THE UNIVERSITY
of EDINBURGH

SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOLOGY AND LANGUAGE SCIENCES

H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Englishes: Their Sociolinguistic and Extralinguistic Constraints and Their Enregisterment as the 'H-factor'

ELIZABETH OLUSHOLA ADEOLU

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

July 2021

Abstract

Sociolinguistic studies in terms of variation and enregisterment abound for native speakers' realisations of shibboleths like h-deletion and h-insertion (e.g., Mugglestone, 1995; Britain, 2002; Lopez, 2007; Ramisch, 2010; Hickey, 2014). However, there is a dearth of sociolinguistic studies as it relates to 'non-native' varieties of English, more specifically postcolonial L2 English varieties. This situation has ensured that the considerable sociolinguistic, and extralinguistic, contexts of such varieties are ignored, and the constraints and concepts around such shibboleths as h-deletion and h-insertion are assumed to apply generally to all varieties of English which are treated as a single entity.

This study will explore the sociolinguistic constraints on h-deletion and h-insertion in three major varieties of Nigerian English (Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo Englishes), one of the understudied L2 Englishes. There is no comprehensive study into the relevant factors that influence h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. This study will be the first to explore the range of sociolinguistic factors that can be applied to the study of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, and the extralinguistic factors that influence the phenomena, including the enregisterment of these variables as what is known as the 'h-factor' in Nigeria.

In this study, I adopt a comprehensive multidisciplinary approach to ensure that a true representation is depicted of the factors that constrain h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes and the implications of these factors. I provide analyses of h-deletion and h-insertion in terms of sociolinguistic factors. I also undertake an enregisterment analysis of these variables, which have been termed the 'h-factor' and are seen as exclusive to – and also indexing – the identity of one of the major ethnolinguistic groups in Nigeria, the Yorubas (Jowitt, 1991; Bamgbose, 1995; Udofot, 2011).

Furthermore, I examine what h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the place of Nigerian Englishes as World Englishes. In this regard, I employ Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes with some of the factors introduced in Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces (EIF).

The study employs the International Corpus of English – Nigeria (ICE-NG) to investigate these variables across speakers from three major ethnic groups in Nigeria - the Hausas, the Yorubas and the Igbos. The results show that of the three groups, Yoruba English speakers significantly produced more h-deletion and h-insertion than Hausa and Igbo English speakers. Even though the latter groups produced h-deletion and h-insertion, it was to a significantly lesser degree than Yoruba English speakers.

Overall, variation is influenced by interspeaker and interethnic differences. Concerning the observed variation, sociolinguistic constraints such as ethnicity, word type, gender, and number of syllables influenced h-deletion and h-insertion. Extralinguistic factors which emerge from the enregisterment analysis of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is known as the 'h-factor' in Nigeria also had implications for h-deletion and h-insertion. Apart from the significant rate of h-deletion and h-insertion by Yoruba speakers being a reason for the enregisterment of these shibboleths to index Yoruba identity, it is hypothesised that extralinguistic factors, salient differences in the use of English, visibility in the media, and Western education among the groups, also contribute to the indexing of Yoruba identity by shibboleths that are not exclusive to the group.

In terms of World Englishes models, Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model provided more insight into h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. Based on this model, the study determined that Nigerian English was between Phase 3 (nativisation phase) and Phase 4 (endonormative phase) of Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model. It is shown that h-deletion and h-insertion are significant sub-ethnic markers of educated Nigerian Englishes and theorised that this implies that there is as yet no pan-ethnic variety established in the speech of educated Nigerian English speakers, who are prime examples of the English norm setters in Nigeria and have been sampled in this study.

In the final analysis, this thesis challenges existing traditional constraints on h-deletion and h-insertion that have tended to treat varieties as a single entity. It also serves as an illustration of how seemingly different approaches like sociolinguistics and World Englishes can be used to provide more comprehensive insight into the study of h-insertion and h-deletion and related studies in 'non-native' varieties of English.

Lay Summary

According to many anecdotal and impressionistic accounts of Nigerian English, h-deletion and h-insertion are shibboleths in Nigerian English, especially in the English spoken by the Yoruba English speakers in Nigeria, one of the major ethnolinguistic groups in Nigeria (Jowitt, 1991; Bamgbose, 1995; Udofot, 2011). These shibboleths are also known as the 'h-factor' in Nigeria, which is seen as indexing Yoruba identity.

No study has provided a comprehensive analysis of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English. Indeed, generally, there are only a few studies on h-deletion and h-insertion in postcolonial L2 English varieties like Nigerian English. Many studies are of dialect descriptions, and others do not investigate beyond certain linguistic factors that have been found to influence h-deletion and h-insertion.

The current study addressed this gap in the literature by examining h-deletion and h-insertion through a comprehensive auditory analysis of tokens spoken by educated Yoruba English speakers and their Igbo and Hausa counterparts in Nigeria across all social contexts in the International Corpus of English - Nigerian component (ICE-NG). The current study also investigates extralinguistic contexts that have led to referring to h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor', in a process known as enregisterment which involves assigning social meaning to linguistic variables, and using them to index a group of people, in this case the Yorubas.

The findings reveal that Yoruba English speakers produce significantly more h-deletion and h-insertion than the two other ethnic groups studied. Concerning the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor', it theorised that these features are enregistered because of their significant salience in the speech of Yoruba speakers and being classed as 'deviations' from the use of 'standard' English that seems to be expected of Yoruba English speakers, because of being the most Western educated ethnic group in Nigeria, and an association with a broader use of English than other groups of English speakers in Nigeria. This perceived 'deviation' in terms of h-deletion and h-insertion is magnified because of the visibility of Yoruba English speakers in mass media.

Furthermore, the study sought to see what h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the status of Nigerian Englishes in frameworks of World Englishes, which give more insight into nativised

and emerging varieties of English. The World Englishes model mainly employed in the current study was Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model, which describes the sociolinguistic processes that postcolonial Englishes like Nigerian Englishes undergo from their first contact with English to the possible emergence of a pan-ethnic English, which is an identity carrier and itself has varieties. This pan-ethnic English is usually associated with educated Nigerian English. It is posited that there is no pan-ethnic Nigerian English variety yet, as h-deletion and h-insertion are significant markers of a sub-ethnic variety of educated Nigerian English.

Overall, the study has comprehensively studied h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes and their enregisterment as what is known as the 'h-factor' and has uncovered new ways in which similar shibboleths could be studied in future research.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I have to say that getting to this point was a series of interesting circumstances, the journey seemed interminable and was like a parallel whole life itself! But, I made it! It seems like I'm still dreaming this whole thing up, but I made it! There are so many people to thank on this journey. I want to thank my supervisors Dr Claire Cowie and Dr Lauren Hall-Lew for all their support and help through this meandering journey. I also want to thank Dr Josef Fruehwald and my examiners, Dr Bert Remijsen and Professor Thorsten Brato, for their invaluable input to my research. I want to thank the friends and loved ones that have supported me through this journey, too innumerable to begin to thank everyone individually, but I appreciate you all from my heart of hearts.

Speaking of loved ones, I can't but thank my parents, Very Revd Dr and Mrs Adeolu Rukera, whose prayers, love, and support spurred me on in times when I didn't think I could make it. I'm glad I made you proud.

And to my husband, my number 1 fan, Olayinka 'Super Dave' Adebayo, what can I say? Thank you for being there through it all, your faith saw me through years of this topsy-turvy PhD terrain, I can't ever thank you enough To my PhD babies, Olamide and Ayomikun, you were two of the best gifts that I received during this journey, thank you for keeping me on my toes daily and breaking the relative monotony of research.

To God, Baba, it's been You all the way. I will forever be thankful for all You have done and been for me. You taught me a lot through this journey. Forever to go. Thank you, Agbanilagbatan, my Father!

Chapter 1 – Introduction

In this thesis, I investigate h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes,[1] using both variationist and World English frameworks. I also examine these variables in terms of their enregisterment as what is known as the 'h-factor' – the local Nigerian term for h-deletion and h-insertion - in educated varieties of Nigerian Englishes, specifically Hausa English, Yoruba English, and Igbo English, i.e., the varieties spoken by the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. I use a variationist framework to examine the sociolinguistic constraints of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. Also, to bridge the gap between a variationist approach and the enregisterment framework, I examine h-deletion and h-insertion in terms of what they mean for the status of English in Nigeria and generally as it relates to the status of Nigerian Englishes in models of World Englishes. As for enregisterment, I examine how colonial and postcolonial discourses on ethnic division have led to the enregisterment of the so-called 'h-factor' as indexing a major ethnolinguistic group in Nigeria – the Yorubas.

1.1. The Background to the Study

Before establishing the aims and research questions that this study will answer, it is necessary to briefly introduce the variables under discussion – h-deletion and h-insertion.

1.1.1. H-deletion and H-insertion

In English, h-deletion is also referred to as h-dropping (Milroy, 1983, 1997). It refers to the omission of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/[2](Ashby & Maidment, 2005) in syllable initial positions,[3] e.g., in words like *house* and *ahead*, including in /hj/ clusters in words like *human* and *hew*. When /h/ is inserted in contexts where it should be most or all the time, a speech is h-full; conversely, when /h/ is deleted most or all the time in contexts where it should be, a speech is h-less (Hacker, 1998, 2011; Mugglestone, 2003).

[1] I refer to Nigerian Englishes here, and throughout the thesis, in the generic sense that encapsulates the multiple varieties of English there are in Nigeria, such as Hausa English, Yoruba English, and Igbo English.

[2] In English, orthographic <h> is realised as the voiceless glottal fricative [h], and it is designated as such in the IPA chart (Ashby & Maidment, 2005). In other languages, other allophones of the fricative are produced, most popularly the voiced glottal fricative [ɦ], which is the case, for example, in Slavic languages Czech, Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Slovak, as well as Germanic languages like Dutch (Lubliner, 2008).

[3] This characterisation is specific to English. In languages like Turkish and Hungarian, this refers to syllable-final /h/ deletion as well (Sezer, 1986; Mielke, 2002; Siptar & Szentgyorgyi, 2002).

Furthermore, because of the propensity for initial /h/ to be deleted in weak forms of functions words like *her*, *his*, *have*, some studies on h-deletion have defined h-deletion in terms of omission in content words and only focused on those content words in their study (Trudgill, 1974; Ramisch, 1992, Horvath, 2008).

Indeed, studies on h-deletion in L1 varieties of English have focused on studying h-deletion in initial positions in stressed syllables (Trudgill, 1974; Ramisch 1992), thus excluding such tokens that are prone to deletion as function words because they might not give an accurate picture of what variables favour h-deletion. In contrast to h-deletion, h-insertion refers to the realisation of /h/ where it ought not to be. H-insertion is often said to result from hypercorrection in correlation with h-deletion (e.g., Mugglestone, 2007; Lopez, 2007). However, and to a lesser degree, reasons like etymology and hiatus resolution[4] have been cited for h-insertion (e.g., Hacker, 2002). I will explore these concepts further in the next chapter, where I consider h-deletion and h-insertion in different varieties of English.

The current study on h-deletion and h-insertion is worthwhile because most studies on these popular shibboleths have focused on L1 Englishes, discussing the diachronic development of these variables and the constraints that determine how they behave. There are few studies on h-deletion and h-insertion in postcolonial L2 Englishes. When these variables are mentioned, this usually happens in dialect descriptions (e.g., Baskaran, 2008; Bobda, 2010). It is assumed that these varieties have the same constraints as L1 varieties. However, this assumption demands investigation because of the differences in the circumstances surrounding postcolonial L2 Englishes and the fact that there are so few empirical studies on these variables in these varieties.

The study aims to fill the gap in empirical research on h-deletion and h-insertion in little-studied varieties like postcolonial L2 Englishes like Nigerian English.

It is also necessary to establish what enregisterment entails, since this is an integral part of the current study.

[4] Referring here to the linking function that /h/ performs between word boundaries, intervocalically.

1.1.2. Enregisterment

Agha (2003) defines enregisterment as the recognition or distinguishing of a collection of linguistic forms as "a linguistic repertoire… differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms (which index) ... speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values" (p. 231). Previous studies on enregisterment have historically charted the recognition of an exclusive set of features which index such as correctness and social status, as shown in Agha's (2003) study on Received Pronunciation (RP) in the UK and Dong's (2010) study on Putonghua in China; or even localness, as in Johnstone et al.'s (2006) study of Pittsburghese in the United States of America.

In Nigeria, h-deletion and h-insertion are referred to as the 'h-factor' and seen as indexing Yoruba identity. The enregisterment of the variables as the 'h-factor' is encoded in its use in metadiscursive pieces online, though it is likely that this enregisterment predates the internet. An instance of a metadiscursive piece on what is known as the 'h-factor' is this definition of the term by a Nigerian blogger:

> "How would you pronounce (sic) the word 'house'? And how about 'ants'? Okay, now read this sentence aloud: "There are so many ants in my house." In a classic English-speaking Yoruba accent that often comes out as: "There are so many hants in my 'ouse." And that, my friends, is the 'h-factor': removing the 'h' from where it's supposed to be and moving it to an entirely different and unnecessary location" (Adewunmi, 2010).

The 'h-factor' is enregistered as exclusively Yoruba despite the other two prominent regional Englishes having shibboleths in their use of English e.g., the alternation of [p] and [f] in Hausa English (Awonusi, 1990, p. 33; Jowitt, 1991; Josiah & Babatunde, 2011) and [ɛ] and [e], [l] and [r] alternation in Igbo English (Jowitt, 1991; Igboanusi, 2006; Olaniyi & Ubong, 2013). This study deviates from current studies on enregisterment because it deals with a variety of English that has yet to have a thorough enregisterment analysis applied to it – a postcolonial African variety of English.

1.2. Motivation, Objectives, and Research Questions

The motivation for this study comes from the interest in addressing the lack of empirical studies on traditionally 'non-native' Englishes, specifically postcolonial L2 English varieties when it

comes to a salient shibboleth like h-deletion and h-insertion. Considering this motivation, the objectives of the current study are as follows:

(1) To present a sociolinguistic description of the h-insertion and h-deletion in Nigeria
(2) To explore the extralinguistic background of the relevant ethnic groups. This is to uncover underlying reasons to describe how these linguistic features have come to be linked to the identity of the Yoruba ethnic group, and enregistered as a term called the 'h-factor', as well as what h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the status of Nigerian Englishes in models of World Englishes

In relation to these then, the specific research questions are:

1. What is the frequency and sociolinguistic constraints of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes?
    i. How widespread are h-deletion and h-insertion in educated Nigerian Englishes in the International Corpus of English - Nigeria?
    ii. Also, given the relative preponderance of studies that ascribe this phenomenon solely to educated Yoruba English, will this study find h-deletion and h-insertion in the other major varieties (Hausa English and Igbo English) and to what extent?
    iii. In addition to ethnicity, what sociolinguistic factors influence h-deletion and h-insertion in the varieties of Nigerian English studied?

In answering the first question on variation in the use of h-deletion and h-insertion, the current study carries out a quantitative study on the use of h-deletion and h-insertion by all the relevant Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo speakers in the International Corpus of English – Nigeria (henceforth ICE-NG). The following sociolinguistic constraints were employed – word type, gender, preceding phonetic factor, profession, social context, and token position. Two novel constraints were introduced that were found to influence h-deletion and h-insertion in preliminary studies on this thesis, i.e., number of syllables and following phonetic context in terms of height and anteriority.

The second research question pertains to the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is known as the 'h-factor' in the sense of carrying out an analysis of the extralinguistic factors responsible.

2. What factors motivate the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is known as the 'h-factor' in Nigeria?

Because of the postcolonial discourses in Nigeria, extralinguistic factors such as the ones examined in this thesis are expected to provide answers to why of all the shibboleths in Nigerian varieties of English, h-deletion and h-insertion are the ones enregistered and why they index Yoruba identity. First, in terms of English language education and use in Nigeria, the Yorubas of south-western Nigeria, compared to the other ethnic groups of other regions, are seen as pacesetters in English education. The first schools were established in the South-West during the colonial period, and the region still has the leading universities and colleges in Nigeria, with the Yoruba South-West seen as the most educated region. This is directly related to the use of English as an additional language among the group, unlike in the northern region where it is used as a second language and that pivotal in Hausa identity; or the Igbo-speaking region where, even though it is used as an additional language, English has Nigerian Pidgin English as a contender in that role. These associations with English have ensured that the English spoken by the Yoruba is subject to more scrutiny than the other groups.

These associations with the use of English are coupled with the visibility of the Yorubas in the media, compared to the other groups. The first printing press was set up in the South-West during the colonial period, and the media is still associated with the South-West because of the concentration of the most prominent mass media houses in Yoruba speaking region and as a result, the view that the Yorubas control mass media in Nigeria.

The Yoruba group's prominence as the most-educated group and this association with the broader use of English, as well as their prominence in the media, also serves to ensure that perceived 'standard' English 'errors' would be magnified and labelled more than the other ethnic groups' perceived linguistic 'faults'. In this case, this salient perceived English 'error' has been enregistered as the 'h-factor'.

The third research question relates to what h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the status of Nigerian Englishes as World Englishes:

3. What do h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the status of English in Nigeria according to World Englishes models?

To answer this question, Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model is employed (with modifications by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017)). Since Schneider's (2007) already has a profile on Nigerian English, I engage with his claims about the status of English in Nigeria and then follow up with a discussion on what h-deletion and h-insertion mean for where English is situated in the Dynamic Model framework.

1.3. Structure of Thesis

The thesis consists of nine chapters, viz:

Chapter 1, the current chapter, serves as an introductory chapter for the thesis.

The next chapter, Chapter 2, will build on the basic concepts introduced in this introductory chapter by examining studies on h-insertion and h-deletion in varieties of English other than Nigerian English. There will be discussions on h-deletion and h-insertion among L1 and World English speakers. This chapter aims at providing a backdrop for the exploration of h-insertion and h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes.

The next chapter, Chapter 3, explores h-insertion and h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes. In this chapter, the distribution of /h/ in the relevant Nigerian languages and the history of English in Nigeria are also explored.

Chapter 4 focuses on the enregisterment of h-insertion and h-deletion in Nigerian English, preceded by a discussion on enregisterment in other varieties of English.

Chapter 5 looks at the status of English in Nigeria through a relevant World English framework – Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model.

In Chapter 6, the discussion of the methodologies used is presented. As ICE-NG is employed in this study, issues around the sampling, coding, and ethics involved in the use of corpus data are also examined.

The next chapter, Chapter 7, is concerned with the presentation of the results of the study. Significant results gleaned from the sociolinguistic variations analysed are outlined, with relevant individual results also presented, as these were invaluable to the study.

Chapter 8 focuses on the discussion of the main findings of the thesis, focusing mostly on the results presented in Chapter 7.

Finally, Chapter 9 presents a summary of the answers to the research questions outlined above and the implications of the study for future research on enregisterment and related issues.

Chapter 2 – H-deletion and H-insertion in Varieties of English

2.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses earlier work on h-deletion and h-insertion in varieties of English. H-deletion and h-insertion are examined as they are used by different groups of speakers, viz: British English speakers, postcolonial L1 speakers, World English speakers, that is, L2 postcolonial English speakers, contact English speakers, and learner English speakers.

The aim of the chapter in relation to h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English, in terms of variation and the enregisterment of these variables in Nigerian Englishes as the 'h-factor', is to provide a literature review on h-deletion and h-insertion in English to serve as a backdrop for the current study on these variables in a type of World English – Nigerian English. These Englishes are examined in terms of the relevant history and constraints observed in the production of h-deletion and h-insertion, and discussion on the relevance of input varieties on the variables. The next chapter will move on to discussing Nigerian Englishes, in depth.

The current chapter starts with h-deletion and h-insertion in pre-nineteenth century British English, being the oldest form of English and the source of all other Englishes. It is also important to start with this English because of its relevance to the colonisation of Nigeria by the British and the language implications of that in terms of input. The constraints found to determine its production in terms of gender, class and word type will also be examined. Focus then shifts to h-deletion and h-insertion in postcolonial L1 speakers with North American English, New Zealand English (henceforth NZE), and Australian English, specifically in terms of their history and input. H-deletion and h-insertion are considered rare in North American English, given that it was after the American colonies were founded that h-deletion in England made an appearance (Wells, 1982, p. 255).

Meanwhile, h-deletion in New Zealand and Australian Englishes is partly attributed to substrate influence, i.e., Italian roots of settlers (Trudgill, 2006) and partly to input, i.e., British English and Australian English (Britain, 2002; Hickey, 2014). Substrate influence is also found in h-deletion and h-insertion in learner varieties, such as in the English spoken by French speakers (Kamiyama, Kühnert & Vaissière, 2011). In addition, input influence is found in contact Englishes such as Bahamian English, where the greater degree of h-deletion found in Anglo-

Bahamian English in comparison with their Afro-Bahamian counterparts has been linked to Cockney influence (Holm, 1988; Childs & Wolfram, 2008). There are fewer studies on h-deletion and h-insertion in L2 Englishes. However, dialectal descriptions of certain postcolonial L2 varieties of English link h-deletion to L1 transfer because of the absence of word initial /h/ in the speakers' L1, e.g., Baskaran (2004) mentions, but does not elaborate, that speakers of Tamil background in Malaysian English produced h-deletion.

L1 postcolonial Englishes and postcolonial L2 Englishes is appropriate in this study because these varieties are different historically and in their current structure. While postcolonial L2 Englishes have speakers who have indigenous substrates or L1s, postcolonial L1 varieties like American English, Australian, and NZE do not.

2.2. H-deletion and H-insertion in L1 and Related Varieties of English

In this section, I consider h-deletion and h-insertion in L1 varieties of English, first in terms of its history and function, i.e., where h-deletion and h-insertion come from and what function it performs. Then, I consider the characteristics of h-deletion and h-insertion in these varieties in terms of co-occurrence and constraints.

2.2.1. British and (North) American Englishes

H-deletion and h-insertion are prominent markers of non-standard British English, to the point that Wells (1982) stated that h-deletion was the "single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in English" (p. 254). Lopez (2007) reiterates that h-deletion was one of the most powerful shibboleths in English. He defines h-deletion in English as "the absence of the /h/-phoneme – aspiration– in certain phonetic environments, especially at the beginning of a word. According to this, a word like *happy* would sound [æpi] rather than /hæpi/" (Lopez, 2007, p. 158). H-deletion is defined as the absence of /h/ in word-initial positions (Milroy, 2004; Mugglestone, 1995; Ramisch, 2010), though Lopez (2007) adds that it could include the absence of the phoneme in mid-word position, but always syllable-initial, positions as well (Lopez, 2007, pp. 158, 164). H-insertion is conversely defined as the presence of /h/ in syllable-initial positions, where it would ordinarily not be inserted, such as "before vowel-initial words… (like) *apple*, *under*…" (Schreier, 2019). As will be discussed later in this section, h-insertion is usually associated with h-deletion, which will be made clear by exploring the history of h-deletion and h-insertion in British English below.

Trudgill (2006) cites Wells (1982, p. 255) in stating that "historical details of the spread of H-deletion through England are lacking" though he adds that one can infer earlier history from modern trends in h-deletion. He states that most modern local dialects in England and Wales are h-deleting except for dialects of the northeast and East Anglia; though the latter, he says, is becoming h-deleting because of the historical spread of h-deletion. He adds that Scotland and Ireland are still h-retaining.

Mugglestone (2007) investigates the use and attitudes towards the use of the variable /h/ from the 18th and 19th centuries to the modern day, both in language and literature. Mugglestone's (2007) account perhaps one of the best-known of the history of h-deletion and h-insertion. According to Mugglestone (2007), Old English had always had aspiration, but with the Norman Conquest of 1066 and the introduction of silent-h loan words into the English language (e.g., *heir*, *host*, *honour*), there began to be an influence on native English h-initial words. She states that the exact time when this influence extended unto native English words is not known. Lopez (2007) also ascribed h-deletion to the influence of French loan words on Middle English after the Norman Conquest in 1066. He cites Mugglestone (1995), who writes, "French loans regularly 'dropped their [h]s', and at some date, such habits seem to have been extended into native words as well, though the exact time of this development is a matter of some dispute" (p. 110). Milroy (1983), Luick (1964), and Wyld (1920) have also posited that h-deletion must have stemmed from French influence.

Hacker (2002) questions the views of these scholars on the origin of h-deletion. According to her, at the time of the Norman conquest in 1066, French was h-full, and it was not until 1673 that there was institutional criticism of h-deletion in non-Latin derived words by the Académie Française, which had been established in 1634 (p. 111). She adds that the existence of *h aspiré* (*ache aspiré*), silent-h or aspirated h which are not affected by such phonological processes as elision or liaison,[5] in French, even in the present day, meant that contact with French only explained h-deletion in words of Latin origin but not deletion and insertion in native English words. One of the examples that Hacker (2002) gives of *h aspiré* in present-day standard French is the word *héro* (hero) which begins with *h aspiré* and so does not follow the standard French elision and liaison rules that "require the elision of the vowel of the masculine singular definite article and the pronunciation of the <n> of the masculine singular possessive pronoun before

[5] Fagyal (2006), Moisset (1996).

words beginning with *ache muet* (e.g. l'ami [lami] "the friend", *mon ami* [monami] "my friend", but not before those beginning with *ache aspiré* (*le héros* [lœero] "the hero", *mon héros* [mõero] "my hero")" (p. 111).

Again, Hacker (2002) adds that, in opposition to Milroy's (1983) assertion that it was unnatural for there to be h-deletion in Germanic words, h-deletion had been found in dialects of German and Sweden (Hacker, 2002, p. 111). As for this h-deletion in Germanic languages, historically there was h-deletion in the head cluster of words in Early Old High German in such as *hnigan* 'to bow' (became *nigan* in Late Old High German and then *neigen* in New High German) and *hruofan* 'to call' (became *ruofan* in Late Old High German and then *rufen* in New High German) (Penzl, 1961; Venneman, 1988). In other Germanic languages like West Flanders and south-western Netherlands dialects, /h/ is deleted in word-initial positions (Voortman, 1994, p. 103). Present day Zeelandic has no /h/ phoneme at all, and studies such as Rutten and van der Wal (2011, 2014) found h-deletion and h-insertion in 17th- and 18th-century literature from the Dutch provinces of Zeeland. Rutten and van der Wal (2011, 2014) refer to the absence of <h> in such spellings as *emel* as against *hemel* (heaven), *uswrouwe* as against *huswrouwe* (housewife) as evidence of h-deletion; and the insertion <h> before such vowels as in *hacht* as against *acht* (eight) and *houde* as against *oude* (old) as evidence of h-insertion.

