be the same case for males.' It is however worth noting that the issue of dress code affected the usage of *missus* more than *mister*. This explains the different responses of the males (30%) and females (33.75%) with regards to the usage of *missus* according to this meaning. As seen above, *mister* and *missus* are non-equivalent opposites in this context of meaning. This means that while gender is not a determining factor in the usage *mister,* it is a contributing factor to the usage of *missus* in the KenE usage.

f. **While all males and females use *mister* for 'a male who wears expensive/classy suits,' slightly more males than females use *missus* for a 'female who wears expensive/classy suits'**

Just as the results in (e), in (f), 100% of all respondents in both genders used *mister* for 'a male who wears expensive/classy suits.' However, while only 30% of male respondents used *missus* for 'a female who wears expensive/classy suits' 33.75% used *missus* for the same meaning. Respondent R22 cited an example of a shop called *Mr.* Price in Nairobi where expensive classy men's wears are sold. This shows that the term *mister* just as *missus* comes with a sense of quality or value attached to smartness of an individual, which is seen both in being well-dressed and being classy or expensively dressed. Even though in this particular case, Mr. Price points to the males, the same applies to women too as argued by the respondents. Again, as seen above, *mister* and *missus* are non-equivalent opposites in this context of meaning. This means that while gender is not a determining factor in the usage *mister,* it is a contributing factor to the usage of *missus* in the KenE usage.

g. **More females than males use *mister* for 'any adult male' and *missus* for 'any adult female'**

The table shows that 23.75% and 28.75% of the male and female respondents respectively, used *mister* for 'any adult male.' The same result was realized in the usage of *missus* for 'any adult female.' This shows that in KenE usage, more females than males will use *mister* for 'any adult male' and *missus* for 'any adult female.' According to the findings, gender is to an extent a determining factor in the usage of this pair.

Summary

This chapter discussed gender as a factor in the assigning of various meanings to seven lexical contrast pairs in the English usage in Kenya as listed in chapter 2. From the findings, a number of observations were made: firstly, some meanings of the lexical contrasts were used equally by both males and females, for instance, *son* vs. *daughter* as 'any male or female friend of your child'. Secondly, there was evidence that in a number of instances, particular lexical contrast terms yielded more or less usage by males or females than its opposite pair showing a non-equivalent usage. For example, in *father* vs. *mother* as a 'male or female priest/pastor', the findings revealed that in KenE usage, more females than males used the pair of lexical contrasts according to this meaning. Again, considering *bachelor* vs. *spinster*, the latter was hardly ever used in actual conversation by speakers of both genders. Thirdly, the connotations attached to some of the contrast terms within a pair may range from positive to derogatory depending on the gender of the respondents. For instance, referring to a male as *boy* by females may be considered as impolite as opposed to such reference by another male. Yet, this is different in the opposite case where reference to a female as *girl* by a male counterpart is considered sexy and nice. Finally, there was an element of biasness or discrimination in the usage of these pairs, for instance where *man* vs. *woman*, as opposed to the dictionary meaning where the two are equivalent, in actual usage, *woman*, as gathered from respondents in both genders is assigned more negative connotations than the contrast *man.* It can therefore be concluded that in deed gender plays a very big role in the actual usage of the various lexical contrast pairs.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

This study sought to investigate the different nuances which gendered lexical contrasts such as *boy* and *girl* are given in the actual usage of English in Kenya. Using a mixed approach, this study was guided by the following research objectives: 1. to establish whether connotations of gendered contrasts differ, in English usage in Kenya, depending on the user's age. 2. To establish whether the connotations of gendered contrasts such as *son* and *daughter* differ, in English usage in Kenya, depending on whether the users of them is male or female. This study was based on authentic sources such as newspapers, radio, television, social media, internet and daily conversations with people, and data elicited from a group of students and teachers in a workshop conducted in Narok County with attendance of 176 participants from different schools within Narok County. The different study groups were first given a set of 8 commonly used lexical contrast pairs as listed in the methodology section in chapter 1, to discuss the possible meanings in their daily speech assuming that the participants all used KenE. A list of meanings per pair was compiled and subjected for test at individual level. 80 respondents were selected through randomized purposive sampling. The respondents were grouped into four age categories of: 16-25yrs, 26-35yrs, 36-45yrs and 45yrs and above, each comprising of 20 respondents according to the first objective. For the second objective, the respondents were grouped into two: 40 males and females. The results from the subjects' responses were recorded on tables and analysed using percentages. Regarding the first objective, much as there was evidence that age is a determinant in the usage of some lexical pairs according to some specific meanings, this was not evident in all cases. For instance, in the usage of the pair *uncle* vs. *aunt,* the result showed that in KenE usage, more respondents across all age categories used the lexical contrast pair for a 'brother or sister to one's father or mother' older than them than they used the pair for a younger 'brother or sister to one's father or mother' younger than them. Of interest is the biased usage of this contrast pair in the context of a house help. While the term *aunt* for a 'female house help' was used by almost all respondents, almost all respondents rejected the usage of *uncle* for a 'male house help.' This however, did not manifest in other pairs like *bachelor* vs. *spinster* where age did not seem to be a determining factor in the choice of usage according to the given nuances.

Regarding the second objective, it was evident from the findings that the way males and females perceive certain terms and their meanings determine whether they will use it or not. For

instance, in the pair *man* vs. *woman,* the results indicate that the term *woman* has more positive connotations than the term *man.* Much as almost all males would prefer the usage of the term *man* as a term of reference, many females would find it impolite to be referred to as *woman* hence, preference to the use of *lady* instead. This is why much as the lexical contrast *man* according to the dictionary meaning is equated to *woman,* in the KenE usage, *man* is in actual usage equivalent to *lady,* the latter used as euphemism for *woman.* In both objective one and two, the findings indicated that in most cases, in every pair, one lexical contrast term had more usage than the other.

Using the Feminist linguistics theory proposed by Kortman (2000, p.228), which addresses social inequalities occurring within language and gender, the findings of this study revealed that indeed certain lexical pairs are used with bias on one gender against another either deliberately or unconsciously. The study found out that the bias in usage does not only manifest in males against females but also females against males. According to the data gathered, while there were more negative connotations given to a *bachelor* than those given to *spinster,* which shows bias of usage against the male gender as opposed to the female gender, the reverse was observed in the usage of *girl* vs. *boy*, where there were more negative connotations given to *girl* than those given to *boy*. This shows a clear discrimination against the female gender.

However, in the course of this study, the findings indicated that a number of other variables played a big role in this study though not independent in this research. For instance, considering 'culture' as a variable with regards to the pair *man* vs. *woman,* while the meaning of *man* can be derived from the idea of circumcision, a cultural transition that turns *boys* into *men* in some Kenyan communities like the Luhya, the same is not so applicable in the case of defining a *woman* since. As gathered from the respondents, many communities are slowly shifting away from the cultural practice of female genital mutilation (FGM) due to its detrimental health repercussions. Another issue was to do with 'rural vs. urban' settings, where a number of respondents' arguments indicated that some lexical pairs seems to gain more usage in the urban settings than in the rural settings, and vice versa, for example, the use of *dad* and *mum* vs. *father* and *mother*. Many respondents argued that the pair *dad* vs. *mum* is less used in the rural areas than in urban' settings, and instead, *father* vs. *mother* is most preferred. Other factors included level of education, profession, religion, attitude/perceptions and social class. However, because of factors such as time, space technological and financial challenges, the researcher could not

carry out a research on all these parameters. I would therefore recommend that using another theory, a study on the same topic be conducted based on these social parameters as independent variables.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

List of data

The data below were extracted from various newspapers, Parents Magazines, conversations on radio and TV, and from respondents.