Even though that the origins of h-deletion in British English are uncertain, according to Mugglestone (2007), by the late 19th century, the absence or presence of [h] in word-initial positions become a social marker, it had become "an almost infallible test of education and refinement… a test of education and position in society… one of the most delicate tests of good breeding" (pp. 95 - 96), as depicted by experts on language who mostly had a prescriptive view on the use of /h/. H-deletion and h-insertion, like other features like th-fronting, MOUTH-monophthong, and l-vocalisation were associated with the Cockney accent of working-class speakers from East London, specifically the area known as the 'East End' (Ellis, 1890; Wells, 1982; Lopez, 2007; Fox, 2017).

The literature of the 19th century, such as Gaskell and Dickens' writings, was said to portray high or low social status characters using the presence or absence of [h] according to Mugglestone (2007). Mugglestone (2007) adds that the use of [h] as a social class marker had only begun at the end of the 18th century. Before then, the presence or absence of /h/ was only primarily used in its contrastive function to differentiate such minimal pairs as *hand* and *and*.

Mugglestone (2007) states that the status of h as a letter or phoneme was still being debated in the 17th century. This questioning continued into the 18th century, which she evidenced by citing Benjamin Martin, a grammarian who, in 1748, commented that "it is very surprising to find grammarians disputing whether this be a letter or not, when at the same time it would be ridiculous to dispute it being a distinct sound", using minimal pairs as defence, he continued "witness the words *ear*, *art*, *arm*, *ill* &c. which by prefixing H, become *hear*, *hart*, *harm*, *hill*, quite different words and sounds from the former" (Mugglestone, 2007, p. 99).

The stigmatisation (of those who 'wrongfully' used the phoneme) that arose from the status of [h] as a social marker is attributed to the popularisation of written standard English that came about because of the Enlightenment period of the 18th century (Lopez, 2007). Mugglestone (2007) also notes that the absence of earlier stigmatisation of h-deletion might have been down to leniency towards variation in h-use. This leniency was not found in the latter 18th century, which she said was characterised by 'codificatory zeal' that led to prescription on the correct and incorrect uses of [h] (Mugglestone, 2007, p. 98). This zeal, she posits, came about because of a revival in interest in elocution and accents. She also adds that fashion and the renewal of interest in physical correlations with social status also had a role in the stigmatisation of h-deletion and the related overuse of h as a symbol of social divide in a society that was already seeing the social mobility of newly rich characters that emerged from the industrial revolution. H-fullness was associated with fashionable London norms of linguistic use at the time, and people wanted to be associated with what was in vogue and used by celebrities.

Mugglestone (2007) discusses how the literature of the time began to reflect this status conferred on the use of /h/. Those who did not drop /h/ were regarded as talking proper, educated, and refined, while those who dropped h were regarded as vulgar, of low estate, illiterate. But, apart from these associations with status and education, h-deletion had also been associated with stupidity and lack of self-respect (Mugglestone, 2007, p. 96). Indeed, the social emphasis placed on the use of /h/ was such that its 'correct' use was a test to determine both students' and teachers' academic competence. Mugglestone (2007) reports that school inspectors considered the correct use of /h/ as evidence of "correct teaching practice in a school" (p. 103). This led to a situation where [h] was sounded on every word where it orthographically appeared, so that Mugglestone (2007) reports that by the late 19th century, only the Romance words *heir*, *honest*, *hour* and *honour*, and words derived from them, remained h-less. Such words which had hitherto been h-less like the Romance words *hospital*,

human, *humble* and *herb* by the 19th century were h-full. She contrasts this with the realisation of these words in North America, till date, where a word like *herb* is h-less and *humble* in some parts of southern United States of America is also pronounced in its h-less form.

Lopez (2007) cites Wells' (1982, p. 225) explanation of how the lack of h-deletion in North America was due to h-deletion being introduced only after the American colonies had been founded. Lopez (2007) contends that h-deletion was not altogether unknown in Northern American English, as can be seen from h-deletion in the word *humble* (see Mugglestone (2007) above), though this was restricted to the dialects of the south-east of North America. He agreed, though, with Wells (1982) that h-deletion in Britain was unknown until the 18th century, and since the colonies were founded in the 17th century (the first thirteen being founded in 1607), the rarity of h-deletion in the United States of America would be down to this reason. Other studies like Mugglestone (2007) stated that even though h-deletion had only been stigmatised in the 18th century, it was in existence before then. So, the possibility of h-deletion being around when the American colonies were founded is viable. There are two ways in which this can be viewed. Even though studies like Mugglestone (2007) and Lopez (2007) stated that h-deletion had existed before its stigmatisation in the 18th century, they do affirm that the precise time when h-deletion (and h-insertion) spread to native English words was not known. It is thus conceivable to think that h-deletion was not known by the time the American colonies were formed if one were to follow Wells' (1982) stance.

On the other hand, if h-deletion (and h-insertion) already existed in England by the time the American colonies were formed in the 17th century, it might be that when the new colonies were formed, Trudgill's (2006) theory of linguistic determinism might have been applied. In explaining new dialect formation in New Zealand, Trudgill (2006) invokes the principle of linguistic determinism where a new dialect is formed based on the predominance of speakers of a particular linguistic feature over a counterpart feature. Even though there is relatively little information on the exact locations where immigrants to the United States of America had immigrated from and whether these regions were h-deleting as at the time or not, it has been stated that the English made up the most immigrants to the country before and into the 18th century (Purvis, 1984; Klein, 2004). Purvis (1984) stated that by 1790, of the Caucasian population in the United States, there were 60% English speakers, with the rest being from Wales, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Sweden, France, and the Netherlands. Again, it would not be possible to state categorically if these regions were h-deleting or not as that information is

not provided, but it would be conceivable that if most of the speakers were not h-deleting, even if there were h-deleting speakers, then the lack of h-deletion (in the majority) would have won out.

As mentioned earlier in this section, while the main focus of studies on h-deletion and h-insertion is primarily on the former, the latter is also mentioned as co-occurring with h-deletion and is seen as the hypercorrect version of h-deletion. Labov (1966) refers to hypercorrection as a phenomenon that happens in careful speech where speakers try to emulate the pronunciation of speakers of a higher prestige class and overshoot by inserting sounds where they ought not to be. In the case of h-insertion, this hypercorrection would involve not just insertion of initial [h] in words that have orthographic /h/ which are not pronounced like *honour*, but also before words with non-orthographic /h/ like vowel-initial syllables, e.g., *air* realised as *hair* (Patrick, 1999; Eckman, 2013).

Janda and Auger (1992) distinguish between qualitative hypercorrection and quantitative hypercorrection in h-deletion and h-insertion. Quantitative hypercorrection entails increased occurrence of prestige forms in appropriate contexts than the speakers of the prestige form, to the point of over generalising the use of such forms. This happens only in formal situations, because as Janda and Auger (1992) put it, “in less formal styles, speakers simply lack both the capacity and the motivation to devote to speech form the kind of attention which is required for the self-monitoring associated with quantitative hypercorrection” (p. 199). This kind of hypercorrection is only employed by members of the second most prestigious social group aspiring to speak like members of the most prestigious group. The classic example given of this type of hypercorrection was Labov's (1966) study on the social and stylistic stratification of /r/ in New York City, where he found that the lower middle-class participants produced more /r/ in formal contexts than the upper middle-class participants.

On the other hand, qualitative hypercorrection entails the use of prestige forms in contexts where its users would usually not use them, i.e., inappropriate contexts. One of the examples Janda and Auger (1992) use is the word *whom*, where the correct use would be in such a structure (dative or direct object position) as 'with whom did you come?' by prestige speakers but could be used in such inappropriate context as ‘whom did you say was calling’ by lower prestige speakers seeking to affect the use of this prestige form but missing the mark by overgeneralising to subject position.

In explaining one of the reasons why h-insertion occurs, Janda and Auger (1992) invoke the concept of lexical confusion (Knowles, 1978, p. 86 - 87), which means that speakers do not know what the underlying representation of an utterance is so that speakers become uncertain as to its production. In other words, the speakers do not have a target-like understanding of the performance of utterances, so they are bound to produce untarget-like forms. For French speakers of English, Knowles' lexical confusion would hypothesise that hypercorrection occurred because these speakers were uncertain about the production of orthographic 'h' in the tokens they were presented with (i.e., whether the /h/ was silent or not). Alternatively, Knowles (1978) also posits that in some cases, hypercorrection occurred because speakers made production errors without thinking and would notice it and seek to correct it, if possible. This resulted in what was called sensitive hypercorrection.

Furthermore, Knowles (1978) postulates that sensitive hypercorrection is most probable in contexts where there is proximity or closeness between tokens of a variable within a compound word or a phrase. In the case of h-insertion, an example could be the word 'headache' where the h-initial noun constituent (head) could result in h-insertion for the second vowel-initial noun constituent (ache).

Janda and Auger (1992) argue that Knowles's (1978) sensitive hypercorrection is likely to be more responsible for the hypercorrection in their study, where they found that proximity accounted for some of these cases of hypercorrection, namely:

a) Hypercorrection with 'correction' (correctness): [h]-insertion adjacent to /h/ (preceding and/or following) –

American students have [h]a sort of ability (Albert A177)

[h]ldaho (Louis A413)

how [h]it happened (Charles A412).

(b) Hypercorrection without correction: target-/…V…h.../ or -/…h…V.../ realized as […h...V…] or […V…h…], respectively –

[h]after the 'olidays (Renee A361)

[h]ass'ole (Louis A489)

who (= [u]) [h]are well-informed people (Denis A288)

(Janda & Auger, 1992, p. 224).

They admit, though, that there were instances of hypercorrection that sensitive hypercorrection did not account for, as in the case of the below:

(c) Hypercorrection alone: [h]-insertion not adjacent to /h/

Some of my friends [h]are, but… (Albert A165)

and they put more pressure [h]on you (Louis A123).

it's not a big difference, '[h]aitch' (Louis B151) (Janda & Auger, 1992, p. 225).

And while the latter example might fit into Knowles's (1978) explanation of lexical confusion, Janda and Auger (1992) rule out this option. They take this stance because lexical confusion occurs because of not having a target-like underlying representation, but in the case of their participants, all of them passed the minimal pairs task (100%), which attests to their possession of target-like underlying representation. John and Cardoso (2009, p. 125) point out that passing a minimal pairs task was in no way a perfect indicator of the possession of target like the underlying representation of English in the case of the French participants. They argue that passing the task could just show that the participants were good at minimal pairs tasks. Therefore, they maintain that lexical confusion was still a viable reason for hypercorrection in Janda and Auger's (1992) study.

And though most of the h-insertion in L1 Englishes is ascribed to hypercorrection, other functions for h-insertion have been put forward. H-insertion as a hiatus marker is said to have also been prevalent in Old English where such a construction as 'his moder, hour lady' (cited in Furnivall 1882, p. 47) is produced without rhoticity and with /h/ inserted at word boundaries, intervocalically; but h-insertion also occurred at syllable boundaries, mid-word, as in words like *showhyng* and *tryhumpe* (culled from The Diary of Henry Machyn). Hacker (2002) posits that there is a third purpose for h-insertion which is seldom considered, and this is the

phenomenon of h-insertion being for etymological appropriateness, for instances in the words *horrible*, *habit* and *harmony*, which were borrowed from French where they had been realised without initial /h/ and later came to be produced with an /h/ in English.

Despite the other reasons given for h-insertion, the most invoked is its function as the hypercorrection of h-deletion. Even though Lopez's (2007) focus was on h-deletion as a social status marker, and while he does not mention h-insertion explicitly, he does include examples of h-insertion when he refers to the hypercorrection by the new rich and the lower class as represented in the literature from 18th century Britain. He quotes Captain Brassbound's Conversion (1900) by George Bernard Shaw:

> "Examples of hypercorrection can be found for example in Shaw's Captain Brassbound's Conversation (sic): "Weoll, waw not? Waw not, gavner? Ahrs is a Free Tride nition. It grows agin us as **Hinglishmen**[6] to see these bloomin furriners settin ap their Castoms Ahses and spheres o **hinfluence** and sick lawk **hall** owver Arfricar. Daownt **Harfricar** belong as much to **huz** as to them? thets wot we sy. Ennywys, there ynt naow awm in ahr business. All we daz is **hescort**, tourist, **hor** commercial. Cook's **hexcursions** to the **Hatlas** Mahntns: thets **hall** it is. Waw, its spreadin civlawzytion, it is. Ynt it nah?" (Lopez, 2007, p. 163).

This character represents the lower class, a crewman who spoke with a Cockney accent. The boldened instances show h-insertion in not only content but function words to show the overgeneralisation of h-use.

Mugglestone (2007) does not use the term "h-insertion". She refers instead to hypercorrection through the misapplication and overuse of [h]. According to Mugglestone (2007), this phenomenon of hypercorrection by inserting h came about with the rise of a group of people known as new rich, self-made men or parvenu who had attained this status through social mobility owing to the industrial revolution. These were people who had not been born rich or into the upper class, but who had made it or then later became rich and who then inserted /h/ incorrectly in their bid to show in addition to their wealth that they could speak the prestige accent associated with the upper class (Mugglestone, 2007, p. 125). Mugglestone (2007) also

[6] Boldening relevant words mine

observes that the new rich were "regularly depicted as hypercorrecting in their use of variables imbued with overt status and, in turn, as over-using [h] out of all proportion with accepted proprieties" (p. 119). Not only is there misapplication and overuse of [h] by the new rich signalled by their h-insertion, but they also still drop their [h]. In Poor Letter H, a pamphlet devoted to pointing out the issues that purists had with the misuse of /h/, the new rich were mocked as producing such utterances as "saying that the habbey was his 'obby" (Mugglestone, 2007, p. 35). Mugglestone (2007) states that though stereotypes were sometimes untrue and perpetuated the stigmatisation of h-deletion (and h-insertion), there might have been some truth to the stigmatisation of the new rich for their h-deletion and h-insertion. She cites Trudgill's (1974) research in Norwich, where he found "regular patterns of hypercorrection by groups insecure within the social hierarchy so that, in their more formal speech, markedly higher frequencies of variants—such indeed as [h]—which are regarded as statusful in the wider speech community tend to come into use" (cited in Mugglestone, 2007, p. 111).

And even though the view that h-insertion is the hypercorrect version of h-deletion is indeed one that is popularly held in most studies of h-deletion and h-insertion in L1 Englishes (and even in other varieties of English as will be discussed in the section on other 'non-native' varieties of English), there have been other reasons given for h-insertion in British English i.e., etymology and intervocalic linking (Hacker, 2002).

Again, in Englishes associated with British English like Tristan da Cunha English, spoken in Tristan da Cunha, a small British Overseas Territory in the south Atlantic Oceans. H-insertion, which occurs without h-deletion on the island, is said to be the result of "a direct dialect legacy" (Schreier, 2019, p. 56), i.e., transported from Britain by the founders of the community, who were majorly from h-inserting regions. Schreier (2019) was not able to determine if h-insertion was an archaism or an innovation, explaining that there was no reliable historical quantitative date to perform a diachronic study to determine this (p. 58). He suggests that this might be a camouflage archaism because of this reason. Schreier (2019) found a low rate of h-insertion in this study, with a total insertion rate of 7.3%. The data analysed for the study were vowel-initial content words that had a stressed first syllable in speeches of participants born between 1876 and 1988. This is one of the few cases where h-insertion exists without a corresponding h-deletion, and Schrier (2019) goes on to conclude that "/h/ insertion has practically disappeared from World Englishes" (p. 59), an assertion which is not accurate given the subject of this study.

2.2.2. Australian and New Zealand Englishes

H-deletion and h-insertion have been described in Australian and NZE, though there is said to be less h-deletion and h-insertion in Australian English than in NZE (Horvath, 1985; Bell & Holmes, 1992).

Theories abound on the origins of h-deletion and h-insertion in NZE, though it is said to have declined considerably in present-day New Zealand (Britain, 2002, Trudgill, Gordon, 2009). In their auditory analysis of 3977 stressed content word tokens for h-deletion, by speakers from the ONZE Project,[7] Gordon et al. (2004) found just 9% h-deletion overall. They found h-deletion correlated with age so that there was a 12% h-deletion rate for speakers born before 1870 and only 4% for speakers born between 1890 and the 1900s.

Gordon (2012) states that h-deletion and h-insertion, which she refers to as "hypercorrect h-insertion" (p. 187), seemed to have originated from English immigrants in early New Zealand history. This view is also shared by Britain (2002) and Trudgill (2006), who draw on migration statistics from McKinnon et al. (1997) applied to the ONZE project:

Table 1: The origins of the New Zealanders in 1881 born overseas (from McKinnon et al., 1997, Plate 49)

Country of birth	Number of overseas born	% of total
England	119224	46.1
Scotland	52753	20.3
Ireland	49363	19.1
Australia	17277	6.7
Wales	1963	0.8
Others	18000	7.0
TOTAL	258580	100.0

Of the settlers from Britain, Britain (2002), Trudgill (2006), and Hickey (2014) state that majority of them were from southern England and so a plausible reason for the h-deletion in New Zealand would thus be the result of the input from early settlers from the southern part of

[7] The Origins of NZE (ONZE) Project aims to trace the changes, features, and history of NZE. The project consists of recordings of NZE speakers in three collections - The Mobile Unit (MU), which includes recordings of about 300 speakers born between 1851 and 1910; The Intermediate Archive with recordings of about 140 speakers born between 1890 and 1930; and The Canterbury Corpus featuring recordings by speakers born between 1930 - 1984.

England, based on the assumption that they were from h-deleting regions. And even though all the studies on NZE agree with the decline in h-deletion in NZE, not all agree on the exact reason for it.

According to Gordon (2002), the decline in h-deletion in NZE was due to institutional reinstatement of h-use in schools because of its stigmatisation in education (pp. 187 – 188). Trudgill (2006) disputes the view that h-deletion in New Zealand stopped because of schools' influence, which stigmatised this feature. He stated that if this were so, h-deletion in regions in England and Wales would have disappeared as well, but instead the feature was still spreading. He argued that in the case of New Zealand, the h-retaining feature was due to linguistic determinism and not stigmatisation of the feature, as this would mean such stigmatised feature as the Diphthong Shift in NZE would have faded out, but this has "shown no signs of being reversed due to normative pressure in New Zealand or anywhere else" (p. 156). Invoking the principle of linguistic determinism to explain the decline of h-deletion in NZE, Trudgill (2006) states that the mix of h-retaining and h-deletion settler speakers would have meant that h-retention won out for quantitative reasons. Trudgill (2006) argued that, of the British and Irish settlers in New Zealand, the south-eastern dialect of English speakers was in the minority, the majority being speakers of Irish, West Country, East Anglian, Northumbrian, Scottish dialects of English, which were h-retaining. He, therefore, concludes that the majority h-retaining dialect won over the h-deletion south-eastern dialect. On his part, Britain (2002) posits that the decline in h-deletion in New Zealand was due to "the Australian influence in the emerging NZE speech community" since Australia, New Zealand's neighbouring country and ally, had a lower h-deletion rate (p. 33).

As for h-deletion and h-insertion in Australian English, again, focus is mainly on h-deletion, with h-insertion seen as hypercorrection (Horvath, 1985). As has been stated, h-deletion is said to be lower in Australian English. And, though there is agreement that the small amount of h-deletion in NZE was due to early settler English influence, there does not seem to be a consensus as to where these settlers are from. Trudgill (2006) agrees with Horvath (1985) that any h-deletion in modern day Australia is due to Italian settlers' linguistic input.

Britain (2002) corroborates Italian-settler influence by stating that Australia had more Irish settlers than New Zealand (citing Nicholas & Shergold's (1988, p. 26) study that showed that 33% of the convicts transported to Australia between 1817 and 1840 were Irish), Since Irish is

h-retaining, it would make sense that Australian English would retain /h/ more than New Zealand. Hickey (2014), on his part, stated that h-deletion would have come from the south-eastern English settlers who passed through Australia on their way to New Zealand.

2.2.3. Constraints of H-deletion and H-insertion in L1 Varieties of English

Studies in dialect areas in Britain that show h-deletion have shown that different social groups vary in the level of h-deletion they use in their speech - lower socio-economic groups have a greater tendency towards h-deletion than higher groups; and this deletion is most common in less formal speech than formal speech, e.g. Trudgill's (1974) study of Norwich English; Hughes and Trudgill's (1987) dialectal description of other varieties of British English; and Petyt's (1985) study of West Yorkshire English. In the varieties that have h-deletion and h-insertion, the studies have also found that men tend to have more h-deletion than women (Petyt, 1985; Trudgill, 1974).

H-deletion and h-insertion in L1 varieties can also be constrained by age. Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill and Torgersen (2013), report that for Multicultural London English (MLE), a variety which they state has replaced Cockney English (p. 63), the younger the participants, the lower their rate of h-deletion. Cheshire et al. (2013) carried out their study in Hackney, which was originally home to white low socio-economic Cockney English speakers, who are known for h-deletion and h-insertion, among other non-standard English features.[8] In the present day, though, Hackney is home to a multicultural mix of typically multilingual people. They contrast these results with data collected from Havering, a predominantly white low socio-economic monolingual neighbourhood. They researched in 2 stages – first between 2004 and 2007 (Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill & Torgersen, 2008) by interviewing adolescent speakers and older speakers in these neighbourhoods and acoustically and auditorily analysing their recorded speech. They found among other linguistic changes that the adolescent speakers from Hackney were producing h-full forms – 11% deletion overall – where they should typically produce h-deletion (i.e., lexical words and stressed pronouns) even more than their counterparts from Havering (overall 18% h-deletion) and certainly more than the older speakers (58.1%) from Hackney (Cheshire et al., 2008, p. 15). When they repeat the research between 2007 – 2010 (Cheshire et al., 2013), with more speakers from both regions and with younger children from the age of 4, even though no figures are given for their h-deletion rate this time, they conclude

[8] See Wells (1970, 1982) for a list of these features

that MLE features which include h-fullness had become established among the youngest of the children recorded. They concluded that h-deletion, which was erstwhile a feature of Cockney English, was being phased out through a process of linguistic diffusion.

Most studies on h-deletion in L1 varieties have focused on h-deletion in stressed initial syllable positions (Trudgill, 1974; Ramisch 2010), excluding tokens that are prone to deletion, such as function words because they might not give an accurate picture of what variables favour h-deletion (Trudgill, 1971). Horvath (1985) focused on ten tokens that "had an /h/ in initial position in a stressed word" (p. 97) though what these words are exactly is not mentioned. Trudgill (1974) excludes function words like *him* and *have*. Bell and Holmes (1992), Hughes and Trudgill (1987) and Mackenzie (2013), however, incorporate function words in studies of h-deletion. Bell and Holmes (1992) studied reflexive pronouns, e.g., *who*, *whom* and *how*, to the exclusion of the more variable auxiliaries and personal pronouns and found that these function words were more susceptible to initial h-deletion than other content words (who-words were 14%, and content words were 10%). Hughes and Trudgill's (1987) dialectal description included all the function words in cataloguing h-full and h-less varieties and found more deletion in unstressed function words in their dialectal description study.

Ramisch's (2010) examination of the sociolinguistic context of h-deletion in 25 words from the Survey of English Dialects map focused mainly on word-initial /h/ in content words (*hand, horses, harvest, hundred, holly-bush, half, hammer, hames, heifer, hair, herrings, hot, hear, hearse, home, halter, hay*, *hoof*, *hare*, *hive*, *head*, *holiday,* and *height*) and just one function word *how*. In addition to examining the entries for these words in the map and descriptions of Ramisch's (2010) own knowledge of the realisations of these words, he found that far from being a simple case of binariness (i.e., presence of /h/ and absence of /h/), there were other phonetic realisations of /h/ which are not commonly dealt with in previous studies on the variable. He found that apart from the realisation of the /h/ phoneme, the participants that were used in sourcing data for the map also showed two other realisations - the /h/ could be variably produced as [j-] preceding front vowels in such varieties as those spoken in Cardiff and Birmingham or [w] preceding a back vowel in some other English dialects. He concludes that h-deletion was not merely a regional feature but a sociolinguistic one as well as, even though typical h-full regions like north, south and east of England still seemed so, there were areas surrounding them which also had very low rates of h-deletion (Ramisch, 2010, p. 180).

For L1 varieties of English, h-deletion and h-insertion are usually related, though focus seems to be placed primarily on h-deletion, perhaps because of the popular positioning that h-insertion implies h-deletion.

2.3. H-deletion and H-insertion in L2, Postcolonial Englishes, and Other Contact Varieties

There is a dearth of empirical research on h-deletion and h-insertion in postcolonial L2 Englishes, a group to which Nigerian Englishes belong. There have mostly been impressionistic reports that have stated that there is h-deletion and h-insertion in postcolonial L2 varieties of English. Baskaran (2008, p. 287) mentions briefly that speakers of Malaysian English with Tamil background produced h-deletion. This is most likely due to L1 transfer as Tamil does not have the /h/ phoneme (Kuno, 1958; Schiffman, 1999). Even though, as in L1 varieties of English, h-insertion receives less attention, when it has been mentioned in impressionistic L2 studies, it is also linked to hypercorrection[9] (Bobda, 2010, p. 259).

In the case of h-insertion in South African English, other reasons have been offered. In an impressionistic account of South African English, Lass (1996; 2009) noted that even though the voiceless fricative /h/ is often realised as its voiced counterpart [ɦ], it is also frequently deleted in such environments as in word-initial positions in stressed syllables for speakers of Extreme South African English.[10] While Lass (2009) claimed that the influence of the Afrikaans substrate was responsible for h-insertion in such intervocalic positions as *cre*[h]*ate* in South African English, Hacker (2005) argues that linking [h] is more of an innovative phonological process in South African English than a result of L1 transfer. She argued that this was because the use of [ɦ] for hiatus resolution was not well attested to in Afrikaans.

L1 transfer also influences the production of h-deletion and h-insertion in learner varieties. This is the case for L2 French speakers of English. The absence of phonemic /h/ in French is said to account for h-deletion and h-insertion in the speech of French speakers (Kamiyama et al., 2011). Kamiyama et al. (2011) studied the production of [h] in the words *heed, had, hot, who'd,*

[9] Bobda (2010) does not elaborate on this.

[10] This is one of three categorisations of White South African English varieties, as originally propounded by Lanham and Macdonald (1979). It refers to the basilectal variety of English spoken by White South Africans of working-class status, low education, and socio-economic status. The other two categories are the acrolectal 'Conservative South African English' and the mesolectal 'Respectable South African English'.

ahead, and *behind.* The words chosen were read thrice in the carrier sentence "I say ___ eight times" by 37 first-year English major students studying in a French University in France. They found that 14 out of the 37 students deleted [h] at least once. And, though the study's main aim was to work out which methodology was best suited to measuring h-deletion in the English spoken by French speakers, they do state that the lack of the /h/ phoneme in French was the reason for h-deletion among the speakers.