1. *"[…] which lady in her right mind would say no to a proposal from such a man?"*
2. *"Those men have feet that are articulate of poetry, and their ladies got hips that sway with coordinated geometry,"*
3. *"[…] various incidences where ladies were happily walking away from proposing men […]"*
4. *Master* and *mistress*
5. *Widower* and *widow*
6. *"Kibaki, the gentleman of politics"*
7. "*she's only thirteen but she is already a **woman**,"* and
8. "*she is only thirteen but she's already a **lady**,"*
9. *"I came across this quote '[…].' I think this quote is very necessary for both ladies and men."*
10. *"It should be hung on […] so that the ladies should read it and remember it whenever they are about to stress men."*
11. *So, ladies, don't stress your men, give them a peace of mind […]"*
12. *"I interacted with a lady who was bitter and […] about marrying a man who lured her into marriage after form 4."*
13. *"At bridal shower, **women** are told to […] while **bachelors**, in their party, are told to […].*
14. *"Be a bachelor; but stop wasting women's time."*
15. *"As much as […] claim to remain bachelors, they have a string of women who they change like clothes."*
16. "*Bachelors* have become *deadbeat fathers."*
17. *"[…] remain bachelors but keep away from innocent ladies I they think they can do without them."*
18. *"[…] living like a bachelor"*
19. *"I live on a bachelor's diet."*
20. *You are such a boy!*
21. *You are such a girl!*

22. *In August 2013, Kenyan witness polyandry when two men decided to be husbands to one woman they both love. It is noteworthy that Kenyan laws don't explicitly forbid Polyandry and legal action can't be taken against people who practice it. There have also been reported cases of polyandry among the Maasai people of Kenya.*

23. *"The intention for the legalization is not to solve all problems Kenya has … For instance, your problem of not being allowed in Kenya can't be solved by marijuana. Chill bro […]"*

24. *"The twilight girls use […] to lure men into sex, […]"*

25. *"Abel D., I am glad to be a daughter, mentee and a follower of this great man of God. He […] doctrinal persuasion. Celebrating my **father**."*

26. *"The Wiper leader […] reconciliatory note […] him and Wetangula are brothers […]."*

27. *'Reporting on COTU leader Mr Atwoli's speech about Mr Mudavadi and Ford Kenya leader Moses Wetangula said, "Speaking in Kilifi yesterday, the COTU boss […] Dr Ruto was sitting pretty at the meeting knowing he has 'married the two sisters'"*

28. *"The political debts atmosphere can be traced back to the first government of Jomo Kenyatta, […] this, to the brothers from Luo land has made them believe that they also deserve to be paid back."*

Appendix II

Data sources

1. *Parents Magazine,* Issue No. 278, August 2009, p.47

2. *The Nairobian 4 March 2022, p. 5*

3. *Daily Nation*, 29 January 2022, p. 19

4. *Wardhaugh (2010, p.337)*

5. *Wardhaugh (2010, p.337)*

6. The *Daily Nation*, 30 March, 2022, p.7

7. *Trudgill (2000, p. 187)*

8. *Trudgill (2000, p. 187)*

9. The *Daily Nation*, 4 March 2022, p. 22

10. The *Daily Nation*, 4 March 2022, p. 22

11. The *Daily Nation*, 4 March 2022, p. 22

12. The *Daily Nation*, 4 March 2022, p. 22

13. *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7

14. *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7

15. *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7

16. *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7

17. *The Standard Newspaper*, 4 December, 2022, p.7

18. R17, 20th June 2022

19. R26, 20 June 2022

20. R18, 20 June 2022

21. R18, 20 June 2022

22. Internet https://guardian.ng/life/places-where-women-have-more-than-one-husband

23. Twitter Web App on 17: 08. 11 June 22. Accessed on 20 July 2022 (19)

24. *The Nairobian* Newspaper, 4 March 2022, p. 5

25. Facebook post by Jane O.O on 8 October 2022, accessed on 10 October 2022, Monday 12:29pm).

26. *The Standard Newspaper*, Tuesday, 25 January, 2022, p. 8

27. *The Standard Newspaper*, Tuesday, 25 January, 2022, p. 7

28. *The Standard* Newspaper, Thursday, 23 September 2021, p. 2

APPENDIX III: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is for the collection of information for the purposes of this study. Please indicate the following:

Your gender (tick one)   [M]   [F]