For English-based creoles or other contact varieties, early native-speaker English input is even more pronounced. This native-speaker input is usually in terms of early English input by settlers in the region where the creoles are spoken. One of such studies on h-deletion and h-insertion in contact varieties is Childs et al.'s (2003) study on Bahamian English varieties which aimed at answering the following questions:

> "How do white enclave communities surrounded by majority black populations accommodate to the speech of these cohort speech communities, given the demographic dominance of a black population that historically has been socially subordinate? How are local black vernacular norms reconciled with the broader historical base of dominant colonial white speech norms in enclave white communities? Do enclave communities nurture ethnolinguistic distinctiveness, and if so, through what linguistic configurations?" (p. 1).

They focused on two ethnically diverse speech communities within the Great Abaco Island in the Bahamas in answering these questions. One of them, Cherokee Sound, was a homogeneous white community with about 150 residents, who historically had been British loyalists escaping the United States of America; while the second, Sandy Point, was populated by only black people, about 300 in number, who had historically been emancipated slaves. The communities were 35 miles apart and said to have only little contact. They were also relatively isolated from the rest of the regions in Abaco Island. Childs et al. (2003) investigated some phonological variables[11] in their exploration of the two communities. One of these features was the syllable initial h-deletion and insertion. In all, 41 speakers from Cherokee Sound and 42 from Sandy Point were interviewed. For h-deletion, only stressed /h/ token syllables were considered, and the effects of ethnicity and preceding vowel context (consonant, vowel and pause) were tested.

[11] These were [v]/[w] alternation, reduction of syllable-coda consonant clusters, h-deletion and h-insertion, and the entire vowel system of both communities.

Unstressed auxiliaries and pronominals such as *have*, *had*, *his*, and *her* were excluded because they were prone to h-deletion in every English variety. This seems to suggest that stressed auxiliaries and pronominals were analysed, though this is not pointed out, seems to be confirmed when they added that "in terms of phrasal stress, only cases of primary - or secondary - stressed h - were considered" (Childs et al., 2003, p. 15). In any case, the list of words analysed is not listed for the study. Number of tokens per type was controlled so that only seven of the same type-token were counted in a particular environment. The results they got are in the table below:

Table 2: Results for syllable onset h-deletion or reduction (Red) in Cherokee and Sandy Point speakers from Childs et al. (2003, p. 16)

Community	**Preceding Environment**					
	Consonant		**Pause**		**Vowel**	
	%Red	**N**	**%Red**	**N**	**%Red**	**N**
Cherokee Sound	59.3	91	93.0	15	50.5	91
Sandy Point	47.1	70	66.6	18	33.3	51

As shown in Table 2 above, though both communities showed h-deletion, there was more h-deletion in the English of the white Cherokee Sound speakers than that of the black Sandy Point speakers. They ascribed this to the influence of h-deleting Cockney English on the English spoken by the Cherokee Sound speakers who historically had British English-speaking ancestors. They describe this trend where white speakers tended to delete /h/ more than their black counterparts as a common phenomenon in Bahamian English, also noted by Holm (1988). They do not explain the presence of h-deletion or indeed h-insertion in the speech of the black Bahamian English speakers, which, although relatively less, should still be accounted for. Presumably, it is also due to the input of the white Cockney-speaking settlers, but the Sandy Point speakers have less affiliation with those settlers.

Furthermore, in terms of the constraints of preceding phonetic environment, Childs et al. (2003) found that speakers were more wont to delete /h/ in the environment after a pause or at the beginning of an utterance, followed by the environment after a consonant, and was least likely to occur in the environment after a vowel. h-deletion, in their analysis, is least likely in the latter environment because of its intervocalic state, which "makes phonetic sense since it prohibits a canonical vowel + vowel sequence" (Childs et al., 2003, p. 16). Even though this is one way to explain it, there is no such rule prohibiting a canonical vowel + vowel sequence,

especially in distinct words, to have such sequences as ‘very open’ or ‘silly inmate’. This explanation would be more appropriate for occurrences of /h/, such as in words like *ahead* or *inherit*, etc. Without a list or reference to the target words used by Childs et al. (2003), it is not clear if mid-word instances appeared in the data, though there were word-initial /h/ with preceding vowel contexts, because Childs et al. (2003) gave “very hot” (p. 15) as an example of h preceded by a vowel.

Childs et al. (2003) only briefly discuss h-insertion, admitting that though h-insertion in these communities are linked to hypercorrection, “the assignment of this label (hypercorrection) entails a specialized social situation as well as a linguistic production that we have not yet examined in detail in these communities” (p. 16). They note, however, that h-insertion was more common in white speakers than in black speakers. All the instances of h-insertion they observed were from lifetime residents of Cherokee Sound, although they don't say what these are (Childs et al., 2003, p. 16).

Again, in terms of contact varieties, another variety that has been studied is Standard Jamaican English (Irvine, 2008). Like Childs et al.’s (2003) study on Bahamian English, h-deletion and h-insertion are linked to substrate input, in this case from Jamaican Creole where /h/ is said to not be phonemic (Akers, 1981; Devonish & Seiler, 1991). Also, h-insertion in Jamaican English is linked to hypercorrection (Cassidy & Le Page, 1980).[12] Irvine (2008), which focuses on Standard Jamaican English, stated that h-deletion is linked to transfer from Jamaican Creole, which has no /h/ phoneme, and that h-insertion was a hypercorrect version of h-deletion (p.13), though she does not expatiate further. Her focus was on the link between level of education and the use of these variables.[13] This is important to look at as h-deletion and h-insertion have also been linked to low educational attainment in L1 varieties discussed in the previous sections (Mugglestone, 2007; Gordon, 2004).

Irvine’s (2008) participants were 79 speakers who were recorded in 1994 and worked for Jamaica Promotions (JAMPRO), a state-owned tourism and foreign investment promotion organisation. Most of these participants were frontline staff who interacted directly with the

[12] This study, like Akers (1981) and Devonish and Seiler (1991), is impressionistic.

[13] Apart from h-deletion and h-insertion, she also looks at other variables like word-final clusters, vowels /e/ and /o/, word-initial velar stops /k/, /g/, the interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, and low back stressed vowel /ɔ/. However, these are not relevant to the current study.

public and were chosen for this role (as disclosed by the staff and senior management) because of their command of standard English. Apart from their 'standard' command of English, she adds that frontline staff were highly educated, light-skinned and middle class. Of the 79 participants, 51 were frontline staff, and these were further distinguished based on education - 27 out of the frontline speakers had tertiary education. The rest of the participants (28 in number) were non-frontline staff who, as a virtue of their position, did not have much education and were analysed for comparison with educated staff. Irvine (2008) recorded their speech and ostentatiously made notes while she did so to discourage informality before auditorily analysing their speech (p. 12). In her auditory analysis of the speakers, she finds that only 11 had h-insertion in vowel-initial positions, which she ascribes to hypercorrection. These 11 speakers mostly had single occurrences of h-insertion. She gives the two examples *owning* and *out* realised as [honɪŋ] and [haʊt]. She does not go into any further details on h-insertion apart from this, probably because of the comparatively low rate; instead, she focuses on h-deletion in word-initial positions, which she found more common. The results for h-deletion are shown below:

Table 3: Results for word-initial h productions by frontline and non-frontline speakers from Irvine (2008, p. 13)

Informants (n)	***h* drop (%)**	**[h] (%)**	**Total**
+ Tertiary frontline (27)	36 (5)	626 (95)	662
− Tertiary frontline (23)	47 (14)	335 (86)	382
Non-frontline (28)	101 (18)	447 (82)	548

The results show that the rate of h-deletion correlated with the level of education and position, so that h-deletion decreased as education and position increased. Irvine (2008) adds that 14 of the 27 tertiary-educated frontline speakers never had any instance of h-deletion in their data and that the remaining 13 frontline speakers had only two or three instances of h-deletion each, which she concluded indicated that the more educated the speakers were, the less likely they were to produce h-deletion. Unlike her analysis of h-deletion, Irvine (2008) does not provide a breakdown of the socio-educational factors for the 11 speakers that have h-insertion (i.e., + or - frontline, + or - tertiary education, etc.).

One study on an English-based contact variety that focuses on h-insertion is Patrick's (1997) study on a type of Jamaican Patwa called Speaky-Spoky. Speaky-Spoky is an enregistered creole style because it consists of sets of optional linguistic variants that index a specific social meaning. In this case, the variants that were used were said to be derived from 'a foreign standard variety… polite British English' (Patrick, 1997, p. 44), used to show off to other people, to give off the impression that the speaker was of a higher social status. Patrick (1997) states that this variety was usually associated with female speakers. Again, according to Patrick (1997), people who speak Speaky-Spoky are made fun of and, in comic shows, are depicted as characters who use malapropisms. This style is also associated with 'big words' and h-insertion. In Patrick's (1997) words, when describing Speaky-Spoky in terms of h-insertion,

> Speaky-Spoky is a type of qualitative hyper-correction: it occurs when non-elite speakers generalize prestigious linguistic forms to inappropriate environments, producing utterances which the grammar of the elite would not generate. The phoneme inventory of Jamaican Patwa does not include initial velar fricative [h] (Cassidy and LePage, eds. 1980: lxii). Where metropolitan English morphemes have it, as in *hat*, *heart*, *hit*, and *hold*, the Patwa reflexes typically lack it and are homophonous with *at*, *art*, *it*, and *old*. (p. 45).

He gives these examples to show the difference between the basilectal (quintessential) Jamaican Patwa and Speaky-Spoky in terms of the [h] variable:

> Jamaican Patwa: "out di _ouse 'out the house' put _im _ead pan _ e han' 'put him [=his] head upon he [=his] hands'
>
> Speaky-Spoky: Hout pan di road 'out on the road' Hup a di yard 'up at the yard" (p. 46).

He also included a joke which involves a conversation between a teacher and a pupil, which is apt for this distinction between Jamaican Patwa and Speaky-Spoky in terms of their use of the [h] variable:

> Student: Teacha teacha, _enry _elp _er wid _er _homework! 'Teacher teacher, Henry helped her with her homework!'

> Teacher: How many times H'I Have to tell you: you must Hemphasize your Haitches, you Hignorant Hass! (Patrick, 1997, p. 46)

Patrick (1997) ascribes this h-insertion to hypercorrection because of lexical confusion, "...the feature, which is salient and easily perceived, is produced without knowledge of the lexical assignments to particular word-classes, which only native speakers of a variety can internalize in detail, hypercorrection results" (p. 46).

Patrick (1997) finds that speakers of Speaky-Spoky with the characteristic h-insertion also showed h-deletion. According to Patrick (1997), this is to be expected as Speaky-Spoky is a style that can be superimposed on basilectal Jamaican Patwa or even Standard Jamaican English. He gave an example of a study he carried out (Patrick, 1992) where participants were asked to read this sentence: Half-hour to Christmas dinner, Henry, and you eat off the whole ham already? Lord help me! (p. 47). He cited one of the participants, a high school graduate and native Jamaican Patwa speaker, as reading the sentence as: _alf _our to Christmas dinner, _enry, and you Heat off the wHole _am already? Lord help me! (Patrick, 1992, p. 47).

He adds that the level of education and social status did not determine whether a speaker spoke Speaky-Spoky but did seem to constrain it so that the more educated, higher status a speaker was, the fewer the instances of the non-prestige variables they used. He describes two different (socio-educationally) speakers he interviewed informally in Kingston (Patrick, 1999),[14] Tamas (a 70-year-old retired shoemaker, agricultural labourer and factory worker who had a primary school education) and Rose (an 82-year-old retired head nurse with secondary and technical training). While Tamas produced h-deletion in 67% of his h-tokens with 61 instances of h-insertion per hour, Rose had h-deletion in 36% of the h-tokens she produced and only ten instances of h-insertion per hour (Patrick, 1997, p. 47; 1999, p. 99).

Overall, there are certain similarities between how h-deletion and h-insertion behave in both L1 and non-L1 Englishes. For one, education, social status and formality influence these variables in the varieties discussed. Generally, there is relatively less focus on h-insertion, and the variable is mainly treated as a hypercorrect version of h-deletion. One aspect that is different

[14] This study focused on the (KYA) variable, which occurs when a glide is inserted after a stop before a low vowel (e.g., /kya(a)/ for *car*) more than it does the h-deletion and h-insertion variable, which it only mentions in this example.

is that for the Englishes reviewed in this section, h-deletion is primarily influenced by transfer from the L1 substrate or early English input.

This study will examine the transfer phenomenon, i.e., whether the L1s of the regional Englishes influence h-deletion or h-insertion. The co-occurrence of h-deletion and h-insertion will also be tested. Instead of also disregarding certain sociolinguistic constraints because of what is traditionally known about them from L1 studies, e.g., that function words or stressed syllables are prone to deletion and so are mostly excluded from studies, the current study will endeavour to include these to establish whether this is true for Nigerian Englishes.

2.4. Conclusion

The chapter reviewed the literature on h-deletion and h-insertion on varieties of English around the world. It has focused on history, input, and constraints as it relates to h-deletion and h-insertion in L1 Englishes of British English, Australian and NZE; as well as L2, learner varieties like (Afrikaans) South African English and French English; and English-based contact varieties like Jamaican Patwa and Bahamian English.

And, while there have been relatively fewer empirical studies on English in non-L1 varieties, the studies reviewed here have shown similar patterns to those in L1 varieties in terms of constraints. The influence of L1 English and indigenous substrates is acknowledged in the L2 Englishes and contact varieties.

The next chapter goes into detail on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes.

Chapter 3 - H, H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Englishes

3.1. Introduction

Following on from the background on h, h-deletion, and h-insertion in other varieties of English in the previous chapter, this chapter looks at studies available on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. It also focuses on the distribution of /h/ in the regional languages of the Nigerian English speakers examined in this thesis, as well as discussing the history of English in Nigeria, and especially in the regions whose Englishes are treated in this study (i.e., the Yoruba-speaking South-West, the Igbo-speaking South-East, and the Hausa-speaking North).

The history of English in Nigeria and the distribution of /h/ in the relevant regional languages are examined in order to enquire whether early English input and or transfer from the languages of speakers influence the phenomenon of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, as they do in some of the studies examined in the previous chapter (e.g. Cockney English influence on Cherokee Sound English in the Bahamas in Childs et al.'s (2003) study and French influence on French English speakers in Janda and Auger's (1992) and Kamiyama et al.'s (2011) studies).

3.2. Historical and Linguistic Background of H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Englishes

One of the things that the review of literature in the previous chapter has shown is that h-deletion and h-insertion can be linked to transfer from the regional languages of its speakers as is the case in Lass's (1996) study ascribing h-deletion in South African English to Afrikaans influence;[15] and Janda and Auger's (1992) and Kamiyama et al.'s (2011)'s studies linking h-deletion in French speakers of English to their French L1. Still, other studies have shown how post-colonial English has been influenced by the input from early colonial settlers or residents, as in the case of NZE and Australian English (Horvath, 1985; Bell & Holmes, 1992; Britain, 2002), Tristan da Cunha English (Schreier, 2019), as well as the Bahamian Englishes (Holm, 1988; Childs et al., 2003). However, unlike in these Englishes, or even British English (Milroy, 1983, Mugglestone, 2007), where the historical origins of h-deletion and h-insertion are prominently discussed, the origins of h-deletion and h-insertion variables in Nigerian Englishes have not been discussed in academic works.

[15] As has been pointed out, Hacker (2005) has argued that this is more of an innovative phonological process in South African English.

The section below will examine the history of English in Nigeria and, later in the same section, how h-deletion and h-insertion might have come about in the Nigerian Englishes under review.

3.2.1. Early English Contact and /h/

Currently, at least 500 indigenous languages are spoken in Nigeria (Adegbija, 2004; Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2019). The official language is English. The over 500 indigenous languages are usually classified as majority or minority languages, based on population size and political strength.

The majority languages, also the recognised national languages, are Yoruba, spoken predominantly in the south-west of the country by 39.5 million speakers (Eberhard et al., 2019); Igbo, spoken predominantly in the south-east of the country by 27 million speakers (Eberhard et al., 2019); and Hausa, spoken predominantly in the North, by 48.3 million speakers (Eberhard et al., 2019). There are at least 497 minority languages, which are not recognised as national languages even though many of these can be termed as major-minority languages as they are spoken by a relatively large percentage of people, for examples Fulfulde (14.4 million) and Kanuri (7.24 million) spoken in north-eastern Nigeria; Tiv (4 million), spoken in middle-belt Nigeria; and Ibibio (9.97 million), spoken in the South-South region of Nigeria. Still, Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo feature more prominently in all socio-economic and political discourses in Nigeria than other languages because of their official status as majority languages and their population size. The higher prestige accorded to these three indigenous languages over the other languages in the country has ensured that they are vital in any study on language in Nigeria (Danladi, 2013; Olaniyi, 2014), including the current study.

The three regions will thus be the ones featured in the current section on the history of English in Nigeria as it relates to exploring how that influences h-deletion and h-insertion stereotypes that link these to just the Yoruba speaking English speakers (Eka, 1985; Odumuh, 1987; Awonusi, 1990; Jowitt, 1991; Udofot, 2004; Gut, 2004; Josiah and Babatunde, 2011). As has been stated above, these studies are impressionistic and do not go into much detail about why these variables are only associated with Yoruba English speakers.

The history of English itself in Nigeria dates as far back as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when British and other European traders and seafarers along with other European

people had contact with the people in the ports of Benin, Lagos and Calabar, in the now southern Nigeria (Crowder, 1962).

However, Christian missionaries and the mission schools were the institutions through which English was introduced to Nigerians, via Western education. The first school was set up in Badagry, south-western Nigeria and manned by Methodist ministers, Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman and his wife in 1842. Rev. Freeman was born in Hampshire, England, and worked in Ipswich before coming to Africa as a missionary. Subsequent mission schools followed in other parts of southern Nigeria from the 1950s, teaching English to the locals (Nduka, 1964).

While Western education and the spread of English flourished in southern Nigeria, it was a different scenario in northern Nigeria. Because this part of Nigeria had been predominantly Islamic and wary of missionaries' Christian agenda in Western education, the colonial governors had agreed to prevent mission schools and missionary influence in the region and had left all control of indigenous administration to the emirs, the traditional rulers in the region, who made sure Qur'anic schools were the only means of education available in the region (Adamu, 1973; Iwuchukwu, 2013). These Qur'anic schools taught Arabic; thus, English was not available to northern Nigerians in these times because of the ban on Western education. It was not until 1906 that the first Western education schools in northern Nigeria were established by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Zaria and Bida (Ayandele 1979; Iwuchukwu 2013). By 1918, Waniko (1961) reports that there were fifteen primary and industrial schools in northern Nigeria, as well as mission schools in non-Muslim areas.[16] Because of this delay in Western education in the North and because it was not as positively regarded as in the South, the spread of English, was relatively limited in the North.

Even though the history of the introduction of English as regards the southern and northern areas in Nigeria were different, there was also some differences between the South-East (Igbo speaking area) and the South-West (Yoruba speaking area) when it came to early English teaching, especially in terms of the reported regions from whence the early English teachers came, which could be thought to have had an effect on the use of English of locals based on the early English input they had. Indeed, Awonusi (1986) and Omadiaogbe (1992) reported

[16] This historical disparity though still affects the present-day reality with the North still lagging behind the South when it comes to Western educational achievements and enrolments (Anyanwu, 2010; Imam, 2012; Olibie et al., 2013).

that the South-West had originally had English-English teachers who taught RP English but were replaced with L1-Yoruba Nigerian teachers and teachers from other countries when the first World War broke out; while at the same time the South-East had predominantly catholic missionaries as teachers, first from France and then from Ireland and Scotland before being replaced by local teachers. Awonusi (1986) has stated that the impact of that early English input differences is what accounts for certain Nigerian pronunciations:

> Igbo English, when it eventually emerged, exhibited linguistic features similar to those found in Scottish and Irish English. For example, where RP has [ɜ:], Scottish accents of English (see Wells 1982:399; Trudgill and Hannah 1982:82) typically have / ɛr/ or /ʌr/, which in Igbo English emerged as [ɛ] or (ɛ:] in words like *learn*, *modern* etc. (unlike Yoruba English which has [a] in such words). Also, Scottish English has /jur/ in *your* which emerged in Igbo English as [jua] or [ja] (unlike Yoruba [jo]). [Note that Igbo has phonemic /ɔ/, and the inability of Ibos to pronounce /ɔ/ in this position shows that mother-tongue interference cannot account for what is happening]. Besides, another striking relic of Scottish English which is found in Igbo English today is the devoicing of /w/ in wh-words like *when* and *where* (unlike Yoruba English which has a phonological /w/ in such words) (p. 558).[17]

Even though Awonusi (1986) fails to make a distinction between phonetics and phonology in asserting that Igbos are unable to pronounce a phoneme, and Yorubas having a phonological as against a phonetic realisation of a phoneme at the end of this quote, his statement points to differences in input influence which could account for the perceived prominence of h-deletion and h-insertion in Yoruba English and not in Igbo English, since Irish and Scottish accents which are typically non h-deleting accents (Stuart-Smith, 2004; Hickey, 2014).

However, explaining the source of h-deletion and h-insertion might not be as simple as that, especially considering that there is no evidence to suggest that the teachers in the Western region, given the reports that they strove to teach RP English, would have been exhibiting h-deletion and h-insertion. Given that there had been French missionaries teaching in English in the Igbo-speaking region before their replacement with Scottish and Irish missionaries, for fear that the former were working for the French government to try and reclaim the territory for

[17] Every word in this indented quote is from Awonusi (1986, p. 558), including the words in brackets.

their home-country, one would expect Igbo English to exhibit greater h-deletion and h-insertion variables, more than Yoruba English, because of the early French-English influence (Ekechi, 1972; Omenka, 1989, p. 15; Ihenacho, 2004, p. 52; Odoeme, 2013, p. 161). Also, the northern part of Nigeria, after relative accessibility was allowed, had schools taught by English-English natives and would have been expected to exhibit h-deletion as reported in Yoruba English, depending on the quality of input the teachers had (Awonusi, 1986).

Generally, the inability to determine the quality of early English input in the relevant regions is problematic in explaining the impact that early English input had on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigeria.

3.2.2. The Distribution of /h/ in Regional Nigerian Englishes

Despite early English contact not adequately explaining h-deletion and h-insertion, it does emphasise differences in the English spoken in different regions in Nigeria. The previous chapter has discussed the influence of L1 transfer on h-deletion and h-insertion in such Englishes as Extreme South African English and Malaysian English. It is thus conceivable that transfer from the L1 of Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba speakers of English could feature in their realisations of /h/. For this reason, the following sections will examine how /h/ is realised in Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba:

3.2.2.1. /h/ in Hausa

The /h/ phoneme in Hausa is produced as a voiceless glottal fricative, just like in English (Sani, 2005; Malah & Rashid, 2015). The /h/ phoneme was non-existent in Hausa prior to the influx of Arabic loan words in the 12th century (Hiskett, 1965; Ibrahim, 1978). With the influx of Arabic loan words which had the /h/ and even a /h/-/χ/[18] contrast, the latter phoneme /χ/ which is produced as /h/ in such words as *hujja* (from Arabic *χujja* (excuse)), and later with the reinforcement of English loanwords for examples *hedimasta* (from English *headmaster*) and *hedikwata* (from English *headquarter*), the h sound became phonemised (Newman, 2000, pp. 269 - 270).

[18] The voiceless uvula fricative.

In Hausa, /h/ is produced in word initial and mid-word positions in words like *hankali* (care), *halaka* (destroy), *bahaushe* (Hausa man). Though the phoneme also appears as an allophone of the voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/[19] when it precedes back vowels, in non-derived lexical forms, for examples: *tsofo* (old), tso/ɸ/o, realised as tso[h]o; *dafu* (be cooked), da/ɸ/u, realised as da[h]u. It can also, sometimes, appears as an allophone before non-back vowels as in *lefi* (problem), le/ɸ/i, realised as le[h]i; and *fili* (field), /ɸ/ili, realised as [h]ili (Kraft & Kraft, 1973; Jaggar, 2001).

3.2.2.2. /h/ in Igbo

The phoneme /h/ also occurs in Igbo but is produced as a voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] like the murmur described in South African English (Nkamigbo, 2010; 2014). It occurs in word initial and mid-word positions in the language as in words like *ha* (they/them), *hapu* (leave), *ihu* (to see), *ohu* (twenty), *ehi* (cow/cattle), though it is said to appear less frequently in word-initial positions (Awde & Wambu, 2006).

Even though /ɦ/ is found in Standard Igbo which is itself based on dialects of two major areas in the South-East, Owerri and Umahia, there are at least two dialects of Igbo where there is no /h/ phoneme, viz, Edda Igbo (Eme & Uba, 2016) and a major dialect group Onicha (Onumajuru, 2015; 2016). In these dialects, especially the Onicha dialect, /h/ in Standard Igbo words are usually realised as /r/ for instance in the following words: *ahu* (body), *ohu* (twenty) and *ihu* (face) in Central Igbo realised as a[r]u, o[r]u, and i[r]u, respectively in Onicha Igbo. The phoneme is also nasalised in some non-standard Igbo dialects like Osuowere where for instance /ɦṍ/ (roast) in standard Igbo is produced as /ɦ̃ṍ/ in the Osuowere dialect (Nkamigbo, 2014).

In terms of loanwords from English, words with initial <h> are realised with <h> intact, e.g., *haba* (harbor), *helikopta* (helicopter), *hanga* (hanger), *haihiil* (high heel), *HIV* (HIV) (Acholonu, Penfield, & Okezie, 1980; Awde & Wambu, 2006), but there are a few exceptions, for example, *halfpenny* (Igbo *afu*) (Akere, 1981).

[19] This phoneme is usually equated to English /f/ though it is admitted that the production of this is quite different, not just because unlike /f/ it is not a labiodental fricative, but also because of its allophonic realisations as /p/ and /h/ (Greenberg, 1941; Kraft & Kraft, 1973).

3.2.2.3. /h/ in Yoruba

Yoruba has a voiceless glottal fricative /h/, though it is not frequently used, especially in word initial positions in Yoruba, as in Igbo (Igboanusi, 2006). When /h/ does occur, it occurs before nasal vowels e.g., *han* (to show or be obvious), *hun* (to weave)), and before some oral vowels *ho* (to boil), *huwa* (to behave).

The phoneme /h/ does not appear before the high front vowel /i/, except in [hi] sequence which occur in reduplication of other [hV] structures (Akinlabi, 1992), e.g.: *ha* (scrap) which becomes *hiha* (scraping); *hu* (germinate) which becomes *hihu* (germinating) (both of which are the most high-frequency h-words in Yoruba). The phoneme /h/ also functions as an allophone. In mid-word position, /h/ is sometimes an allophone of [r] as in *Olorun* (God) which can also be realised as Olo[h]un; [w] as in *awun* (tortoise) which can be realised as a[h]un; and [y] as in *eyin* (tooth) which can also be realised as e[h]in (Oyebola, 2012; Akinlabi, 1992).

However, unlike loanwords with <h> in Igbo loanwords, though, English loanwords in Yoruba with <h> are primarily realised with the <h> deleted, for instances *hanger* is Yoruba *anga*; *helicopter* is Yoruba *elikoputa*; *hospital* is Yoruba *osipitulu, halfpenny* is Yoruba *epini* (Akere, 1981; Ufomata, 1991; Kenstowicz, 2006). Though, there are exceptions, for instance with the word *hire* produced as Yoruba *haya*. Also, names with word-initial <h> and words with mid-word <h> like *Abraham* realised as Yoruba *Abrahamu*, *carbohydrate* realised as *carbohaire* do not delete /h/ (Tiffen, 1974; Makinde, 2016, p. 314). Vowel-initial words are loaned without h-insertion.

The way English loanwords behave in Yoruba, with h-deletion occurring most of the time in realisations confirms that Yoruba is more prone to h-deletion than other languages. This will be considered when the results for the current study are analysed and discussed. Regarding the following phonetic environments, the finding that /h/ does not precede /i/ in Yoruba makes it necessary to see if this will provide more information on h-deletion in Yoruba English, though following phonetic environment does not seem to affect the other two languages – Hausa and Igbo. To that end, this study will be testing whether the following phonetic context in terms of height and anteriority will influence h-deletion and h-insertion.

3.3. H-deletion and H-insertion Studies in Nigerian Englishes

With the previous sections examining the historical background of /h/ and how this phoneme behaves in Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo, attempting to account for what influences h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, this section turns to a discussion of the relevant literature on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes.

H-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes are salient variables exclusively associated with the English spoken by the Yoruba people of southern Nigeria (Eka, 1985; Odumuh, 1987; Awonusi, 1990; Jowitt, 1991; Udofot, 2004; Gut, 2004; Josiah & Babatunde, 2011). All the studies cited are impressionistic and not empirical in that they list what is perceived as variables associated with Yoruba speakers of English without empirical evidence. These studies are also in keeping with popular opinion on these variables being shibboleths in the English spoken by the Yoruba people of south-western Nigeria and termed as what is called the 'h-factor'[20] (as reflected in blogs and other online media e.g., Gbagaun-Free Grammar, 2011; Kamson, 2011; Erhime, 2014, etc.).

Even though these variables are associated with Yoruba speakers of English, one study, Bobda (2007), an impressionistic study on processes found in Nigerian Englishes at the segmental level, mentions that these variables were found in other southern accents as well. In Bobda's (2007) words, "/h/ (is) often silent in Yoruba and other southern accents; hypercorrect occurrence of /h/ is also heard" (p. 285). Bobda's (2007) study though does not mention what the other southern accents are[21] and does not discuss the statement in the previous sentence.

As in the case of the studies of British varieties of English and other studies discussed in the previous chapter, the studies cited in the paragraphs above which give an impressionistic view of the h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English, primarily focus on h-deletion to the negligence of h-insertion, which is sometimes just mentioned in passing as hypercorrection, as in the statement quoted from Bobda (2007) above.

[20] This enregistered term is discussed in depth in the subsequent chapter on enregisterment in Nigerian Englishes.
[21] Bobda (2007) might be referring to Yoruboid languages spoken in the South-South region of Nigeria, such as Itsekiri and Ede, but again this is conjecture, as the study itself does not state this.

Another study that could be mentioned in the study of h-deletion is Olaniyi and Josiah's (2013) dialectal description study of a cross-section of educated Nigerian speakers who were recorded in seminars and from television interviews. This study did not exclusively focus on h-deletion, with its aim being to show the difference in features associated with regional varieties of Nigerian English. Perhaps due to not being focused solely on h-deletion, it is not meticulous in its handling of the phenomenon, but there are so few studies on h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes that every one that can be found needs to be mentioned, at least. In Olaniyi and Josiah's (2013) study, a total of 150 speakers' production was impressionistically described – 50 each belonging to the major ethnic groups in Nigeria (Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba). They also focused on h-deletion as a variable that is exclusive to Yoruba speakers of English and state that only five of the Yoruba newscasters were able to "approximate the quality of the glottal fricative /h/, while the remaining forty-five (45) Yoruba speakers could not realize (sic) it accurately" (Olaniyi & Josiah, 2013, p. 42). Olaniyi and Josiah (2013) went on to state, "Obviously, extra effort is exerted in the ejective process of the pulmonary air to produce the sound" (p. 42). H-deletion or an 'inaccurate realisation' of /h/ was not recorded for any of the other regional Englishes studied. There is also no discussion on the quality of the /h/ the relevant participants produced, and what is meant by the inaccuracy of the realisation of the phoneme. Furthermore, there is no description of what tokens were looked at for h-deletion, and the only presentation of h-deletion was in the table below (Olaniyi & Josiah, 2013, p. 42).

Table 4: Table showing h-deletion in Yoruba English-speaking participants as it correlates with /ʧ/ - /ʃ/ substitution (from Olaniyi & Josiah, 2013, p. 42)

Variables	**/tʃ/**	**/h/**
Speaker number	/ʃ/ tokens	/Ø/ tokens
50	4	1
18	1	-
19	1	1
21	1	7
38	1	-
46	1	-
33	-	1

This table showed the realisations of /h/ as it correlated with the realisations of /ʧ/ and does not present a clear picture of the number of people that produced h-deletion as it shows that only three out of the 50 Yoruba participants produced h-deletion, but these were token for

participants that realised /ʧ/ as /ʃ/ as well. Be that as it may, Olaniyi and Josiah's (2013) study confirmed the assigning of the h-deletion shibboleth to Yoruba speakers of English.

Apart from the above study, two other empirical studies have focused, in these cases exclusively, on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. One of them is a master's degree research study (Bamidele, 2019) that aimed to answer the question of whether h-deletion and h-insertion, which are referred to as /h/ phenomenon in the study, were overgeneralised or confused. The study uses three North American based Yoruba Nigerians as participants who were said to have spent their first twenty years in Yoruba speaking cities in Nigeria. These participants were asked to produce 62 token Yoruba and English words[22] and their production were recorded and acoustically analysed and compared to that of a native American-English speaker producing the same English token words. No sociolinguistic factors were analysed for this study as it was purely phonological. Overall, Bamidele (2019) found four variants of the Yoruba /h/ which she describes as a breathy voice or fricative, a stop a glide and zero; and that Yoruba speakers in her study used these interchangeably (p. 43).

Bamidele (2019) also stated that h-dropping and h-insertion by Yoruba speakers was due to L1 transfer. She stated that the insertion of breathiness before a vowel-initial English sound was perceived as h-insertion, while zero realisation or the production of a glottal stop in the place of a fricative will be seen as h-deletion (p. 44). As interesting as these conclusions are, there are some issues which make it difficult to wholly accept. Bamidele (2019) does not do a breakdown of results per word for each of the speakers or how much of each realisation she got for each token but brings up only examples of productions that agree with her hypotheses. For instance, when she states that Yoruba speakers transfer zero realisation of /h/ in the /hi/ sequence in English, she uses only the example of the word *hear*, showing acoustic analysis of the production of that word and stating that all three speakers produce [∅] (p. 37). Whether this is the same for all other tokens of this sequence is not stated. Again, Bamidele's (2019) conclusions seem to be let down by a lack of clear result breakdown and statistics. Be that as it may, it is necessary to cite this study as it represents one of the very few empirical studies on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes.

[22] Thirty-one Yoruba token words were designed to study both vowel-initial insertion and word-initial and mid-word h-deletion. Examples of these words were *aran* (daydreaming), *ede* (language), *he* (find), *ohun* (voice) (Bamidele, 2019, p. 54). Examples of the 31 English token words which were also vowel-initial words, word-initial and mid-word

Apart from Bamidele's (2019) research work, the only other study that has focused exclusively on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes is Choon et al.'s (2012) study. This study is also the only other one that has found h-deletion and h-insertion in studies involving other ethnic groups apart from Yorubas in Nigeria. However, this study remains unpublished, and the only reference to it in the public domain is an abstract. From what can be gleaned from this abstract, h-deletion and h-insertion were not produced to a great degree. Choon et al. (2012) report that less than 20% of all the Nigerian participants produced h-deletion and h-insertion (p. 98). They also found h-deletion and h-insertion to be produced chiefly by southern speakers and to occur equally between male and female speakers (Choon et al., p. 99).

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the historical background of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigeria as it relates to early English contact in order to explore the possibility of h-deletion and h-insertion arising as a result of early English input from European teachers in mission schools set up to spread Western education through the medium of English. I have also examined how the /h/ phoneme is realised in their regional languages, and the sections on Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba Englishes are a good indication of the level of influence of transfer from the regional languages on the English spoken by its speakers. While the discourse on /h/ realisations in the regional languages might not fully explain why h-deletion and h-insertion are seen as exclusive to Yoruba English speakers and not speakers from the other regions, the way that English loanwords are realised in Yoruba (mostly with the /h/ deleted) might give more insight into h-deletion to an extent.

I have also discussed the relevant literature on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, which mainly ascribe h-deletion and h-insertion to Yoruba speakers. Also, these studies do not discuss the origins or the factors that influence h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. In one instance, h-insertion, when it is mentioned, is termed an "hypercorrect occurrence of /h/" (Bobda, 2007, p. 285).

The next chapter focuses on the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is known as the 'h-factor' in Nigerian Englishes. It takes a closer look at the three regional languages

and ethnic groups and discourses surrounding them to examine how the ‘h-factor’ came about; and what social meaning it signals in the context of past and present-day Nigeria.

Chapter 4 – The Enregisterment of H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Englishes

4.1. Introduction

This thesis deals with h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, not only in terms of variation but also in terms of enregisterment. The previous chapters have discussed h-deletion and h-insertion, first in terms of sociolinguistic constraints of these variables in varieties of English, including Nigerian Englishes, and historically charting their occurrence. While the sociolinguistic constraints on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes have been discussed, a discussion on the enregisterment of these variables as what is known as the 'h-factor', first mentioned in Chapter 1, has yet to be carried out.

It is appropriate then to discuss this now, considering that the sociolinguistic background, as it relates to variation, has been sufficiently covered. The current chapter deals with the extralinguistic factors that have led to the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor' in Nigerian Englishes, with a general background on enregisterment in other varieties. An enregisterment analysis is apt for this study because h-deletion and h-insertion have gone beyond regional phonological shibboleths to becoming indexically linked to a social meaning associated with an ethnolinguistic group in Nigeria.

This chapter then starts with a general discussion of enregisterment and such related concepts as indexicality and exclusivity. It also examines other enregistered linguistic varieties to provide a backdrop for the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. Finally, possible extralinguistic factors responsible for the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion are examined, as well as attitudes towards the variables.

The aim of the chapter in relation to the thesis is to show what is meant by enregisterment and examine how this applies to h-deletion and h-insertion by examining the factors and ideologies that would have led to the enregisterment of these variables in Nigeria.

4.2. Enregisterment and Indexicality

Enregisterment is defined by Agha (2006) as the recognition or distinction of a set of linguistic forms as "a linguistic repertoire… differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms (which index) speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values" (p. 231).

Indexicality and enregisterment are closely associated. Indexicality, as defined by Mesthrie (2004) as "a logical relation between sign and object" (p. 2), means that we begin to expect a group of people to speak in a certain way, with particular words that have acquired a social meaning linked to its speakers, a relationship between the linguistic features and its speakers. Previous studies on enregisterment have analysed the standardisation of an exclusive set of features to index correctness and social status, as is the case for Received Pronunciation (RP) (Agha, 2006) and Putonghua in China (Dong, 2010). Other studies chart the opposite by showing how non-standardness indexing low social status and incorrectness is assigned to a variety like Chavspeak (Bok, 2004; Bennett, 2012). Sometimes, it is localness that these features index, as in Johnstone, Andrus, and Danielson's (2006) study of Pittsburghese and Remlinger's (2009) study of Yoopanese in the United States of America. These examples will be examined in a more in-depth way in the next section.

It is important to note that enregisterment as a concept is seldom studied in L2 Englishes. When studies are carried out on the variables in L2 communities, they are usually studied in terms of variation and not investigated deeper in terms of enregisterment. One study that has mentioned enregisterment in a post-colonial L2 community is Mesthrie (2017). In his sociophonetic study on schwa in South African English, Mesthrie (2017) mentioned that the schwa in mid-word and final positions was enregistered to index a broad Black South African English (BSAE) speaker with the social meaning of cheap and comical being assigned (p. 322). However, this is the only point where enregisterment is mentioned, apart from two other mentions in footnotes (pp. 322, 326) (which mentions that the mid-word and final schwa were being enregistered but not initial schwa; and a reference to the mention on p. 322, respectively), the study does not explore enregisterment further.

L2 communities will benefit from an enregisterment study. One of such is the communities in Fiji. Tent's (2001) study focused on a variationist approach, examining yod deletion in non-

primary stressed /Cju/ syllables to determine what constrained this variable in Fijian English (FE). He examined 200 speakers across four speech communities in Fiji – Fijians, part-Europeans who spoke acrolectal, Indo-Fijians, and part-Europeans who spoke basilectal or mesolectal Fiji English. One of the findings that Tent (2001) uncovered was that there was "a very strong association between speech community and degree of yod deletion. Specifically, Fijians and basilectal-mesolectal part-Europeans exhibited more yod deletion in their English. It is this group that was largely responsible for the very strong association between speech community and yod deletion." (p. 175). But apart from this, Tent (2001) went on to state that yod deletion was a marker of "maleness and group identity i.e., being speakers of FE" (p. 185). However, since this study is a variationist study, nothing more is made of the results.

The studies listed above show that even though there are L2 English variables that would benefit from an enregisterment analysis to provide a more comprehensive understanding of variables in those communities. The current study is, thus, relevant as it shows the benefit of an enregisterment approach to variables in L2 communities.

In providing more a backdrop for enregisterment in Nigerian Englishes, examples of the enregisterment process in varieties mentioned earlier will be expanded on. Even though the enregisterment discussed in the current thesis has to do with only two linguistic features within a variety, all the studies on enregisterment considered deal with whole enregistered varieties. This is not just because most enregisterment studies are on entire varieties, but the processes involved in enregisterment in either case, whether in just a few linguistic features or in whole enregistered varieties, is the same.

Most enregistered varieties are associated with varieties spoken in specific geographical locations. Examples of these are Pittsburghese, Putonghua, and Yoopanese. The Pittsburghese variety of Pittsburgh, south-western Pennsylvania, USA, has been studied extensively by the linguist Barbara Johnstone. This variety of English is different from General American English, lexically, syntactically, phonologically, and morphologically. Some of these differences are monophthongisation of /aw/ (e.g., *dahn* 'down'); needs + past participle (e.g., The car needs washed); a local idiom like *crack me up*, etc. (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004, p. 124).

The enregisterment of Pittsburghese seems to have been a relatively recent phenomenon, with Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004) positing that this began just before the 20th century and was

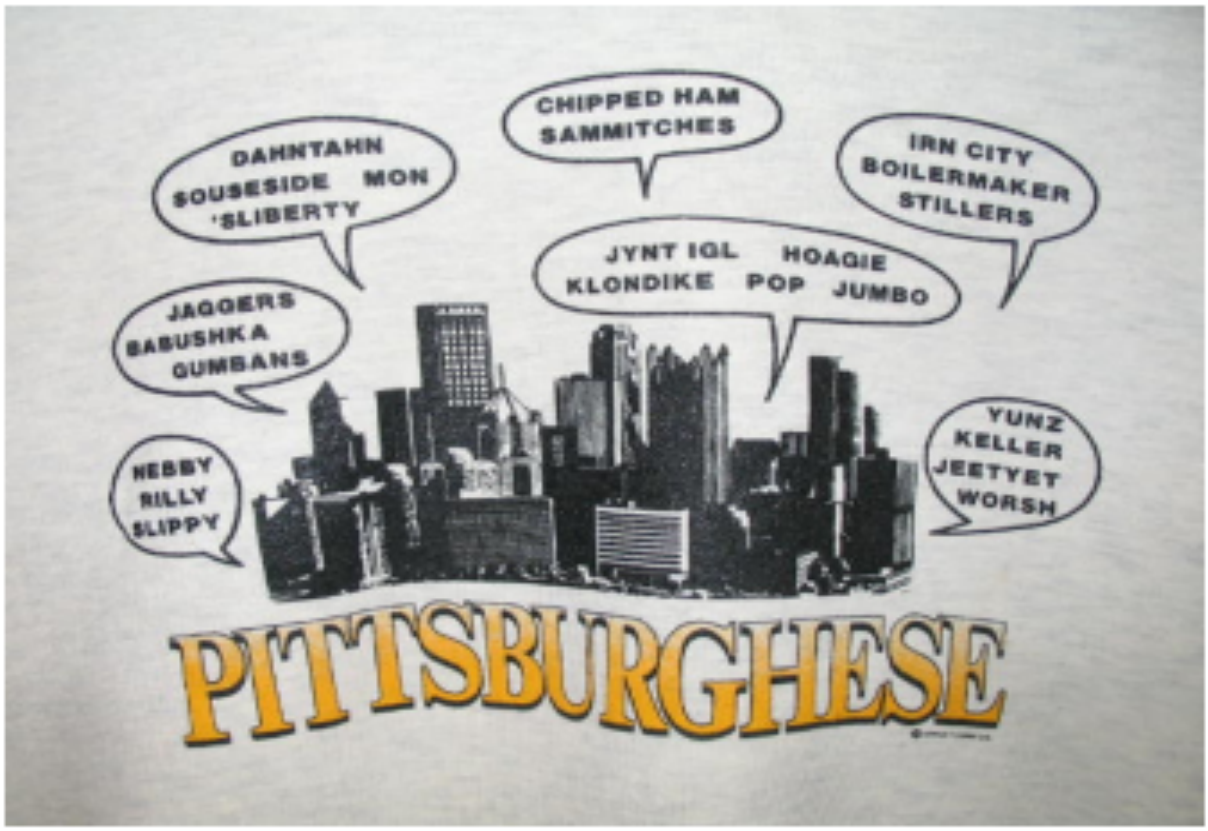
completed by the early 20th century. The enregisterment, according to them, was sparked by the solidification of the regional and class ties of the immigrant grandchildren of industrial labourers in Pittsburgh. These Pittsburghese were reported to have had their ties to their grandparent's homeland, language, and religion diminish.

The sense of regional and class ties of these Pittsburghese was reinforced by what they call 'vernacular norming', where the vernacular variant comes "to have social meanings on which community members agree and of which they are often aware" (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004, p. 117). 'Vernacular norming' with Pittsburghese, according to them, started with the legitimisation of the features by Robert Parslow, a local Pittsburgh dialectologist who, between the 1950s and 1990s, published these in "newspaper interviews… explaining their history and referring to them in the aggregate as a dialect" (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004, p. 120).

Parslow's work and other explicit metadiscursive practices have been described as one of the processes of enregisterment. In Pittsburghese, metadiscursive practices, such as online discussions and commentaries (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004) carried out on online forums and websites dedicated to Pittsburghese (Johnstone et al., 2006; Johnstone, 2011), have served to solidify the enregisterment of the variety.

Another way by which the variety was enregistered was via its commodification on items such as bumper stickers, mugs, and t-shirts (Johnstone, 2009) like the one below:

Figure 1: Front of t-shirt with Pittsburghese features on it (from Johnstone, 2009, p. 169)



Commodification like this ensured enregisterment by exhibiting local speech and assigning social meanings to such speech displayed on the commodity.

Another enregistered variety similar to Pittsburghese is the Yoopanese variety of English, spoken in Keweenaw Peninsula, Michigan, USA. Both varieties are similar in terms of historicity and indexicality. Like Pittsburghese, enregisterment in terms of feature awareness was said to have started only as recently as the late 1960s and 1970s in newspaper accounts featuring enregistered linguistic features (Remlinger, 2009, pp. 125, 186). Yoopanese gets its name from the abbreviation for 'Upper Peninsula' – UP. Some words and phrases from the variety include *pank* (to pat down or to make compact), *sisu* (strong fortitude in the face of adversity; having guts), *chook* (knit winter cap), and *swampers* (rubber bottomed boots with leather uppers), and stock phrases like *you betcha*, *yah hey*, and *Say ya to da UP, eh* (ibid.).

Like Pittsburghese, the variety indexes localness, solidarity, and regional identity, and even a sense of uniqueness amidst linguistic variation. The latter is signalled by Remlinger's (2009) assertion that the term Yooper, which is a general term for the variety and is said to also be used to refer to a speaker of the Yoopanese variety, "reinforces the notion that a distinct and

unified dialect exists in the Copper Country, despite the variability of English throughout the area and despite the widespread use of many of these features throughout the Upper Midwest and in places as distant as Alaska" (p. 119).

Indeed, some of the features of Yoopanese are similar to those spoken in other areas of the USA and even beyond. One of these includes the Low-Back Merger, which Purnell, Raimy, and Salmons (2009, p. 339) consider to be common among other regions of the Upper Midwest. The same goes for such phrases like as 'you betcha', and the use of 'dropped prepositions' and 'dropped articles' in phrases such as 'I went Green Bay' instead of 'I went to Green Bay' and 'Let's go mall' instead of 'Let's go to the mall'; and the use of 'yous' for the second-person plural pronoun, all of which Remlinger (2009, p. 119) admits are not peculiar to the region. She however contends that, despite this non-exclusivity, what matters is the speakers' perception in recognising these features as being distinctively local.

Like Pittsburghese, Yoopanese is commodified and used to promote tourism, which helps to promote its enregisterment by showcasing and encouraging discussion on the variety's features. An example of this commodification is the bumper sticker below:

Figure 2: 'Say Yah' bumper sticker (from Remlinger, 2009, p. 131)

Unlike the previous two varieties discussed so far, Putonghua, which has Beijing-Mandarin substrate, is a variety, much like RP in terms of the prestige associated with it. It indexes correctness, education, and upper social status. Also, like RP and the previous two varieties, Putonghua is actively promoted by institutions, more explicitly than the other varieties, as the 'legitimate' language (Dong, 2010, p. 268). There is a test of proficiency in Putonghua referred to as the National Proficiency Test of Putonghua set up in 1994 and administered by the National Working Committee of Chinese Languages (NWCCL). A good result in this test is mandatory for entrance into such professions as teaching, civil service, and media (Dong, 2010, p. 268).

Apart from this institutional backing and promotion leading to the enregisterment of the Putonghua variety, other metapragmatic processes involved in the enregisterment of this variety are classroom reinforcements of Putonghua as the 'correct' variety. Dong (2010) reports explicit correction of pronunciation in classrooms (pp. 271 – 272). Yao, An, and Lv (2012) also stated that there was a week dedicated to promoting Putonghua in schools, the third week in September, where the importance of using this Mandarin variety was stressed. This weeklong campaign is coupled with pronunciation and grammar-oriented tests in Putonghua, one of which has been mentioned before (Yao et al., 2012, p. 643).

These metapragmatic activities involved in enregistering Putonghua also include explicit mass media promotion. Dong (2010) presented a cartoon showing the targeted promotion of Putonghua use to migrants from China's rural areas. In the cartoon below, two rural migrants are being talked to by a confident-looking city man about what an accompanying article presents as the extreme importance of Putonghua proficiency for general wellbeing in the city.

Figure 3: Cartoon and accompanying article translation promoting Pontughua use (from Dong, 2010, p. 269)

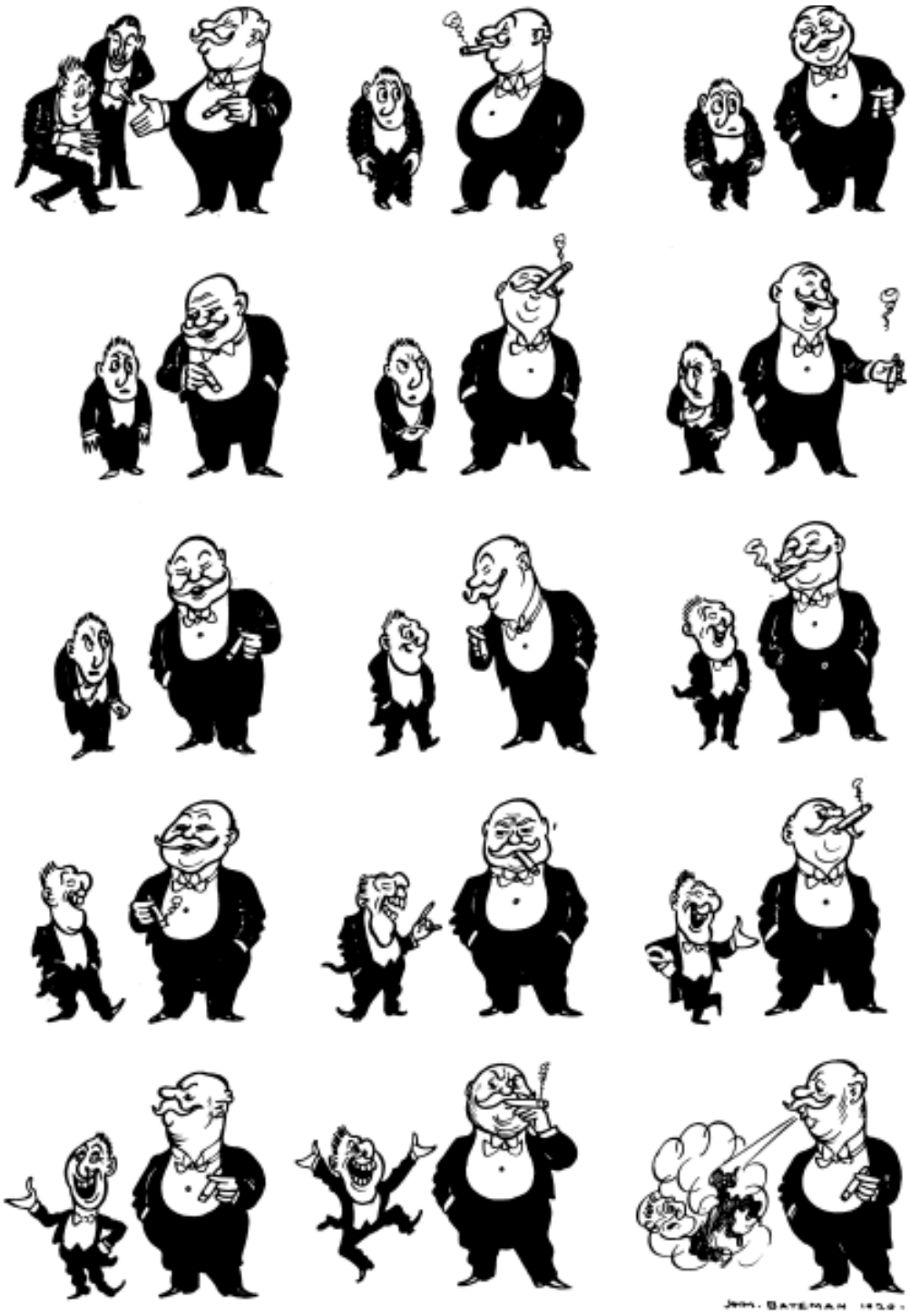
Translation of the periodical article:

…it is extremely urgent (for migrant workers)[a] to practice and to achieve a good level of Putonghua proficiency before entering cities and searching for jobs; otherwise it would be very difficult for them even to move around in the urban areas. It is evident that Putonghua is a barrier to rural redundant laborers finding jobs in cities. If you speak good Putonghua, you will not only give a good impression (to others) in job interviews and thus increase your employability; you can communicate with people effectively, express yourself clearly… so that you can find a good job and settle in the city. If what you said could not be understood by others, even if you might be excellent in your job, you could not communicate with those around you, others would feel that you were not trustworthy, and this would therefore diminish your competitiveness. Meanwhile, the language barrier prevents you from communicating with others, and hence makes you isolated…

(My translation; JD).