Your age (tick one)   [ ] 16-25yrs   [ ] 26-35yrs   [ ] 36-45yrs   [ ] 45+

Your school: _____

Your religion: _____

Ethnicity: _____

SECTION 1

    1.   Whom would you call *uncle/uncle* in English usage in Kenya?

Uncle

    a.   Brother to your husband/wife   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    b.   husband to your sister'   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    c.   husband of your father's sister [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    d.   husband to your mother's sister [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    e.   any male stranger   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    f.   male house-help   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

Aunt

    a.   Sister to your husband/wife   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    b.   wife to your brother   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    c.   wife of your father's brother [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    d.   wife of your mother's brother [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    e.   any female stranger   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    f.   female house-help   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

SECTION 2

2. Whom would you call *gentleman/lady* in English usage in Kenya?

Gentleman

a.	A well-dressed male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	a polite male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	a well-behaved male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
d.	a wealthy male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
e.	educated male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	a male doing office work	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
g.	an unmarried male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
h.	a married male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
i.	religious male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

Lady

a.	a well-dressed female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	a polite female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	a well-behaved female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
d.	a wealthy female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
e.	educated female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	a female doing office work	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
g.	an unmarried female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
h.	a married female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
i.	religious female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

SECTION 3

   3. Whom would you call *bachelor/spinster* in English usage in Kenya?

Bachelor

    a. Unmarried male   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    b. male divorcee   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    c. widower   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    d. a male living alone   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

Spinster

    a. Unmarried female   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    b. a female divorcee   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    c. widow   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    d. a female living   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

SECTION 4

   4. Whom would you call *boy/girl* in English usage in Kenya?

Boy

    a. A male student   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    b. a male lover   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    c. unmarried man   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    d. a man   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    e. an uncircumcised male   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    f. a son   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    g. a male casual worker   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    h. any strange young-looking male[yes]   [no]   [not sure]

  Girl

    a. A female student   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    b. a female lover   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    c. unmarried female   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    d. a man   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    e. an uncircumcised female [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    f. a son   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    g. a female casual worker   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

    h. any strange young-looking female[yes] [no]   [not sure]

SECTION 5

5. Whom would you call *father/mother* in English usage in Kenya?

Father

a.	A male leader /boss	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	A father-in-law	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	A male sponsor/guardian/mentor	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
d.	A male priest/pastor	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
e.	A male teacher	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	A brother to your father	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
g.	Any elderly male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

Mother

a.	A female leader /boss	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	A mother-in-law	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	A female sponsor/guardian/mentor	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
d.	A female priest/pastor	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
e.	A female teacher	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	Sister to your father	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
g.	Any elderly female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

SECTION 6

6. Whom would you call *brother/sister* in English usage in Kenya?

Brother

a.	A male friend/associate	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	A male colleague	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	A male alumnus	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
d.	An accomplice/ally	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
e.	A male churchmate	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	A male agemate	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

Sister

a.	A female friend/associate	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	A female colleague	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	A female alumnus	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

d. A female accomplice/ally   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

e. A female churchmate   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

f. A female agemate   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

SECTION 7

7. Whom would you call *son/daughter* in English usage in Kenya?

Son

   a. Any male agemate/friend to your child   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   b. Your son-in-law   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   c. Your friend's male child   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   d. Your nephew   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   e. Your female student   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   f. The male child under tour sponsorship/mentorship[yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   g. A male church member (under leadership of the clergy)

        [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

Daughter

   a. Any female agemate/friend to your child   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   b. Your daughter-in-law   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   c. Your friend's female child   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   d. Your niece   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   e. Your female student   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   f. The female child under tour sponsorship/mentorship[yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   g. A female church member (under leadership of the clergy)

        [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

SECTION 8

8. Whom would you call *Mr/Mr* in English usage in Kenya?

Mr

   a. A male teacher   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   b. Husband of a teacher   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   c. An employed male   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

   d. A male in a high rank   [yes]   [no]   [not sure]

e.	A well-dressed male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	Any adult male	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]

Mr

a.	A female teacher	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
b.	Wife of a teacher	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
c.	An employed female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
d.	A female in a high rank	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
e.	A well-dressed female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]
f.	Any adult female	[yes]	[no]	[not sure]