The picture above is reminiscent of the one on RP by Bateman (1969) (from Agha, 2006) in showing how a language variety, RP, has come to be symbolised by not just verbal but visual, physical status.

Figure 4: The Bateman (1969) cartoon showing metadiscursive representation of improper discursive behaviour (from Agha, 2006, p. 197)



In the image above, there are two men, a portly, well-dressed aristocrat and a slight, ill-fitted one whom Agha (2006, p.198) referred to as Mr Round and Mr Slim, respectively. Over the course of their interaction in the frames, we see a process where Mr Slim is looked upon contemptuously and then dismissed by Mr Round just after the former began to engage him in conversation. Even without words, Agha (2006) asserts that Mr Round was certainly an RP

speaker, while Mr Slim was not. He suggests that the signs and modalities in the frames and speech go together. So that Mr Slim, when he does speak in the latter frames, does so with wild gesturing, flashing big teeth and perceived loudness, all actions considered to show non-refinement, impropriety and lack of education, the antithesis of what RP indexes (Agha, 2006, p. 198).

RP indexes social class or status and high level of education (Agha, 2006, p. 191). Though, RP is reported to be spoken by a very few people in the UK, as Wells (1982) put it:

> RP is… what anyone living in the United Kingdom hears constantly from radio and television announcers and newsreaders and from many other public figures. Everyone in Britain has a mental image of RP, even though they may not refer to it by that name and even though the image may not be very accurate. Many English people are also regularly exposed to RP in personal face-to-face contact. For a small minority, it is their own speech (p. 279).

Indeed, there is an RP continuum that represents a variety of social statuses within the UK and elsewhere (Agha, 2006, p. 193). This continuum includes U-RP, spoken by upper-class, high-society speakers; mainstream RP, spoken by upper-middle-class speakers; adoptive RP, spoken by people who have adopted the use of RP in adulthood; and Near-RP, spoken by educated people in countries outside of the UK as prestige accents modelled on RP, and identical to it, but not the same (Wells, 1982, pp. 279 – 285; Agha, 2006, p. 193). Despite this variability, several studies have shown that RP varieties are more highly rated than other accents (Giles, 1971; Bishop, Coupland & Garrett, 2005; Beinhoff, 2013).

According to Agha (2006, p. 207), the emergence of RP as an enregistered variety began with prescriptivist works in the eighteenth century, which included treatises on pronunciation and diction. Popular handbooks, literary works and weeklies also served to enregister this. Agha (2006, p. 219) stressed that these publications served to enregister RP by making the variety recognisable.

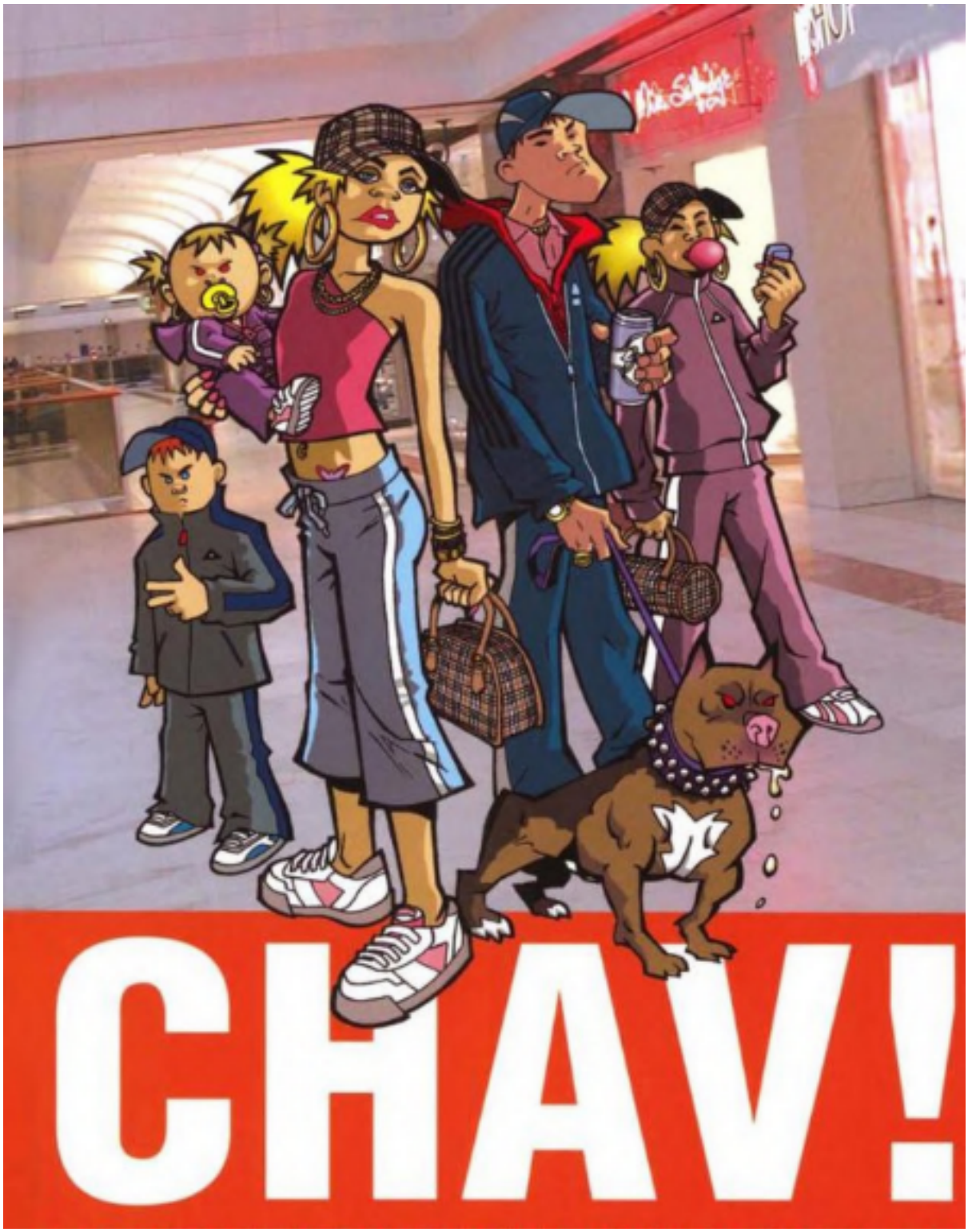
Even with more embrace of regional accents in the UK, Agha (2006) reported that RP enregisterment is promulgated, in the twentieth century, by its use in broadcast media, such as the BBC; and its continued use in public schools of the elites such as Eton and Harrow. These

media serve to mediate the enregisterment of RP by showcasing exemplary speakers for what is perceived as 'correct' or 'standard' accent use.

Perhaps the opposite of this variety is Chavspeak in the sense of what it indexes – lower social class, lack of education or refinement, and incorrectness. The definition of a Chav by the Oxford English Dictionary is "a young lower-class person typified by brash and loutish behaviour" (Oxforddictionaries.com, 2015).

The term itself has a great deal of non-linguistic association, depicting how chavs dress, live, and interact. They are described by their brash and loutish behaviour in the definition above, and in the definition by Bennett (2012), they are said to be characterised by "the wearing of designer-style clothes (esp. sportswear)" (p. 5). In this vein, Wallace and Spanner (2004) introduce what a Chav is by saying, "Well, you might not be able to describe them, but you know who they are and you know what they look like. You've seen the baseball caps, the Mr T. jewellery, trackie bottoms and trainers" (p. 11). Wallace and Spanner's (2004) visual depiction of this group of people are shown in their book cover below:

Figure 5: Illustration of Chavs (from Wallace & Spanner, 2004)



Linguistically, Chavspeak draws more on stereotypes of how the lower-class sound than on actual linguistic variation. Features such as TH-fronting, h-dropping, MOUTH monophthongisation, and glottal stops, as Bennet (2012, pp. 10 - 12) listed, have long had an

association with non-standardness and working-class speech in several varieties of English worldwide (Beal, 2009).

Figure 6: Basic Chav pronunciation of words (from Wallace & Spanner, 2004)

The pronunciation of the words in the image above shows what is perceived to be 'non-standard' ways to articulate words, reportedly characteristic of Chavspeak. Some of these are

interesting as they are really common, e.g., *yeah* for *yes*. Bennett (2012) confirmed that Chavspeak relies heavily "on very easily recognisable stereotyped forms… a stylisation that brings together features that are likely to be recognised by readers across Britain as existing class stereotypes" (p. 12). In this sense, any feature seen as 'non-standard' is classed as Chavspeak.

Metapragmatic processes that serve to enregister Chavspeak, according to Bennett (2012), are in the form of commentaries on Chavspeak, which include such stereotypic depictions on television as the characters Vicky Pollard and Ali G in *The Catherine Tate Show*, *Da Ali G Show* and *Ali G Indahouse*. Both characters were tracksuit wearing characters with a Cockney accent, associated with the slums of England.

Again, Chavspeak enregisterment was mediated by committing it to paper via written discourse such as handbooks like *Chav!: A User's Guide to Britain's New Ruling Class* (Wallace & Spanner, 2004), *The Little Book of Chavspeak* (Bok, 2004), and *The Chav Guide of Life* (Bok, 2006) and like RP, the register seems to be more popularly known than used. This is coupled with a lack of self-identification. Bennett (2012) notes, "Chavs are other people, and chavspeak is how other people talk" (p. 8). This follows from the stigmatisation and negativity associated with this variety.

4.3. Enregisterment and Exclusivity

In the studies of the enregistered varieties discussed above, one thing of note about language enregisterment is the notion of exclusivity. The definition of enregisterment by Agha (2006) as "a linguistic repertoire… **differentiable within a language**[23] as a socially recognized register of forms (which index) ... speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values" (p. 231).

However, we know from the examples we have discussed that the enregistered linguistic features are not necessarily exclusive to the speakers whose social values they index. This differentiation is then not necessarily in terms of the linguistic features being unique to speakers. An example is the case of Pittsburghese. Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004, p. 121) stated that the features that were enregistered as Pittsburghese such as intrusive /r/, vocalisation

[23] Emphasis mine

of /l/, monophthongisation of /ay/ before /l/ and /r/, and words like *jag* (tease) and *gum band* (rubber band) were not exclusive to the area. Most of the linguistic features are common in western and central Pennsylvania, and even throughout the United States of America (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004, p. 121).

The same issue of non-exclusivity goes for Yoopanese, where Remlinger (2009) stated that a lot of the linguistic features seen to be exclusive or unique to Yoopanese speakers, such as the use of need + present participle in for instance 'this need fixing', is widespread throughout the north of the United States (p. 119). However, Remlinger (2009) admits that:

> When speakers recognize terms such as you betcha, pank, chook, and yous as distinctively local, they enregister the dialect by associating certain features with dialect, people, and place…. These values are tied to people through notions that link language use to beliefs about "authentic" local identity and the uniqueness of the dialect; speakers' local authenticity is, in part, based on the use of enregistered features. As we will see, speakers rely on enregistered features to perform this identity for locals as well as for outsiders (p. 119).

In this sense, when Agha (2007, p. 231) talks about enregisterment consisting of differentiated features, these features are differentiated, not in terms of the features being used by the group only but ideologically. These ideologies are linked to the need to differentiate a group from others for a variety of reasons.

In the case of Putonghua, Dong (2010) posits that Putonghua came about as a direct response to a call for a national language that would give the sense of nationalism and unity after a proletariat revolution in 1955. As for Yoopanese, Remlinger (2009) asserts that enregisterment was used to reinforce "the notion that a distinct and unified dialect… (existed) in the Copper Country" (p. 119), though there is no reason given for why this differentiation was necessary. Chavspeak, on its part, is said to be enregistered because of maintaining the class structure in the UK. In the words of Bennett (2012), "the making, and mocking, of linguistic variety is a way of saying things about people and, in particular, a means of sustaining semiotic aspects of power relations… chavspeak might therefore not only be a way of making, and derogating, a perceived group of people, chavs, and of sustaining relations of class power" (p. 8). This perhaps refers to a need to retain the UK class structure so that the middle and upper classes

can continue to have hegemony over socio-economic privileges to the detriment of the working class associated with chavspeak.

In sum, when it comes to enregisterment, differentiation is ideologically determined, and these ideologies are based on a need to differentiate these linguistic features for one reason or the other, whether to maintain power relations or to reinforce a sense of unity.
It is essential to understand these reasons to understand the enregisterment of a variety and the social values it indexes. What follows will be a discussion on the enregisterment of the 'h-factor' in Nigeria with a focus on metapragmatic processes involved and those motivations behind the 'h-factor' enregisterment, apart from its reported exclusivity, which has hitherto been unexplored.

4.4. The Enregisterment of H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Englishes

The phenomena dubbed the 'h-factor' is seen to index Yoruba identity, in contrast with the identity of any of the other groups in Nigeria. This is interesting bearing in mind that the other major Nigerian Englishes (i.e., Hausa and Igbo Englishes) have shibboleths as well in their use of English, which are not enregistered.

For Hausa English, it is the neutralisation of /p/ and /f/, so that [f] is realised in contexts where [p] would usually be, e.g., *people* [fi:fl]. There is also the substitution of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ with the alveolar fricatives [s] and [z], respectively (Awonusi, 1990, Jowitt, 2019), e.g., *thank* [sænk] and *though* [zo]. While for Igbo English, it is the substitution of the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/ and the diphthong /eɪ/ with [e] and [ɛ], respectively (Jowitt, 1991; Olaniyi & Ubong, 2013), e.g., *let* /let/ and *face* [fɛs]. There is also the free variation between [l] and [r] for the /l/ and /r/ phonemes (Nwokah, 1986, Igboanusi, 2006, Jowitt, 2019), for instances, *rebel* [lebl]; *surround* [sɒlaund]; *clinic* [crinik].

The fact that only h-deletion and h-insertion are features that are enregistered as what is known as the 'h-factor' among these shibboleths points to a certain context that supports its differentiation within Nigerian discourse about language. These factors will be discussed in detail in the section dealing with the extralinguistic factors in the 'h-factor' enregisterment later in this chapter.

As has been stated in the introductory chapter, Chapter 1, while the current study is similar to previous studies in being interested in the historical emergence of an enregistered term and what it indexes, it differs from these in dealing with a postcolonial African variety, none of which have had a thorough enregisterment analysis applied to them in interesting ways, which serve to broaden the concept of enregisterment to cater to such multilingual, multi-ethnic and complicated backgrounds as Nigeria.

It is important to note, as well, that what is dubbed the 'h-factor', unlike the varieties discussed here, is less defined in terms of timeline. The earliest mentions of the 'h-factor' are found in new media, like blogs, vlogs, etc., in the 21st century, which inevitably coincides with the advent of more internet use in Nigeria. The appearance of what is known as the 'h-factor' in other non-new-media forums prior to that is limited to descriptions in dialect reports discussed in the previous chapter and referred to as h-deletion and h-insertion without any reference to its enregisterment. Indeed, the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor' seems to primarily be down to the use of the term in these new media forms, which might indicate that enregisterment was solely down to the metadiscursive practices on new media. However, even though this makes it look like the enregisterment of what is known as the 'h-factor' has only emerged recently, I believe that it is only detectable recently because of the broader use of the internet in Nigeria and the resultant accessibility of metapragmatic pieces on the internet. It is pertinent to note that while the variables have become enregistered, this is the first study to investigate this enregisterment.

I shall discuss the metapragmatic processes involved in the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is dubbed the 'h-factor' in the section below.

4.5. Metapragmatic Processes in the Enregisterment of the 'h-factor'

The 'h-factor' seems to be enregistered entirely by its use and promulgation in new media and is not depicted in academic works, as is the case for the enregistered varieties, like RP or Putonghua, discussed above. Academic works like the ones reviewed in the previous chapter still regard these phenomena as h-deletion and h-insertion, and there is no representation of the phenomena in literary works. Tutuola's (1952) The Palmwine Drinkard is the first literature in the English language written in Nigeria, and despite being written in broken English, there is

no instance of h-deletion and or h-insertion in the work. Literary works since then do not also have any representation of h-deletion and h-insertion.

As a result of this enregisterment being down to metadiscursive practices in new media, the 'h-factor' was only first mentioned in the twenty-first century. This is directly attributable to the fact that internet use in Nigeria did not become popular until the 2000s. Even though the first 38 internet service providers were introduced in Nigeria in 1996, there were only a few internet users in Nigeria before 2000 (Adomi, 2005). Statistics show that internet use in Nigeria, in 2000, was at 0.1% compared to 55.5% in 2018 (Internetworldstats.com, 2019).

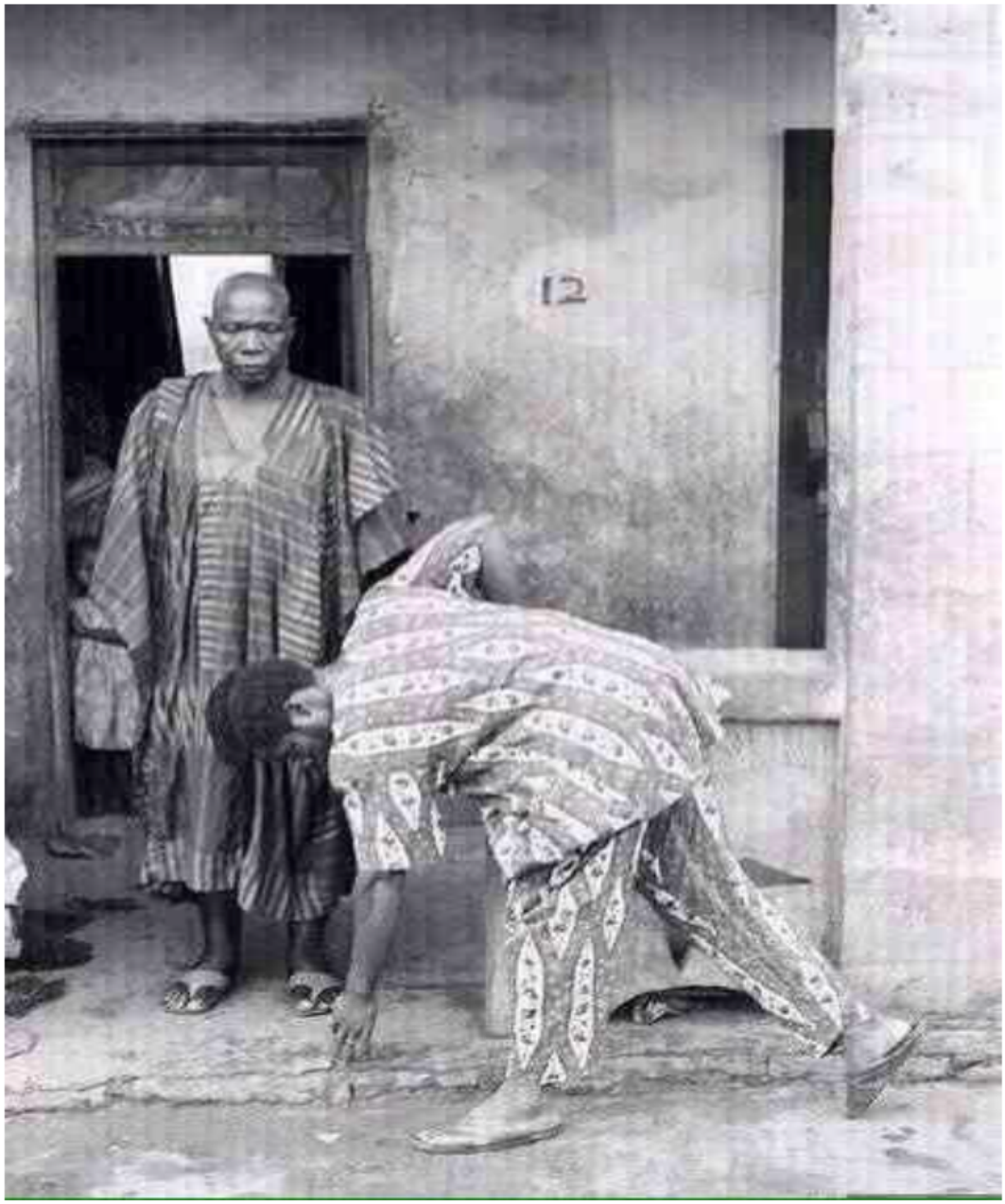
Enregisterment via new media is particularly interesting given the importance of blogs and other new media outlets like YouTube videos in linguistic analyses due to being topical and a usually accurate representation of a layman's view of language (Polkovsky & Oleksiychuk, 2010; Kehoe & Gee, 2012).

For the current study, instances of metadiscursive practices in terms of commentaries on the use of the 'h-factor' in and by Nigerians were sourced by searching for any instance of the use of the term 'h-factor' on Google search engine. Commentaries on these were found on Twitter, popular Nigerian blogs, and YouTube, though the latter were relatively few. All the commentaries found were reviewed, though only the relevant ones are presented here. The discussion on how they mediate the enregisterment of the 'h-factor' will examine how the term 'h-factor' is defined, what the characteristics of this and its speakers are and what the attitudes are towards the use of what is known as the 'h-factor'.

Enregisterment in the blogs, YouTube videos, and vlogs is done through commentary on the term 'h-factor', even through memes like the ones below excerpted from Z!koko's *15 struggles that are just too accurate for Nigerians with h-factor* (2016), which humorously depicts the experience of being an 'h-factor' user:

Figure 7: Excerpts of 'h-factor' memes from Z!koko (2016) – 'When you meet someone whose own is stronger than yours'

6. When you meet someone whose own is stronger than yours.



My (h)oga.

Figure 8: Excerpts of 'h-factor' memes from Z!koko (2016) – 'When it occasionally slips into your writing'

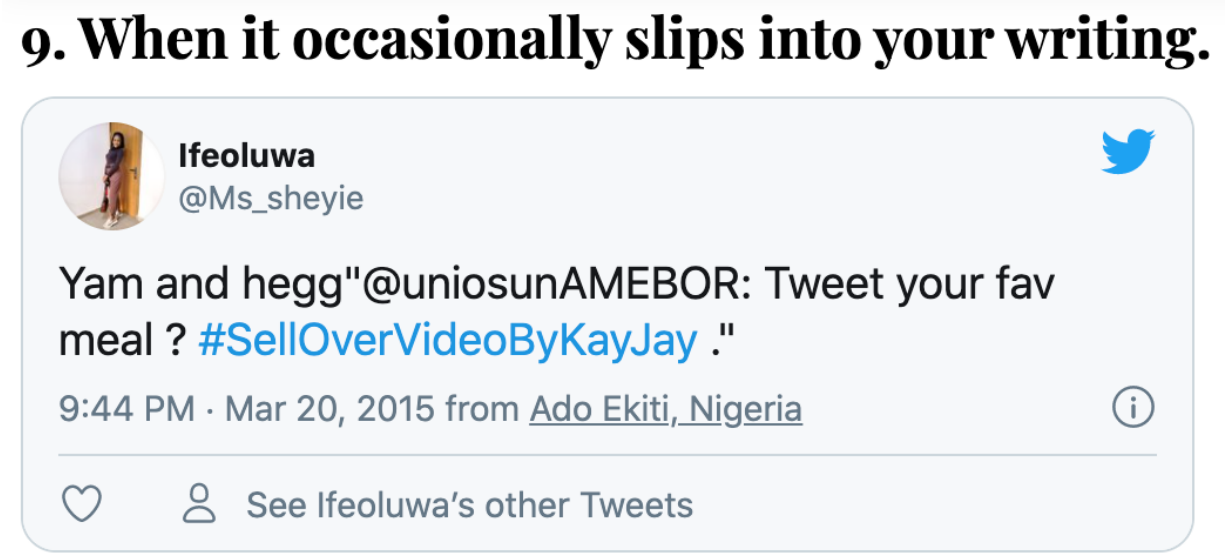


Figure 9: Excerpts of 'h-factor' memes from Z!koko (2016) – 'You totally understand this tweet'

Figure 10: Excerpts of 'h-factor' memes from Z!koko (2016) – 'When you see people that spell their names with h-factor'

From the four memes above, Z!koko (2016) humorously presents the 'struggles' of 'h-factor' users. In the first meme (Figure 7), he shows a man prostrating before an elder, a Yoruba gesture that traditionally shows respect when greeting someone older. He takes this to humorously mean there is a need to show respect for someone whose 'h-factor' is 'stronger', usually in terms of a higher frequency of occurrences. In the second meme (Figure 8), an 'h-factor' user writes *heggs* instead of *eggs* when asked for their favourite food, showing the use of the variables in speech had crept into their writing. The third meme (Figure 9) shows the understanding of a fellow 'h-factor' user when they choose to interpret a response to the greeting 'hey' as 'I?' instead of 'hi', as it is spelt. The final meme (Figure 10) shows how the 'h-factor' has crept into an 'h-factor' user's writing much like meme (9), but in this instance, it's the 'h-factor' user's name that has an added word-initial <h>.

The ‘h-factor’, according to the online commentaries, is defined in terms of both h-deletion and h-insertion. Even when the term ‘h-factor’ is used to describe something entirely different, there is still reference to its ‘original’ definition, as in this piece by Famakin[24] (2014): “The Nigerian ‘h’ Factor: In these parts, this sentence is peculiar to the Yoruba tribe because of how they pronounce English words with Yoruba enunciation producing the “H” sound before every English word. But in today’s post the Nigerian “H” factor refers to the “the Nigerian Hustle factor” (no page).

In terms of who uses the ‘h-factor’, the consensus from all the pieces reviewed is that this is attributable to only Yoruba people, as exemplified in the statements below:

> “How would you pronounce (sic) the word ‘house’? And how about ‘ants’? Okay, now read this sentence aloud: “There are so many ants in my house.” In a classic English-speaking Yoruba accent that often comes out as: “There are so many hants in my ’ouse.” And that, my friends, is the ‘h-factor’: removing the ‘h’ from where it’s supposed to be and moving it to an entirely different and unnecessary location” (Adewunmi, 2010).[25]

> “Good evening, my fellow country-people. A very good evening to all my Yoruba brothers and sisters out there, especially the ones who ate hegg this morning, the ones who came back from Hamerica last week, the ones who haven’t left their ’ouses all day, and the ones who read this blog for their hentertainment. Shorrout to all of you. You know we give the Yoruba people a lot of grief for their ‘h’ factor” (Gbagaun-Free Grammar (Nigeria), 2011).[26]

This designation of the ‘h-factor’ to Yoruba people is also portrayed in Naijalike Naijalike’s[27] (2015) video titled ‘haccenttt’ which just features a man saying, “[ø]ello darling, where [h]are you from? Your [h]accent, [h]it’s so [h]amazing, [h]onestly…” but this video is described as

[24] The blog, *Welcome to My Mind*, is an opinion blog by Opeyemi Famakin.
[25] Adewunmi lives in London and used to work for *The Guardian* and *The New Statesman* but is currently an editor at *BuzzFeed.* Her blog *Yoruba Girl Dancing* is a personal one where she discusses her views on “things like race, pop culture, and feminism, but also silly, lovely-but-fleeting things like handsome men and cheesecake”.
[26] ‘Gbagaun’ is a Yoruba-origin slang which means grammatical errors. The blog itself sets out to, as its name denotes, make Nigeria grammatical error free.
[27] The channel features short humorous videos of Nigerians.

‘the lehend (sic) of the Yoruba h-factor’ referring to this phenomenon as peculiar to the Yoruba people.

Given the discussion about at least a study that has found h-deletion and h-insertion in data from other ethnic groups in Nigeria (Choon et al., 2012) in the previous chapter, and the discussion about exclusivity in the previous section, it is evident that while what has been enregistered as the so-called ‘h-factor’ is seen to index Yoruba identity, it is not exclusive to the Yoruba ethnic group. There is thus a reason for this enregisterment. In this case, I posit that the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is known as the ‘h-factor’ to index Yoruba identity is rooted in issues arising from the ethnic divide in the country that has been there from colonial times. A thorough discussion of the reasons for the enregisterment will be carried out in the next section.

In the meantime, the attitudes to the ‘h-factor’ in the online media pieces reviewed are largely mocking and stigmatising. There is so much stigma attached to the use of the variables by Yoruba speakers that there are blogs and videos dedicated to getting rid of it. This is reminiscent of the pamphlets and literature Mugglestone (2007) describes as being produced to get rid of h-deletion and h-insertion in England.

One of such videos which portray itself as helping to get rid of the so-called ‘h-factor’ is titled ‘How to get rid of H-factor’ with a tag line “Call all your Yoruba friends to watch this.... if they have h factor. We make fun of it and are often embarrass (sic) by it instead of dealing with it. Follow these simple steps and you'll be free!!!” (Immanuel Byorna, 2016). The 6-minute video goes on to discuss ways to get rid of the variables, which Byorna (2016) refers to as “misuse of /h/” and common among Yorubas (n.d.). Byorna (2016) advised that the so-called ‘h-factor’ was produced as a result of “exhaling” (n.d.). For h-insertion, he encouraged that deliberate efforts be made to not exhale before target words were produced. In the case of h-deletion, he advised that deliberate effort be made to exhale or aspirate before target words. Byorna (2016) also urged that practice was very vital in ridding the ‘h-factor’. To that end, he prescribed practising as much as 20 times a day in the form of saying target words repeatedly until the speaker achieved an ‘h-factor’-free accent.

The social values that the ‘h-factor’ indexes in terms of Yoruba ethnicity as portrayed by a phonological ‘error’ in pronunciation, which has elicited such response as the one by Byorna

(2016) offering to help with its eradication, is discussed in the next section in this chapter which aims to present the motivations behind the indexicality of h-deletion and h-insertion.

Apart from the stigmatisation of the phenomenon, and because of it, there are also views that favour normalising the variables by pointing out the shibboleths in foreign languages, like the excerpt below:

> "The truth: Yoruba language is very similar to the French language but when the Yorubas pronounce English words without the "H" etc we see this as being razz,[28] local, bush, uneducated etc. (sic) but when the French make the same mistake it goes this way: "oh you know English isn't their first language, its (sic) allowed..."" (Kamson, 2011).[29]

And, even when a famous Yoruba popstar, Wizkid, was harangued by his fans over his use of the 'h-factor'; because he had said he had "an hangover" on Instagram (Features Editor, 2013), a blogger urged for people not to make a big deal of this because "Everybody knows some Yoruba people due to the phonetics of our traditional language harbour an h factor…" (Features Editor, 2013).[30]

> It is not surprising that the critics of Wizkid's use of the article before the word hangover immediately assumed that it was due to the deletion of the [h] and not because of some other reason. Historically, with h-words, if the h-segments were unstressed, the h-word was quantified with an 'an' and not 'a'. Fowler (2009) said about the use of the articles before h-words, "A is used before all consonants except silent h (a history, an hour); and was formerly usual before an unaccented syllable beginning with h (an historical work), but now that the h in such words is pronounced the distinction has become pedantic, & a historical should be said & written; similarly an humble is now meaningless and undesirable" (p. 1).

[28] Nigerian slogan for 'uncivilised'
[29] The blog, *Secretlillies*, is another personal blog dealing with miscellaneous issues.
[30] This write-up was from a Nigerian newspaper, *The Herald*, online.

There also seems to be a common misconception that there is no /h/ phoneme in Yoruba:

> "I think its (sic) because there's no 'H' in the Yoruba language so people try to compensate on (sic) way or the other" (Spikedcylinder, 2009).

> "The reason why they do this is cos for instance in the Yoruba language if I am not mistaken there isn't a letter "H". Its (sic) like it just vanished into thin air..LOL. So it is quiet (sic) difficult to transit from the rules in Yoruba language to the rules in the English language" (Kamson, 2011).

Other videos reviewed usually only had comments about the 'h-factor' pointed out in the comment section and not really pointed out in the videos themselves. This was especially common in opinion-segment videos posted by media groups. These segments usually consisted of the reporters seeking the opinion of people on issues. For instance, in one opinion segment by Battabox (2016), a Lagos-based media station that describes its online video channel as "Nigeria's most exciting news and entertainment video channel", about whether respondents would choose to have sex with their ex or spend a day in a Nigerian prison, one of the respondents said she would spend the day in jail and when stating her reason started with "for me to call someone an helx…is an helx now, so why going back?". Even though this was not called out by the reporter, that segment was looped thrice to call attention to it, and the commenters took note.

> NigerianFoodChannel: "MY HELX" My ribsssssssss :-)) lmfaooo
>
> Blossom Peters: +NigerianFoodChannel i heard it too
>
> Brodly Benzion: +NigerianFoodChannel Yoruba H factors everywhere Lol
>
> NigerianFoodChannel: +Brodly Benzion hahaha 😂😂😂💃💃💃
>
> John Mike: I don't have hex but I do have EX. Yoruba people n H factor I hail o
>
> OyOdiMe: We all know that.....its old story. They have H factor so what. Yes, so find something else to complain about. That's old news. We gladly claim it. Since you speak so eloquently, why not do your own vid. Yeye people.😆😆😆😂😂😂
>
> Battabox (2016).

These comments are quite interesting in that a Yoruba commenter (OyOdiMe) got defensive about the use of the h-insertion by his supposed Yoruba kinsperson and supports the variables as a signal of Yoruba ethnicity. Again, in OyOdiM's response, there is the implication that speaking with h-deletion and h-insertion, enregistered as the term 'h-factor', suggests not speaking eloquently and thus falling short of some perceived standard of English speaking.
This perceived standard also comes up in several videos on the channel. This is especially so in the case of one of the Battabox presenters, Odunayo Oti, a Yoruba woman, who was constantly being accused of using the 'h-factor' by commenters, e.g.:

> Ego N: This babes H factor kills me... omg!!!!! can she be changed please.. or put behind the scenes.. thanks!!
>
> (*What if your favourite Nigerian child is not yours?* 2014)
>
> Ego N: This babe and her H factor!!!!!!.....Hanother..Lmao
>
> (*Which Nigerian state would you 'delete'?* 2015)
>
> Brodly Benizon: Adeola is back..am tired of the other girl H factor ish
>
> (*How difficult to get a factory job in Nigeria,* 2016)

As reflected in the conversations in the comments sampled above, and in conformity with the comments sampled before, it would seem that Odunayo's falling short of the perceived standard of English speaking in Nigeria is such that she is considered not qualified for her job as a presenter.

Odunayo herself addressed these criticisms of her use of English by exhibiting h-deletion and h-insertion in one of the segments (*Battabox presenters read your comments!!!* 2015):

> Co-Presenter: For you guys that say Odun has 'h-factor', we're going to do a test. Odun, I need you to pronounce these words for me.
>
> Odunayo: People complain so much about my 'h-factor'.
>
> Co-Presenter: Odun, can you please pronounce, first helicopter?

Odunayo: Helicopter… do you want me to be speaking British accent?

Co-Presenter: Can you pronounce hotel?

Odunayo: [ø]otel

Co-Presenter: Ah, [ø]otel, we have caught her. She has 'h-factor'

Odunayo: <laughs> but seriously guys, I don't know how [h]else to pronounce these words

Co-Presenter: You see, Odun has 'h-factor'. I'm here to help with accents, you know, like helicopter, hotel, you know, just call me.

Odunayo: Ol' boy, I'm a naija[31] babe, I don't need to be speaking phone[32]

Apart from the fact that Odunayo seems defensive and almost helpless in explaining her use of h-deletion and h-insertion, she contrasts her accent with the British accent, and not any of the regional accents, thus suggesting that the perceived correct standard example of English usage in Nigeria, as has been alluded to in all the comments sampled prior, is British English. This is not particularly surprising as British English, particularly the Standard British English (SBE), is held up as a standard of English language use in Nigeria (Bamgbose, 1982; Awonusi, 1987; Udofot, 2003; Gut, 2004).

Its implication for the enregisterment of the 'h-factor' is that regional varieties with features deviating from the SBE are considered less correct. This incorrectness is further magnified when other extralinguistic factors are considered. I posit that these extralinguistic factors have led to the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion. These extralinguistic factors will be discussed in-depth in the next section.

Overall, the consensus on blogs and other online media which have served to enregister h-deletion and h-insertion is that these variables are exclusive to Yoruba speakers. Moreover, even though these variables are seen to index Yoruba identity and ethnicity, it is associated with less than perfection in English use, a deviation from the norm, SBE. Also, what is known

[31] Slang for 'Nigeria'

[32] Pronounced /fone/. Slang derived from 'phonetic' and used to describe pretentious pronunciation or linguistic affectation.

as the ‘h-factor’ is (largely and erroneously) ascribed to the Yoruba L1 not having the /h/ phoneme, an assumption that is incorrect from the discussion of /h/ in Yoruba in the previous chapter (Section 3.2.2.3).

4.6. Extralinguistic Factors in the Enregisterment of the ‘h-factor’

It has been established from the previous sections that enregisterment does not just happen because of linguistic exclusivity (especially as discussed in Section 4.3). There are reasons why these varieties become associated with certain social values. For instance, this is undoubtedly the case in Putonghua, where enregisterment was down to the need for fostering a sense of unity after the proletariat revolution in the country (Dong, 2010, p. 3).

I hypothesise that the enregisterment of the ‘h-factor’ was borne out of the relative prominence of the Yoruba group in domains where English is utilised – in education, in mass media, and generally. These domains where English is utilised in Nigeria will be expanded on in the sections below, as it relates to the Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo groups profiled in this study. Afterwards, a section will focus on expanding on my theory on how these factors centring around differences in interethnic use and associations with English ensured the enregisterment of these variables.

4.6.1. Western Education in Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba Regions

Education is a relevant marker when it comes to reasons for the enregisterment of the h-deletion and h-insertion variables in Nigeria. As has been discussed in the preceding chapter, there was a disparity in the introduction of Western education in Nigeria, with Western education being introduced in the South of Nigeria before being introduced in the North. Therefore, northern and southern Nigeria are not the same in terms of educational achievements, in that southern Nigeria is more educated than northern Nigeria.

Western education was first introduced in the Yoruba South-West, in terms of primary, secondary, and tertiary education. The first school was set up in Badagry, South-Western Nigeria and manned by Methodist ministers, Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman, an English minister from Hampshire, England, and his wife in 1842. The first tertiary institution in Nigeria was established in the Yoruba South-West - Yaba College, Lagos, was established in 1932, followed by the University College of Ibadan (now University of Ibadan) in 1948.

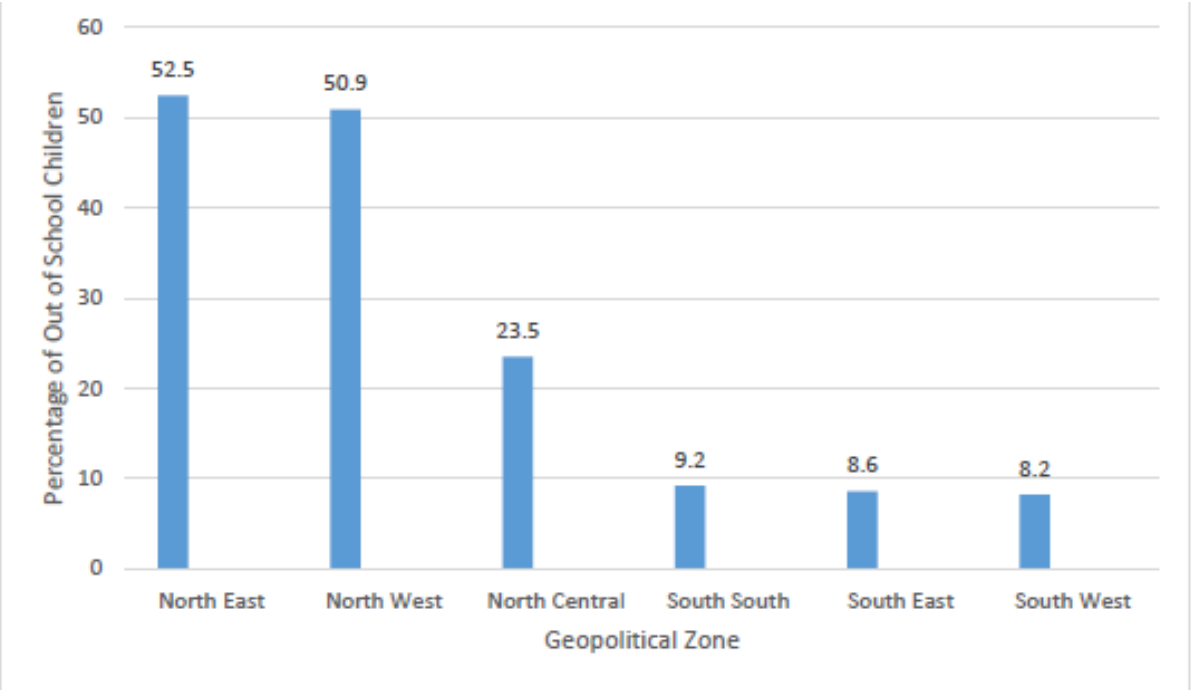
Today, the South-West has the best universities in present-day Nigeria, with the University of Ibadan and Covenant University, both situated in the region, being the only universities in Nigeria to make the Times Higher Education list of 1000 best universities in the world in 2018. Both universities ranked 601 – 800 on the list (Times Higher Education, 2019). Also, of all the universities in Nigeria, six of the Universities in the South-West made it to the list of the top 10 list of best universities in Nigeria according to the National Universities Commission, Nigeria (NUC, 2019):

Table 5: List of the top 10 best universities in Nigeria according to regions in 2019 (from NUC, 2019)

Universities	**Regions in Nigeria**	**Ranking**
University of Lagos	South-West	1
University of Ilorin	South-West	2
Ahmadu Bello University	North-Central	3
Obafemi Awolowo University	South-West	4
University of Nigeria, Nsukka	South-East	5
University of Ibadan	South-West	6
Covenant University	South-West	7
Federal University of Technology, Minna	North-Central	8
Landmark University	South-West	9
Rivers State University of Science and Technology	South-South	10

Also, as at 2008, for instance, a national demographic and health survey carried out in Nigeria by the National Population Commission (NPC) (2009) showed that there is more out of school children in the northern region than in the southern regions combined as shown in the chart below:

Figure 11: Percentage of out of school children according to geopolitical zones in Nigeria (from National Population Commission, 2009, p. 12)



In the above chart, the region with the least number of children out of school is the South-West with 8.2%. While the northern regions have comparatively more children out of school with 52.5% in the North-East and 50.9% in the North-West. Though the North-Central region, by comparison, has 23.5% of children out of school, this is still a lot when compared with the southern regions, which each had less than 9% of children out of school.

Another more recent survey by the National Population Commission in 2013 showing the degrees of educational attainment by gender and region. This is shown in the table below:

Table 6: Educational attainment in Nigerian households by gender and region (from National Population Commission, 2013, pp. 23 - 24)

Educational attainment of female household population						
Zone	**No education**	**Some primary**	**Completed primary**	**Some secondary**	**Completed secondary**	**More than secondary**
North Central	38.0	23.3	9.2	14.0	8.7	5.7
North East	61.1	16.7	5.9	7.1	4.5	2.9
North West	62.8	15.8	6.7	6.6	4.3	1.4

South East	18.7	22.0	13.0	18.5	18.0	8.8
South South	13.0	22.4	14.0	22.4	18.6	9.1
South West	17.1	19.5	12.8	20.3	19.0	11.0

Educational attainment of male household population

Zone	No education	Some primary	Completed primary	Some secondary	Completed secondary	More than secondary
North Central	22.6	24.1	8.5	17.9	14.3	12.0
North East	52.4	18.0	5.1	9.4	7.9	6.2
North West	46.9	19.0	8.0	10.1	10.1	4.8
South East	10.7	25.7	17.6	19.0	19.0	8.5
South South	6.1	22.4	12.6	21.1	21.1	12.7
South West	11.6	19.7	11.6	18.3	18.3	13.9

The table above shows that among the three groups, the South-West seems to be the most educated with the highest percentage of students of both genders going on to pursue post-secondary education. Again, the North has the lowest figures, especially as it relates to female children's education. Female education is remarkably low as a result of early child marriage and cultural norms, which promote a gender power imbalance in the North (Ejembi et al., 2004; Ogunniyi & Dosunmu, 2014; Antoninis, 2014).

In fact, the Yoruba South-West is regarded as the most educated[33] in Nigeria (Akinwale, 2013; Britishcouncil.org, 2014; Sabiu, 2018; Adesina, 2019).

4.6.2. Mass Media and Visibility of Hausas, Igbos and Yorubas

The first printing press was set up in 1859 in the south-western city of Abeokuta, Ogun state, by the missionaries. The first newspaper, Iwe Irohin,[34] was published the same year by a British missionary, Henry Townsend (Adebanwi, 2004; Ojo, 2013). Today, the media is still majorly

[33] Western education, as against other forms of education in Nigeria, such as Arabic education, etc. Henceforth, when I refer to Yoruba speakers as being the most educated group in Nigeria, I refer to this in terms of Western education.

[34] Yoruba for 'newspaper'

associated with the South-West. So much so that the phrase 'Lagos-Ibadan axis' has been coined to refer to the concentration of the most prominent mass media houses in the Yoruba speaking region; and as a result, the view that the Yorubas control mass media (Oso, 2011; Okafor & Malizu, 2013; Olayiwola, 2013; Okafor, 2014).

It is argued that this concentration is profit-driven because of the economic lucrativeness of the region, with Lagos being the business capital of Nigeria (Akande & Ojokuku, 2008; Mordi, Simpson, Singh & Okafor, 2010; Ayo, Adewoye & Oni, 2011). According to Adelekan (2010), Lagos state is the centre of economic and business developments in the country as it houses "around 65 per cent of the country's industrial establishments, more than 65 per cent of all commercial activities and around 60 per cent of Nigeria's non-oil economy; it is also home to four of the country's eight seaports" (p. 433).

Also, not all the media houses are owned by Yorubas (Taiwo, 2011, p. 128), as shown in the figure below:

Figure 12: Ownership of the leading media houses in Nigeria by state of origin of the owner (from Olukoyun, 2004, p. 79)

Name Of Medium	Location	Proprietor & State Of Origin
Guardian	Lagos	Alex Ibru (Delta) *
This Day	Lagos	Nduka Obaigbena (Delta)
Vanguard	Lagos	Sam Amuka-Pemu (Delta)
Punch	Lagos	Ajibola Ogunsola (Oyo)
Champion	Lagos	Emmanuel Iwuanyanwu (Imo)
Comet	Lagos	Lade Bonuola (Oyo)
Daily Times	Lagos	Federal Government (Yoruba)
Sun	Lagos	Orji Kalu (Abia)
Nigerian Television Authority	Abuja and all state capitals	Federal Government
African Independent Television	Lagos	Raymond Dokpesi (Edo)
Channels Television	Lagos	John Momoh (Delta)
Minaj Television	Obosi	Mike Ajaegbo (Anambra)

Source: Author's Research Notes
* Delta State is one of the States inhabited by the minorities of South Nigeria; Oyo State is a Yoruba State, while Anambra and Abia are Ibo States.

The figure above from Olukoyun (2004) shows that of the prominent media houses in Nigeria, only two are owned by Yorubas.[35] Though, the fact that the media companies are owned by persons of other ethnicities does not still take away from the fact most of the employees, by virtue of location, would be Yoruba. This logically translates to the visibility of Yorubas in the media as they hold positions in these media houses.

In the same vein, the use of English in the Yoruba-speaking region, I posit, might directly correlate with the pioneering and enduring legacy of Western education and mass media in the Yoruba speaking regions. This use of English in the Yoruba speaking South-West and in other regions will be discussed in the next section.

4.6.3. The Use of English in Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba Regions

Hausa has always been relatively more prominent than other languages in the North, with Hausa being the lingua franca even now (Danladi, 2013, p. 11). The prominence of the use of Hausa over English by the Hausas of the North historically stems from its affiliation with Christianity. The same goes for Western education in general, an issue that has been discussed in a previous section (Section 4.6.1), the schools were set up by missionaries, and the Northerners were suspicious that these missionaries were using this English-based education to evangelise and convert to Christianity (Adeniran, 1978; Igboanusi, 2004). Also, even though there is still a percentage of Hausa, primarily males, who do engage with Western education, Hausa is still the language of commerce and even education in the government sector in the North (Danladi, 2013, p. 11). English language is primarily restricted to its learning in school and interethnic communication (Bamiro, 2016).

English is relatively more prominent in all domains in the South and is even spoken as a first language by the younger generation because of the prestige ascribed to the language vis-à-vis regional languages (Bamgbose, 1982; Dada, 2007; Balogun, 2013; Sesan, 2013), though the language is usually learnt in schools. As a result of its proximity to the South-south, where Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) is creolised and vastly used as an L1, the non-standard English form NPE is also relatively more used among Igbos as an L2 compared to the Yorubas. Studies such as Piotrow et al. (1990) carried out in Yoruba and Igbo states have utilised NPE as a third

[35] The government has changed since this article in 2004 so that Daily Times, then owned by a Yoruba led Federal Government, is now Hausa-owned, because the current president is Hausa.

language in surveys in the South-East while sticking to Yoruba and English in the South-West. Ayeomoni (2006) attested to this when he remarked that "the low status and prestige of pidgin English in the speech community under reference does not make it feature prominently in the language stock of students…" in his study of 50 nursery, primary and secondary school age Yoruba-English bilinguals (p. 93).

4.7. Yorubas and the Enregisterment of H-deletion and H-insertion

Considering the relevant extralinguistic factors discussed above, I would like to make some hypotheses about why h-deletion and h-insertion are enregistered. In my estimation, it seems most likely that the reason for the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor' is due to the relative visibility and prominence of the Yoruba people in domains where English is used.

As discussed, in terms of English language education and use in Nigeria, the Yorubas of south-western Nigeria are pacesetters in English education. The first schools were established in the South-West during the colonial era, and to date, the region has the most accomplished tertiary institutions in Nigeria and is described as the most educated region in Nigeria. This is directly related to the use of English as an additional language among the group, unlike in the northern region where it is used as a second language and not that pivotal in Hausa identity; or the Igbo-speaking region where, even though it is used as an additional language, English has NPE as a contender in that role. Again, their prominence in mass media makes their speech and use of English more visible than those of other regions. These associations with English have ensured that the English spoken by the Yoruba is subject to more scrutiny than the other groups, not only by other groups but even among Yoruba speakers themselves. This has thus led to the indexing of Yoruba identity by the perceived 'error' in their use of English, which they seem to be expected to be faultlessly proficient in.

Thus, their prominence as the most-educated group and this association with a broader use of English, as well as their prominence in the media, serves to ensure that perceived 'standard' English 'errors' would be magnified and labelled more than the other ethnic group's perceived linguistic 'errors', hence the enregisterment of their production of h-deletion and h-insertion.

4.8. Conclusion

This chapter introduced Agha's (2006) concept of enregisterment as the recognition or distinguishing of a set of linguistic forms as "a linguistic repertoire… differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms (which index) ... speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values" (p. 231). Previous studies on enregisterment have also described it in terms of where they are spoken, what they index, and the metapragmatic processes involved in their enregisterment. In looking at these enregistered varieties, it becomes obvious that for them, differentiation is not necessarily in terms of the linguistic features being exclusive to these groups of speakers, but in terms of ideological beliefs about exclusivity necessitated by certain extralinguistic factors.

The enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor' in comparison to previous studies is explored in terms of indexing the ethnic identity of Yoruba speakers of English to whom these variables are seen as exclusive. This indexicality elicits stigma and prompts speakers to want to get rid of it. This, I posited, was due to the following extralinguistic factors: the association with Western education, the association with the use of English, and the association with mass media. I hypothesise that these factors make their use of English more prominent and subject to scrutiny so that perceived 'errors', salient of which are h-deletion and h-insertion, are magnified and enregistered.

Chapter 5 – Nigerian Englishes in Models of World Englishes

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed enregisterment and examined other enregistered linguistic varieties to create a backdrop for h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. While the penultimate chapter on /h/, h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes has considered h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, in terms of the relevant history, constraints and other sociolinguistic factors, there is a need to understand how English has been adopted, in other words, the degree of ownership of English, in Nigeria by situating Nigerian Englishes in models of World Englishes. The current chapter thus discusses Nigerian Englishes as a World English - its classification and the implications for the variety of English spoken in Nigeria, something that has a bearing on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English.

5.2. The Status of Nigerian Englishes in Relevant Models of World Englishes

In this section, I will attempt to situate Nigerian Englishes in a model of World Englishes: Schneider's Dynamic Model with components from Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Extra- and Intra-territorial Force (henceforth EIF) Model. Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model is perhaps the most influential model in World Englishes, especially with regard to Post-colonial Englishes (henceforth PCEs) like Nigerian Englishes (Huber, 2014; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017; Garcia-Castro, 2020). The framework is also apt for this study because Schneider (2007) already profiled Nigerian English[36] as one of the case studies in his study.

Since Kachru's (1992) Concentric Circles, models of World Englishes have not been solely based on features of varieties (like more dialectological approaches such as Wells (1982)), but also on the attitudes towards and use of the varieties in the settings they are situated in. The Dynamic Model is based on the idea that countries with a colonial past go through similar sociolinguistic processes that could culminate in the acceptance of a local variety of English.

According to Schneider (2003, 2007), this process starts from a foundation phase, where the first contact is made between the settlers (henceforth STL) and the indigenous people

[36] Schneider (2007) uses the term 'Nigerian English', so any reference to Nigerian Englishes in Schneider's profile of the variety will be to 'Nigerian English'.

(henceforth IDG) and English is introduced; the next phase, the exonormative stabilisation phase, is characterised by political stabilisation and the establishment and prevalence of the exonormative norm in STL-based communication and education. This phase is also characterised by a utilitarian-purpose education, as in the training of the IDG people for the roles of interpreters and assistants. The next phase, the nativisation phase, is characterised by the emergence of a new variety markedly different from the exonormative variety, both structurally and phonologically. This phase is followed by the endonormative stabilisation phase.

The endonormative stabilisation phase is characterised by the recognition of a local variety that is positively evaluated and seen as an identity carrier. This local norm is seen to have lost its former stigma and is codified and treated as a standard variety. Schneider (2007) states that at this stage, the local variety chosen as a linguistic norm is considered homogeneous, and "whatever linguistic heterogeneity remains (… usually along ethnic and social class lines) will tend to be downplayed or ignored" (p. 51).

The final phase is the differentiation phase, where the local or indigenous linguistic norm has become stable and there are now group-specific varieties along social, ethnic, or regional lines. Some PCEs do not get to the final phase, which is indefinite – the differentiation phase – where focus is said to shift from the seemingly homogeneous stabilised variety to group-specific varieties. In fact, of all the post-colonial Englishes that Schneider (2007) reviews, only the STL-dominated varieties, American English, Canadian English, Australian English, and NZE have completed the endonormative phase and gone on to the final phase, differentiation. It could be argued that it is easier for STL-dominated varieties to reach the differentiation phase. This is because contact between numerous L1 dialects in a 'foreign' land ensured a koineised variety was more easily positively evaluated, accepted, and codified (than IDG-dominated[37] varieties) since this variety served as an identity carrier for a diverse group of people who were actively seeking to establish their own identity in a new land. For these countries, an endonormative norm was more than a utilitarian tool. Also, as Schneider (2003) notes, "there was no basis for regional speech distinctions to emerge up to that point" (Schneider 2003, p. 253), or there was relatively little evidence of regional varieties (Bauer & Bauer, 2002).

[37] I use this to qualify Englishes where the speech community is dominated by the indigenous population, e.g., Nigerian English, Malaysian English. This is opposed to STL-dominated varieties where the speech community is dominated by the settler population, e.g., Australian English and NZE.

The IDG-dominated varieties reviewed in Schneider (2007) have either not gone past the exonormative phase (e.g., Fijian English); are still said to either be undergoing the nativisation phase (e.g., Kenyan, Tanzanian and Cameroonian Englishes) or are just showing signs of the endonormative phase while still being in Phase 3 (e.g., Nigerian and Indian Englishes). Though, some like Singaporean Englishes are reported to be clearing Phase 4 and showing signs of Phase 5 – differentiation. Singaporean English is, in fact, the only IDG-dominated variety said to be showing signs of differentiation by Schneider (2007) because there were documentations of regional varieties for this English (p. 266). The question of whether IDG-dominated varieties can move to Phases 4 and 5 will be revisited later in this chapter.

It is important to note that Schneider (2007, pp. 199 - 211) includes Nigeria in his case studies of the Dynamic Model. He charts the course of Nigerian English from the foundation phase, Phase 1, through to the nativisation phase, Phase 3, where he places Nigerian English (at the time of his study). Schneider's characterisation of Nigeria will be discussed in this section. Indeed, other studies like Evans (2009), who focused on Hong Kong English, and Van Rooy and Terblanche (2010), who focused on South African Englishes, have called for modifications to Schneider's classification of Englishes profiled in his 2007 study. Other studies have called out some more general deficiencies of this model in adequately analysing World Englishes. Most of these criticisms have had to do with the focus on territory and nation state rather than the form of English. In this regard, Mair (2013) mentions the use of English in non-territorial spaces that have become prominent because of globalisation, in what he refers to as mediascapes, e.g., internet forums (p. 254). Others have criticised the emphasis on national identity over other factors like status or class. For instance, in the case of South African English, orientation has shifted from ethnic varieties (always highly distinct given the history of apartheid) to class varieties because of a rise in black South African speakers becoming middle class (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Another major criticism levelled against the model is the exclusion of non-PCE varieties such as English in Thailand and Namibian English (Seargeant, 2012; Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017).

Schneider (2014) himself has responded to some of these criticisms in his rebuttal. He emphasised that the model had been designed specifically for post-colonial Englishes (Schneider, 2014: p. 16) and proposed the concept of Transnational Attraction which refers to the categorisation of Englishes based on communicative purposes and not geography, varieties,

or norms. This model, though, has not gained the level of popularity that the former has attained, even though it has been incorporated by Buschfeld, Kautzsch, and Schneider (2018). One important study which responded to the criticism of Schneider's model not being applicable to non-PCEs was Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017). They modified Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model to accommodate both PCEs and non-PCEs alike with their EIF Model. They used Namibian English as a case study in their work since this variety is a non-PCE variety that would not fit into the mould of the Dynamic Model. They suggest that these Englishes should be classified within the Dynamic Model not just based on the factors that the Dynamic Model currently incorporates (i.e. historical and political events, identity constructions, structural effects and sociolinguistic conditions); but also based on extra-territorial force factors (colonisation where applicable, language policies, globalisation, foreign policies and sociodemographic background) and intra-territorial forces (attitudes towards colonising power where applicable, language policies/language attitudes, 'acceptance' of globalisation, foreign policies and sociodemographic background) (Buschfeld & Kautzsch, 2017, p. 114). For their case study of Namibian English, they skip the factors associated with colonialism in Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model but still situate Namibian English in the nativisation phase – Phase 3 – also accounting for EIF factors. Buschfeld et al. (2018) also incorporates the concepts of Schneider's (2014) Transnational Attraction to develop a 'unified view' which incorporates Transnational Attraction with their EIF Model and the Dynamic Model where they briefly analyse both national (English in Greece, Cyprus, Southeast Asia, etc.) and digital domains (Writings by Germans and Singaporeans in Fanfiction sites, Facebook, and online games) as case studies in their study. They conclude that Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model was "useful to account for the colonial diffusion of English, the growth of new post-colonial varieties, and some early post-colonial developments… but lacks the tools to explain… non-post-colonial contexts…" (Buschfeld et al., 2018, p. 40). They also dismiss Transnational Attraction as being "rather generic, not suitable for explaining details and different facets" (ibid.). They consider the EIF Model more suitable but still in need of development.

Since Nigerian English is a post-colonial English primarily targeted in Schneider's (2003, 2007) studies, the discussion in this chapter will focus on the Dynamic Model; however relevant EIF factors from Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) EIF Model will be incorporated in the analysis, particularly for the discussion of the current situation of Nigerian English in Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003, 2007). The factors considered are in relation to the intra-

territorial forces, i.e., 'acceptance' of globalisation, language and educational policies and attitude, and sociodemographic background. With regard to extra-territorial forces, the lingering influence of colonisation is evident in the language policies and attitudes expressed, and I have not considered such other forces as foreign policies because they do not appear to play a significant role in the current situation of English in Nigeria. The application of the forces from the EIF Model in this chapter should not be seen as definitive. Future studies on Nigerian English will benefit from a more robust application, as many of these forces are intertwined and need a more complex breakdown than what I can provide in this thesis. I only briefly present the most relevant factors from the EIF forces in relation to the current situation of English in Nigeria.

In terms of situating Nigerian English in the Dynamic Model, Phase 1 began in the early 19th century with the trading contacts between the British and the people in the ports of Benin, Lagos and Calabar, in what is now southern Nigeria (Crowder, 1962). Schneider (2007) posits that identity constructions can only be speculated about because the exact nature of the contacts between the British traders and Africans was not known (p. 200). At this early stage, it is safe to assume that the English used by the Africans, in the form of the Pidgin English established at this point, was merely for instrumental purposes, had no bearing on the speakers' identity. Indeed, it is plausible that the African traders would still have retained their identities as the owners of the territory and treated their foreign customers as business acquaintances since they did not reside long term in their territory.

Schneider (2007) asserts that the instrumental power of English would have been born from the experience of the African servants who worked at the European forts in those days. These servants were said to have become powerful and successful because of their familiarity with English (Schneider, 2007, pp. 200 - 201). Schneider (2007) also mentioned the role of the missionaries in the spread of English. As discussed in the previous and penultimate chapters, these missionaries set up mission schools through which English was introduced to Nigerians via Western education. The first school was set up in Badagry, south-western Nigeria and manned by Methodist ministers, Rev. Thomas Birch Freeman and his wife, in 1842. Rev. Freeman was born in Hampshire in the south of England and worked in Ipswich before coming to Africa as a missionary. Nduka (1964) states that subsequent mission schools followed in other parts of southern Nigeria from the 1850s, teaching English to the locals. Schneider (2007) notes that the missionaries were ordered to teach in English, but also, there was a demand for

English as the number of literate indigenous Africans grew (p. 201). Schneider (2007) correctly highlights the role of missionaries in spreading English to Africa through education, and the schools ensured that there was a less transient presence of English implanted in the soon-to-be Nigerian territory.

Phase 2, exonormative stabilisation, in Nigeria began after colonisation in the latter 19th century. At this point, Nigeria had been recognised as a British colony at the Berlin Conference of 1885, even though Lagos had been invaded in 1851 and formally annexed in 1865. Schneider (2007) reports that English became a language of the elites, to the extent that, according to Bamgbose (1995) and Igboanusi (2002), who were cited in Schneider (2007, p. 202), African chiefs who were appointed to administer indirect rule in the now southern Nigeria even spoke English to their subjects and had their speech translated to indigenous languages. Nigerian studies lend support to Schneider's claims about the value of English even in those early years. Even though there were only relatively a few Nigerians who spoke English, like in other colonial regions, English became a currency to getting a white-collared job in every vital sphere at that time (Brosnahan, 1958; Obianika, 2020).

The nativisation phase or Phase 3 identified by Schneider (2007) starts in the late 1940s after World War 2 and the independence of India in 1947. Although Schneider (2007) focuses on the independence of India in 1947 as a precursor for this phase in Nigerian English, he is alluding to the independence of a number of territories in the former empire, such as Jordan, which got its independence in 1946, or Libya, which got its independence from France and Britain in 1951.

The end of WW2 should be seen as the precursor for the nativisation phase of Nigerian English. During the war, the changes in the administration of colonial rule saw a laxer approach by the British, who were more occupied with wartime matters and allowed some nationalist parties to be established in African colonies (Davidson, 1978). There was also a rise of African nationalism in this era due to the growing number of western-educated elites who agitated for political independence, culminating in Nigeria's independence in 1960 (Nwosu, 1993).

For Schneider (2003, pp. 248 - 249; 2007, pp. 40 - 48), the nativisation phase starts with political independence and a political distancing from the 'mother country'. This is followed by gradual linguistic independence, consisting of innovative use of English in terms of discourse and lexico-grammatical restructuring; as well as contextual conditions such as the

'complaint tradition' where conservative speakers seek to sustain the external norm, e.g. by writing letters to newspapers to complain about declining standards in the use of English; common bilingualism and a small number of L1 speakers of English., Schneider's (2007) examples of structural nativisation in Nigerian English, include verb complementation (e.g., transitive use of such verbs as *dispose* or *reply*; no gerund after *be used to*); phraseology (e.g. *off-head* to mean from memory); word formation (e.g. *long leg* which means the use of undue influence to reach a goal), etc. Also, at this early stage, the broader use of English by Nigerians, especially the elites, meant that a sense of ownership began to grow. Such writers as the Nigerian Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka had begun to write in English in 1954 with his *Keffi's birthday treat*; and *Madame Etienne's Establishment* and *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1957.

Schneider (2007) asserts at the time of writing that Nigerian English has "progressed deeply into phase 3, has nativized strongly, and is still gaining ground at a rapid pace" (p. 210). He, however, did not believe that Nigerian English had attained endonormation status because there was no homogeneous Standard Nigerian English variety explicitly coded in dictionaries, usage guides or grammar books (pp. 210 - 211). He thus asked the question "Where to from here?" (Schneider, 2007, p. 210).

In terms of where Nigerian English is positioned in the Dynamic Model, I present some evidence that shows that Nigerian English is exhibiting signs of Phase 4. Of the components in Phase 3, the 'complaint tradition' is still perhaps the only existing one in Nigeria, most relevantly in the subject of this thesis. Jowitt (2019) describes the complaint tradition that has been ongoing with such studies as Salami (1968), Omodiaogbe (1997), Adesanoye (2004) and Eyisi (2015) 'complaining' about the deteriorating state of English in Nigeria. Since the last study Jowitt cited in 2015, there have still been studies focusing on the same issue (e.g., Obiegbu, 2018; Israel, 2020). In addition, there are newspaper articles devoted to picking at 'errors' in English usage in Nigeria (e.g., Columnists, 2015; Ojoye, 2019). And, while the 'complaint tradition', according to Schneider (2003, 2007), is an indication that Nigeria is still in Phase 3, it is important to note that this component is seen to transcend the nativisation phase, so it is not a reliable indicator. Such Englishes as US English, Australian English and NZE still had a robust complaint tradition ongoing even past the nativisation phase, according to Evans (2005) and Lukac (2018). In fact, the complaint tradition has been noted in Englishes before they got to the nativisation phase. This is the case for Hong Kong English where Evans (2009) shows in his diachronic study of the English-language speech community in Hong Kong

that the complaint tradition, which Schneider (2007) points to as an indicator that Hong Kong English was in Phase 3, had been in place since the 1850s, which is before the date Schneider postulates nativisation began in Hong Kong English, i.e., 1960s (Evans, 2009, pp. 292 – 296).

For Phase 4, Schneider (2003) sets out some criteria which are relevant in determining that a variety has achieved endonormative stabilisation. These criteria are literary creativity in English (p. 252); recognition, adoption and acceptance of a local English linguistic norm which has lost its former stigma and is now a symbol of national identity that is positively evaluated (p. 249, 251); codification (p. 252); terminology no longer English in X, but X English because of the sense of ownership of the English (p. 253). These criteria will be explored below for Nigerian English, in addition to the relevant factors from the EIF Model.

Nigeria does have the first criteria – literary creativity in English - in place. Even Schneider (2007) acknowledged that at least one feature of Phase 4 had been accomplished because of literary creativity in English in Nigeria (p. 212). Schneider (2007) is right in this; since his work, there has been an explosion of writing in English in Nigeria. Indeed, writing in English has become the default, to the point that there is an ongoing call to write in indigenous languages instead (Sullivan, 2001; Oloko, 2008; Obi, 2013, 2017; Ojo, 2020). The literature in Nigeria by such writers as Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Helon Habila, Lola Shoneyin, Sefi Atta, etc., incorporates nativised Nigerian English features like the ones presented earlier in this chapter in the paragraph on nativisation, e.g., verb complementation (e.g., transitive use of such verbs as *dispose* or *reply*, no gerund after *be used to*, phraseology (e.g. *off-head* to mean from memory), and other Nigerianisms (Bamiro, 1991; Igboanusi, 2001; Fasan, 2015).

In terms of codification, there have been attempts at this, though none of the dictionaries is generally accepted by the populace as anything other than research works on Nigerian English. Igboanusi's (2002) is the first published dictionary of Nigerian English which features a list of about 1500 words and their meanings. After this, there was another attempt at codification by Blench and Dendo (2005), whose draft of a Nigerian English dictionary contained about 1000 words. Other attempts after this include Okoro's (2011) *Exploring Nigerian English: A Guide to Usage 1 (A-L)* and Adegbite, Udofot and Ayoola's (2014) *A Dictionary of Nigerian English*. These dictionaries and grammar guides feature Nigerian pronunciations of most English words, definitions of lexical items as used in Nigerian English, and examples of their use in contexts.

Nigerian English has achieved the terminology shift, from 'English in Nigeria' to 'Nigerian English', mentioned by Schneider (Schneider, 2007, p. 50). This terminology change marks Nigerian English as distinct with "a discrete character of its own" (ibid.). 'Nigerian English' is the terminology used in all academic studies that address the English used in Nigeria (even in works of prominent scholars in the field like Ayo Bamgbose, Efurosibina Adegbija, Segun Awonusi, David Jowitt and Ulrike Gut). It is also the terminology used by non-linguists, as exemplified by those who will be profiled in the current chapter and elsewhere in this study who have spoken about the English used in Nigeria on metadiscursive platforms.

With regard to EIF forces, as mentioned before, I briefly consider 'acceptance' of globalisation, language and educational policies and attitude, and sociodemographic background as it relates to the current situation of Nigerian Englishes. In terms of 'acceptance' of globalisation, English as a first language is the norm now for the majority of children in urban areas in Nigeria who have an indigenous language as L2; for many others, English is their sole language (Ayoyemi, 2017; Bamgbose, 2019; Uwen, Bassey & Nta, 2020). Again, language policy in Nigeria favours English over any indigenous language, with its status as the only official language in the country. Because of its neutrality and prestige, even in cases where the language policy stipulates the use of indigenous languages like in primary schools, this is ignored in favour of English (Adegbija, 2007; Taiwo, 2009). While it is easy to argue that this English is still the exonormative variety, studies like Ufomata (1992), Ubong (2014), and Okoro (2017) have shown and stated that even though British English is the educational and formal usage norm in principle, Nigerian English is the variety used in these settings. Ufomata (1992) makes this claim based on her previous empirical study (Ufomata, 1986) and other empirical studies (Stevenson, 1969; Stevens, 1965; and Tiffen, 1974) of the speech of both teachers of English as well as higher education students in Nigeria. Ufomata (1986) and the other studies found that the stress, intonation, and rhythm patterns of the English taught to these speakers differed from those of the Standard British English norm set for education. More recently, studies have confirmed that the English spoken in Nigeria is different from the exonormative variety (Unuabonah & Gut, 2018). Ubong (2014) analysed the English spoken by 100 university students from the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria – Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo, and found differences in pronunciation, pitch and tone when compared with British English speakers. He concludes that it is an anomaly "to base the pedagogical model of English teaching on the exoglossic or exonormative standard called SBE (Standard British English), or more specifically, the RP…" (Ubong, 2014, p. 177).

It is to be recalled that in Chapter 3, there was a lack of sizable STL strand so that even during colonisation, Nigerian teachers had to be trained and employed to administer Western education. So that in terms of sociodemographic forces, a factor such as a lack of sizable STL strand influences the kind of English spoken in Nigeria, resulting in the difference in the variety spoken by the STL strand and that spoken in Nigeria.

The attitude towards English vis-à-vis indigenous languages is more positive, to the point that there have been studies about English endangering indigenous languages in Nigeria, including the major languages – Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo (Schaefer & Egbokhare, 1999; Oparinde, 2017, Essegbey, 2019, Onyemelukwe, 2019), but even when language attitudes towards the exonormative variety of English (British English) vis-à-vis an endonormative one is considered, attitudes have been more positive towards the latter. Oyebola and Gut (2020) found a preference for and positive attitudes towards British English over Nigerian English. Oyebola and Gut (2020) conducted an attitudinal study on some educated Nigerians to find out their attitudes towards an endonormative variety vis-à-vis exonormative varieties like British English, American English, and Ghanaian English. They found that participants had more positive views towards newscasters using British English, with 57% preferring British English and just 20% preferring Nigerian English. They conclude that "an exonormative orientation is still present in Nigeria" (Oyebola & Gut, 2020, p. 671).

The foregoing cements the fact that even though Nigerian English is currently showing more signs of Phase 4, an endonormative variety is still far from being officially adopted and accepted. As described in the paragraph above, even though the spoken English employed in education in Nigeria is different from the exonormative standard, British English, in principle and in terms of writing and codification, the latter is still officially the norm. This idealised norm of British English is the variety modelled in teaching English in schools, with textbooks and other official reference books in British English (Okeke & Ndiribe; Idowu, 2019; Unubi, 2020). This variety is also the standard used by both the local and national examination bodies like the West Africa Examination Council Nigeria (WAEC) and the Joint Admissions and Matriculations Board (JAMB) in tests of English for post-secondary-school admissions for further education (Awonusi, 1994; Lamidi, 2007; Ekpe, 2011; Unuabonah & Gut, 2018). The corresponding positive attitudes to the British norm vis-à-vis an endonormative are also evident from the above paragraph.

In the final analysis, the only fundamental feature that is yet to be achieved for the attainment of Phase 4 is the adoption and acceptance of a homogeneous variety which is positively evaluated and is then officially codified. Indeed, the argument for Nigeria reaching Schneider's (2003) endonormative stabilisation phase rests on the existence of a homogenous variety devoid of ethnic differences, which is then positively evaluated and codified (pp. 245 – 250).

One of the candidates Schneider puts up for the role of a homogenous variety in Nigeria is Nigerian Pidgin English (henceforth NPE). Generally, today, NPE is used as a language of inter-ethnic communication, an unofficial lingua franca spoken by a population of about thirty million to eighty million L1 and L2 speakers in Nigeria (Faraclas, 1996, 2004; Ihemere, 2006; Lewis et al., 2014). According to Omodiaogbe (1992), the popularity of NPE is attributed to the fact that it is acquired and not learnt in schools, and it has a 'lack of rigid syntactic structures, a very liberal system of word formation, a simple grammar, and an eclectic lexis' (p. 21), all of which also make it accessible to all Nigerians irrespective of their socio-economic status and level of education. In recent times, NPE, which used to be relegated to informal settings, has become more popular in formal settings like 'serious-news' broadcasts, such as BBC Pidgin,[38] which was launched in 2017 (BBC, 2017). There are also more favourable attitudes towards the candidature of the variety for endonormation, because of its neutrality, the covert prestige it enjoys, and the ease of acquiring it (Emike, Iyiola, & Abdurraheem, 2019; Rooke, 2020). However, as Schneider (2007) says:

> For that to happen… a fundamental reversal of official language attitudes and language policy would be required. Whatever the future of English in Nigeria holds in store, this will be an exciting process to observe (p. 212).

There is little doubt that with the reversal of official language attitudes and official language policy, NPE will be a strong contender for endonormation, should that time come. Currently, official language policy still regards an educated variety of English as the norm for education and formality, as discussed above. Also, many scholars that call for an endonormative variety of Nigerian English have used the educational parameter to point to a variety used by educated Nigerians, usually with at least a secondary school education, devoid of ethnic markers, as a candidate for an endonormative variety of Nigerian English (Banjo, 1971, 1993; Udofot, 2004, Ugorji 2010; Bamgbose, 2019). These scholars may be ideologically motivated to identify an

[38] https://www.bbc.com/pidgin

educated idealistic variety that would be a uniting factor for the country, which has been, and is still, divided along ethnic lines.

This then leads to the issue of the subject of this study. If a pan-ethnic variety is already established in the speech of educated Nigerian English speakers sampled in this study and are prime examples of the 'norm setting' speakers mentioned in the paragraph above, then h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigeria would not exist as markers of regional English speakers. h-deletion and h-insertion index an ethnic group and area shibboleth for a regional variety of Nigerian English, Yoruba English. We will see that h-deletion is present in the corpus and, to some extent, also h-insertion, (significantly) more predominantly among Yoruba speakers. With h-deletion and h-insertion indexing an ethnic group and being a shibboleth for a regional variety of Nigerian English, it is tempting to conclude that Nigerian English has skipped Phase 4 and is now in Phase 5, the differentiation phase, where regional varieties are rife. However, it is pertinent to note that there would still be a question of what the endonormative variety was if this were the case. In the Dynamic Model, there needs to have been an endonormative variety for there to be a differentiation. If one went with the view that Nigerian English had skipped a phase and gone directly to phase 5, then the variety that has become differentiated into regional varieties would be British English which is still the officially accepted, codified standard in education, in principle (Awonusi, 1994; Ufomata, 1996; Lamidi, 2007; Unuabonah & Gut, 2018). Indeed, this is not the case. I would argue on this basis that phase 4 cannot be skipped for countries that still have an exonormative variety in place as a standard, in principle, even if that is different from the reality of the variety spoken in these countries.

Instead, I posit from the discussion outlined above that Nigerian English is between Phase 3 and Phase 4. Adherents of the Dynamic Model would say that a lack of compelling evidence for a pan-ethnic variety in Nigerian English now does not mean that a process of homogeneity will not take place in the future. Indeed, it might be that varieties like Nigerian Englishes are just not old enough to achieve Phases 4 and 5.

However, it is pertinent to consider that there is a possibility that countries like Nigeria might not get to achieve Phase 4 or even get to Phase 5. Schneider (2007) posited that for Phase 4 to be achieved, there needs to be a deliberate setting aside of linguistic differences for the common goal of endonormativity. In his words: "Ultimately, the community reaches an understanding that the new local norm… will also be accepted as adequate in formal use" (p. 50). This concept

is difficult to picture given the multiplicity of ethnic groups and ethnic tension in such countries as Nigeria. Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003, 2007), in addition to the other criticisms it has received, fails to account for the impact of the level of heterogeneity in multilingual post-colonial countries where ethnicity is a sensitive issue. Ethnicity is so politicised in these countries that there will be opposing views when it comes to such an issue as an indigenous variety of English for national use. This is undoubtedly the case for a country like Nigeria. There have been several attempts at endonormation in Nigeria, with such languages as Hausa being put forward, or even new-lexis focused languages that would combine words from the major languages in Nigeria (Igbineweka, 2009; Olatayo, 2015; Okpoh, 2018; Balogun, Igiemeh, & Egwa, 2019). Many of them were dismissed because of ethnic mistrust and fears over one or more ethnic groups having hegemony over others. This ethnic mistrust stemming from colonial times have led to ongoing violent ethnic clashes (Kirk-Greene, 1967; Tamuno 1970; Ifeka, 2000; Attah, 2013; Canci & Odukoya, 2016; Bamidele, 2020; Agbo, Okoye, Uwaegbute & Agbo, 2021).

The same might go for other IDG-dominated post-colonial countries like India, Kenya, etc, where violent ethnic disunity is quite common (Varshney, 2001; Ajulu, 2002; Kahl, 2006; Verges, 2016; Kolas, 2017). Again, there are so many other issues in these countries that standardising an endonormated variety is the least of the issues to be considered; or ethnicity is so much of a sensitive issue that selecting a variety will be rife with divisive undertones. This is perhaps the reason why, of all the IDG strand Englishes profiled in Schneider's (2007) work, only Singaporean English is said to have achieved Phase 4, with all the components of this phase being achieved bar the adoption and codification of the mesolectal variety of Singaporean English which Schneider (2007) states is recognised and positively evaluated (p. 266). Schneider (2007) also says that there are still ethnic varieties of Singaporean English, a component that he says foreshadows Phase 5 (Schneider 2003, p. 266). While Singaporean English is comparable to Nigerian English in the sense of both Englishes being post-colonial Englishes and developing at a similar pace in the earlier phases of the Dynamic Model,[39] the socio-economic and linguistic situations in both countries are not comparable, some of these

[39] Dates along the Phases of the Dynamic Model for Singaporean and Nigerian Englishes (Schneider, 2007, pp. 153 – 161, 199 - 212): Singaporean English – Phases 1 (1819–ca. 1867), 2 (ca. 1867–1942), 3 (ca. 1945–ca. 1970s), and 4 (ca. 1970s–); Nigerian English - Phases 1 (early 19th century–ca. 1900), 2 (ca. 1900–late 1940s), and 3 (late 1940s–).

are a massive difference in population size and ethnic composition; differences in economies; and relatively more homogeneity and ethnic unity in Singapore, all of which have an effect on the English spoken in the country.

Englishes like Ghanaian English are more like Nigerian Englishes in terms of socio-economic and linguistic situations, and research into the varieties have shown that this English is currently in between Phase 3 and Phase 4 (Huber, 2014; Brato, 2020). Huber (2014) stated that Ghanaian English is showing signs of endonormation, which are similar to those presented in this chapter for Nigerian Englishes, with characteristics like literary creativity in English and attempts at codification (p. 90). Brato (2020) also provides further evidence, utilising the EIF Model. The EIF forces Brato (2020) identifies are the relatively more positive attitudes towards English vis-à-vis indigenous Ghanaian languages, in attitudes and language policies, where English is the medium of instruction in education, and indigenous languages are relegated to subjects in schools, English is being used as an L1 mostly by children in urban areas, etc. Brato (2020) also described "robust sociolinguistic variation" as an indication that Ghanaian English is showing signs of Phase 4, citing the spread of /t/ affrication. This linguistic feature that had been described as a "pan-ethnic, endonormative (in the sense of Schneider 2003) feature of educated GhE" in a previous study (Brato, 2015, p. 76). According to Brato (2015, 2020), this feature was a sub-ethnic marker in the English spoken by Fante speakers and has spread to become a pan-ethnic marker that is positively evaluated. The prestige accorded t-affrication corresponds to one of Brato's (2020) conclusions that a local speech form was being conceptualised in Ghana and that even though RP is still the official target, there is a stigma to sounding too British.

Also, South African English, which is admittedly more complex because of the major presence and influence of the Afrikaans Adstrate Strand (ADS), resulting in such strands as the white Afrikaans IDG strand and African-language IDG strands (Bekker, 2020), is currently said to be between Phase 3 and Phase 4. Schneider (2007) had posited that South African English had progressed into Phase 4, though "no local variant of English is the carrier of this newly emerging national identity" (p. 185). However, other scholars, in reviewing Schneider's (2007) classification, have refuted this. Such studies as van Rooy (2010, 2014) and Bekker (2020) have presented the case against a monolithic view of the varieties to mould it to fit the Dynamic model, and state that convergence has still not been achieved for the varieties of South African Englishes. They instead place South African Englishes in Phase 3 with respect to the African-

language IDG strands and between Phase 3 and Phase 4 for the white Afrikaans IDG strand, stating that homogeneity has not been achieved even for the latter variety.

It is necessary to consider that irrespective of the similarity of PCE Englishes like Nigeria in terms of a post-colonial experience or even an IDG-dominated reality, these Englishes are not a monolith. Thus, it is also necessary to consider that endonormation might never happen in IDG-dominated countries like Nigeria, not just because of time, with these varieties not being old enough for endonormation, but also for the reasons discussed in this chapter, as it relates to the level of ethnic tension and strife in the society that may militate against the official recognition, acceptance and codification that define the endonormative phase. H-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English will be considered in the context of the background presented in this chapter when discussing the relevant findings in Chapter 8.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to locate Nigeria in the relevant models of World Englishes. The next chapter discusses the methodology employed in the current study.

Chapter 6 – Methodology

6.1. Introduction

The methodology employed in this study involves studying variation in h-deletion and h-insertion in the Nigerian Englishes considered by making use of corpus data. This data refers to "a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description" (Kennedy, 2014, p. 1). The corpus employed for this study is ICE-NG, though only the spoken component is utilised.

In this chapter, I start by examining the International Corpus of English (henceforth ICE), which is employed in this study, including its pros and cons. What follows then will be a discussion on ICE-NG, the specific component of ICE used in this study, its suitability, and its challenges. I then move on to the sampling, identification and coding methodologies employed in collecting the data from the corpus files. Finally, I discuss ethical considerations and the way results are analysed in the next chapter.

6.2. ICE-NG and the Current Study

The data for the research is derived from ICE-NG, a component of ICE which consists of written and spoken data collected from 1990 onwards in at least 12 countries (UK, Canada, USA, Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Hong Kong, India, The Philippines, Nigeria, Singapore). ICE came about when the British linguist Sidney Greenbaum and the American linguist Charles Meyer came up with the idea to build an online corpus of English to provide a comparable corpus for American and British English varieties that included written sections. This idea was then expanded to include L2 English countries, as suggested by the Indian linguist Braj Kachru (Greenbaum 1988, 1996). Sidney Greenbaum oversaw the ICE project until he died in 1996, after which Meyer took over till 2001. Currently, the ICE project is overseen by linguist Gerald Nelson.

Data is gathered by research teams who are expected to follow a common annotation system and corpus design that consists of specifications of the context of speech or writing that ought to be included in the corpus. The data in each ICE component is gathered from English-speaking adults (from age 18 and over) who were educated through English-medium schools, had at least finished their secondary school education, and were born or moved at an early age to the country data is sampled from. Werner (2017) cited the homogeneity of the corpus as

being a reason for his comparative study on the present perfect tense form HAVE + past participle. He explored this by comparing the use of the present perfect tense form in ICE-AUS (Australia), ICE CAN (Canada), ICE-GB (Great Britain), ICE-HK (Hongkong), ICE-IND (India), ICE-IRL (Ireland), ICE-JA (Jamaica), ICE-NZ (New Zealand), ICE-PHI (Philippines), ICE-SIN (Singapore), ICE-EA (East Africa), ICE-USA (United States of America), and ICE-NG (Nigeria). He found that the present perfect form featured in all the Englishes studied showed "a considerable degree of convergence or uniformity" (Werner, 2017, p. 383). He noted that even though there were differences between the 13 corpora he examined which may affect the results, such as the differences in the time period when the data was collected and differences in the individual text types that were used for each category, the small size of each corpus – 1 million words – was well suited to high-frequency token analysis like the present perfect tense (Werner, 2017, p. 81).

Indeed, the size of ICE has been one of its defining characteristics, with Schmied (2015) concluding in his discussion on the availability of internet English for studies of Nigerian English by both national and international scholars that the "small and clean… small and beautiful" (pp. 193, 198) ICE-NG, like other ICE corpora, was useful for high-frequency features, though "the envelope of variation was not big enough" (p. 198). This he compared to another big and unstratified corpus, the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE) - Nigeria, which has over 43 million words. It is pertinent to note that the latter corpus only consists of the written form. However, the envelope of variation not being big enough, as pointed out by Schmied (2015), is also to be noted in any results generated using ICE because corpus size means that the contexts in which a variable occurs might be limited.

The ICE-NG project involved a team of linguists who collected data under the supervision of Professors Ulrike Gut, Inyang Udofot, and David Jowitt (Gut, 2014). The data collection also conformed to the terms of data collection specifications for ICE as listed on the ICE website (International Corpus of English, 2016[40]), though Gut (2014) noted in the ICE-NG manual that there was a deviation from the ICE convention in terms of sorting the data in texts of 2000 words per speaker, though they still stick to the guidelines in terms of the number of words per text category (p. 2). Table 7 below shows the breakdown of words collected per text category (referred to as Social Context in this study).

[40] Year website was last updated

Table 7: Total number of words for the spoken part of ICE-NIG corpus

Category	Participants	Number of Words
Broadcast discussions	bdis_01 - 26	40,290
Broadcast interviews	bint_01 - 10	20,356
Broadcast news	bnew_01 - 40	40,916
Broadcast talks	btal_01 - 43	40,138
Business transactions	btr_01 - 11	20,732
Class lessons	les_01 - 14	41,394
Commentaries	com_01 - 56	40,770
Conversations	con_01 - 67	180,789
Cross-examinations	cr_01 - 10	20,486
Demonstrations	dem_01 - 14	20,594
Legal presentations	leg_01 - 14	20,481
Non-broadcast talks	nbtal_01 - 10	20,156
Parliamentary debates	parl_01 – 20	20,161
Phone calls	ph_01 – 07	20,624
Unscripted speeches	unsp_01 - 50	61,699
Words total spoken part		609,586
Words total ICE-NG		1,010,382

The written part of the corpus, on its part, has 400,796 words in total. It is clear from the table above that not all the text categories listed have an equal number of words, with the Conversations category having nine times more than most of the other categories. This variability in numbers becomes relevant when the results from the study are presented in Chapter 7 and discussed in Chapter 8. The data in this corpus was gathered between 2007 and 2013 from interviews, recordings of conversations, lectures, and media programmes.

With respect to data processing for this thesis, several things were taken into consideration. Participants for the current study were all sourced from the spoken component of ICE-NG and comprised all the Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo speakers of English,[41] according to the participant information spreadsheet available for the corpus (International Corpus of English, 2016). However, not all the Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo speakers' speeches are analysed as some of these participants were excluded on the basis of having no h-deletion and or h-insertion tokens. Apart from the exclusion of participants on the basis of having no relevant token produced, there were also other reasons why some participants were screened out of the current study. These

[41] Every other ethnic group in ICE-NG were excluded, as only the Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo speakers are relevant to the current study.

reasons will be discussed in this section, but first, below is a table that shows the number of participants used in the current study out of the possible number of speakers ICE-NG. They have been organised according to ethnicity, gender, and variable.

Table 8: Number of participants analysed relative to the number of participants in ICE-NG, according to ethnicity, gender, and variable

	Ethnicity					
Gender	**Hausa**		**Igbo**		**Yoruba**	
	H-deletion	**H-insertion**	**H-deletion**	**H-insertion**	**H-deletion**	**H-insertion**
Male	54/74	65/74	102/134	128/134	191/251	251/251
Female	6/8	6/8	30/47	43/47	93/126	96/126
Total	60/82	71/82	132/181	171/181	284/377	347/377

The table shows the participants analysed in the study out of the total number of available speakers for each ethnicity studied, and the gender of speakers subsumed under those ethnic groups. The participants are subdivided into two groups of those who produced h-deletion tokens and those who had h-insertion tokens. This was because more speakers were analysed for h-insertion than for h-deletion, given the relatively high frequency of, especially, vowel-initial word tokens that could take insertion over the h-word tokens examined for h-deletion. So, for example, in the first cell, 54 refers to the number of Hausa male speakers whose speech were analysed for h-deletion over a possible 74 Hausa male speakers in ICE-NG.

The fact that not all the speakers in the corpus are represented, especially for h-insertion tokens, is because majority of these excluded speakers[42] did not have any relevant tokens, as has been mentioned earlier on. Some of them only made one-word remarks without the relevant tokens or such items as fillers and exclamations, which are not included in the data. Other than this reason, though, exclusion of participants was also done on the basis of a lack of audio files for participants. For instance, conversation audio files 7, 9, 13, 15, and 16 are missing, even though there are Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba participants designated to these files (for instance, Con 07, speaker 1, is a Hausa female; Con 07, speaker 2 is an Igbo male; and Con 07, speaker 3, is a Yoruba female). As a result, there were 15 speakers for whom no tokens were coded, even though the ICE transcripts indicated that they had relevant tokens.

[42] e.g., leg_09_3, bdis_23_2, bnew_13_7, etc.

Apart from these exclusions made, certain facts had to be considered and some adjustments made, especially to the metadata used in the study. In terms of facts that needed to be taken into account, one of these was the male to female ratio among participants. From the table above, it is to be noted that there are more male than female participants overall. The Hausa group, for instance, has just six female participants, unlike the Igbo and Yoruba groups which have more female speakers, though again less than male speakers. This inequality in terms of gender is because in the corpus, as a whole, there were more Yoruba and Igbo participants than Hausa ones. This might be a direct commentary on the education system in Nigeria and prominence of the former two groups in educational or English-speaking related activities than the latter group, coupled with the relatively low visibility of Hausa women in such forums, something that has been discussed in the chapter on enregisterment (Section 4.6.1).

In addition to taking the gender inequality in the data into account, there were other things about the ICE-NG data that needed to be considered. One of these was the large number of speakers who did not have a designated or exact age. There were 337 participants whose ages were unknown. A further 38 speakers had ages designated as ranging from between 20 and 50, while five speakers had ages designated as an approximation (as indicated by a tilde in front of the number). Because of these, the decision was made to exclude age as a social factor.

Again, there were certain misrepresentations in the ICE-NG metadata that I had to correct to give accurate information about participants in the data analysed. One of these is cases in which some participants were designated to the wrong ethnicity. For instance, one of the speakers (Con_03, speaker 1) is designated as a 31-year-old female Igbo speaker on the metadata spreadsheet (International Corpus of English, 2016). Meanwhile, native-speaker accent recognition meant that the researcher discovered that she was Yoruba, and she confirmed it herself at some point in the conversation with the phrase, “we, Yorubas, have a respectful culture…”. Speakers like this, who give a clue about their ethnicity, in cases where it is reported to be another, are coded for as the ethnicity they confirm they are in the speech and not as designated on the ICE-NG metadata spreadsheet (International Corpus of English, 2016). Another was the case of transcripts designated to the wrong speakers (Con_45 and Con_45_2). In this case, the transcripts were swapped and assigned to the right speakers in the analysis of the data.

As expected in any corpus data, there was inequality in the distribution of tokens among participants, with some individuals producing more tokens than others and some contexts having more tokens than others. This prompted the decision to conflate social contexts, changing this from 15 categories employed in ICE-NG to seven. This conflation will be discussed later in this chapter (Section 6.5.2). The table below shows the distribution of tokens and speakers in each social context examined, according to gender and ethnicity.

Table 9: Distribution of participants and h-deletion and h-deletion tokens produced in social contexts according to ethnicity and gender

	H-deletion						
	Social Context						
Ethnicity and Gender	**Media**	**Business**	**Legal**	**Politics**	**Academic**	**Conversation**	**TV Dem.**
Yoruba Male	99	0	30	11	20	25	0
Token No	835	0	303	45	275	301	0
Yoruba Female	43	3	2	0	12	20	10
Token No	266	11	3	0	191	250	369
Hausa Male	21	0	0	10	2	19	0
Token No	231	0	0	64	41	509	0
Hausa Female	5	0	0	0	0	1	0
Token No	16	0	0	0	0	4	0
Igbo Male	50	0	0	4	22	14	2
Token No	414	0	0	11	517	323	14
Igbo Female	18	0	0	0	5	5	1
Token No	181	0	0	0	262	88	3
	H-insertion						
	Social Context						
Ethnicity and Gender	**Media**	**Business**	**Legal**	**Politics**	**Academic**	**Conversation**	**TV Dem.**
Yoruba Male	65	0	34	34	38	27	0
Token No	12908	0	4033	1897	8834	7578	0
Yoruba Female	35	0	16	3	11	27	10
Token No	2770	0	1127	135	2585	4900	3635
Hausa Male	21	0	0	10	2	19	0
Token No	4396	0	0	1750	577	10001	0

Hausa Female	4	0	0	0	0	1	0
Token No	283	0	0	0	0	27	0
Igbo Male	75	0	0	6	27	21	2
Token No	8725	0	0	459	8024	6897	282
Igbo Female	21	0	0	1	7	13	1
Token No	2345	0	0	11	3935	2352	247

As shown in the table above, there is still a degree of variability in the tokens produced across social context, with some contexts like Business Transactions even having no speakers or tokens for h-insertion.

Despite these issues, it would be fair to say that there seems to be a sizeable amount of data from all the ICE text categories coded for, and all 15 of the ICE-NG categories were examined, at least for this study. Meyerhoff (2009) recommends at least 20 tokens for each factor used in a study to derive a result that is reliable (p. 205), and each factor examined in this study did have at least 20 tokens. Meyerhoff's (2009) recommendation is especially relevant to this study as it does not consider interactions between these factors on a larger scale. However, the interpretation of results will be hedged based on the variability in the tokens produced across social contexts.

In deeming ICE-NG as suitable for the current study, it was recognised that using the corpus was the easiest and quickest way to analyse a large number of words by the three ethnic groups that are being studied over such diverse social contexts, something that would be impossible if I had attempted to collect a comparable data set myself. The use of the corpus in this way also helps for a sense of representativeness to a degree, as the three groups are represented across the data, irrespective of the variability in tokens across the groups.

The next section will discuss how tokens were identified and coded for this study.

6.3. Variable Coding and Identification

In studies that focus on the production of /h/, especially as it relates to h-deletion and insertion, three major ways of measuring have been utilised. In no order of preference, the first is the

auditory measurement, where measurement of /h/ is based on how sounds are perceived auditorily. Studies of /h/ employ auditory measurements (Janda & Auger, 1992; Bell & Holmes, 1992; Childs et al., 2003) and usually employ inter-rater reliability to verify results due to relative unreliability of just listening to tokens. The second measurement type is the acoustic measurement, where measurements are based on observing the physical properties of sounds. The third, articulatory measurement, utilises such means as the use of ePGG (external lighting and sensing-glottography). The external lighting and sensing photoglottography (ePGG) developed by Honda and Maeda (2009) is a non-invasive method of measurement that helps to observe the glottal aperture by placing a light source on the surface of the side neck to light up the hypopharynx. The crevice is then measured in terms of the intensity of the light observed after passing through the glottis by a high sensitivity photosensor unit placed at the front of the neck.

The best measurement type would depend on the type of data that is being observed, and both pros and cons need to be considered. Kamiyama et al. (2011), used both the acoustic and articulatory methods, observed that the latter was better suited to their study because they found they measured the following vowel quality, that could evolve rapidly. These led to difficulties in accurately detecting the presence or absence of [h]. They stated that the ePGG measurement, on the other hand, could measure the /h/ or its absence more directly (Kamiyama et al., 2011, p. 1013).

Because of the relatively binary nature of variables coded for and the fact that some recordings coded for were noisy, auditory coding was employed in the current study (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998; Milroy & Gordon, 2003). Auditory coding and analysis were also thought to be adequate for this study as its focus are more on the sociolinguistic and not acoustic implications of h-deletion and h-insertion.

Auditory coding has proved effective in studies that have used ICE-NG for h-deletion and h-insertion analysis. For example, Agbo and Plag (2018) successfully employed auditory coding in their analysis of the conversation context of the spoken ICE-NG, though this was for a research on syntax. They investigated 40 conversations by educated Nigerian English speakers in the corpus who used standard Nigerian English and NPE to determine how the copula constructions in Standard Nigerian English relate to the ones in NPE. In the case where studies using ICE-NG have involved acoustic analysis, they have had to restrict files used, such as in

Dyrenko and Fuchs's (2018) study where they set out to study the diphthongs of formal Nigerian English with Educated Yoruba English as a case study, using ICE-NG. They advised that they had had to analyse audio files with no or limited noise and only in 7 of the 15 categories.[43] As a result, they were only able to analyse nine speakers.

As in the case above, realisations of tokens that were not clear in terms of audio quality were not included in the study because it was impossible to determine what sound was produced. There were 22 tokens excluded because of poor audio quality, at least for h-deletion.

Furthermore, because of the auditory coding involved, and the need to check that results were replicable, two other linguistically trained raters checked the reliability of the results. Having other raters check the data was also necessary given such doubts that could come with coding impressionistically, especially because of the poor audio quality of some of the tokens coded for and the question of the researcher's Nigerian-English bias influencing how the variables have been coded for. A general discussion of Inter-rater Reliability (IRR) will thus be done in the section below, including the IRR procedure and its results for the current study.

The data collation itself was done by listening to all the available audio files for every Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba speaker in the ICE-NG corpora, save those for whom audio files were unavailable. So, all 635 Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo speakers' audio files were listened to for tokens, with the ICE transcript as a guide. As noted above, some challenges were encountered in doing so, to the effect that I had to manually rectify some issues for the accuracy of the data. These issues have been enumerated in the section above as unavailability or noisiness of audio files, wrong transcripts for speakers, wrong metadata coded for some speakers, and unavailability of relevant metadata for some speakers.

In terms of coding tokens for h-deletion and h-insertion, as has been stated above, every single available sound file with Hausa, and or Igbo and Yoruba speakers, all 635 of them, were listened to with the file transcripts[44] provided by ICE-NG as guide. Exclusion of participants for analysis was done, largely, on the basis of having no relevant h-token.[45]

[43] Unscripted speeches, broadcast discussions, broadcast news, non-broadcast talks, broadcast interviews, class lessons, and phone calls

[44] Sample transcript in Appendix A1

[45] That is, no relevant vowel-initial or h-word tokens.

Also, attention was paid to realisations of [h] as other phonemes (e.g., very popularly in this study, [w] in words like *who* and *whom*) which were coded as 'other' in the data (see Appendix B15). This realisation was produced by seven speakers in eight tokens overall. This will be discussed briefly in the Discussion of Findings chapter (Chapter 8).

The target words along, with the relevant metadata and factors employed for h-deletion and h-insertion, were then transferred unto an Excel spreadsheet[46] that was then analysed through R (R Core Team, 2017) to generate tables and charts for the presentation of results.

The statistical modelling employed in this study was the ctree conditional inference trees in R. Conditional inference trees were first used in linguistic studies by Tagliamonte and Baayen (2012). A ctree is a type of conditional inference tree that produces non-parametric recursive binary partitioning of data in levels referred to as branches, leaves and nodes, from most important to least important (Levshina, 2015, p. 292). Ctrees only display statistically significant factors. Ctree conditional inference tree was especially appropriate for the current study because of its non-parametric partitioning, which does not require that data is evenly or equally distributed.

6.4. Inter-Rater Reliability

In linguistics, inter-rater reliability is the level of concordance among raters of a variable. Inter-rater reliability gives a rating or score for how much agreement raters have. The reason for IRR is the need to check that results can be replicated (Gwet, 2014, p. 4) and that the researcher's bias does not affect results because of their high involvement in every aspect of the research (Mackey & Gass, 2016, p. 77).

For the current study, inter-rater reliability was calculated using Fleiss' kappa (1971) in R. This statistical measure calculates the level of agreement between ratings. Unlike basic inter-rater reliability tests like the percentage agreement (Hayes & Krippendorf, 2007), Fleiss' kappa is chance corrected, making it more accurate. Again, unlike Cohen's (1960) kappa, which can only be used to calculate agreement between 2 ratings, Fleiss' kappa can be used to assess more than two ratings.

[46] See Appendix A2 for a sample of the data coding spreadsheet for this study

According to Landis and Koch (1977, p. 165) kappa values can be interpreted as follows: <0 No agreement; 0 - 0.20 Slight; 0.21 - 0.40 Fair; 0.41 - 0.60 Moderate; 0.61 - 0.80 Substantial; and 0.81 – 1.0 Perfect. Landis and Koch (1977) themselves state that "the divisions are clearly arbitrary… (but) provide useful 'benchmarks'" (ibid.). Their interpretation of kappa values has also been criticised for being rigid because it does not consider that factors like the number of categories may affect the value of the kappa (Sim & Wright, 2005). Perhaps in response to this, Fleiss, Levin, and Paik (2003) gave this interpretation of the kappa values:

> For most purposes, values greater than 0.75 or so may be taken to represent excellent agreement beyond chance, values below 0.40 or so may be taken to represent poor agreement beyond chance, and values between 0.40 and 0.75 may be taken to represent fair to good agreement beyond chance (p. 604).

The current study employed three raters for inter-rater reliability, and these were all linguistically trained – all academics in linguistics and English who understood phonetics and phonology. Raters listened to randomised audio clips containing tokens with at least a word before and or after. It was decided to include the words before and or after for most of the tokens for IRR because some of the tokens were not so comprehensible without a lexical context. Tokens that were deemed unclear and or inaudible by any of the raters were not considered in the IRR tests.

Fleiss' kappa IRR test was carried out in R with a confidence interval of 95%, which is the most used confidence interval since this is a high enough certainty level for results (Zar, 1999).

The results of the interrater reliability test for this study are presented in the table below:

Table 10: Inter-rater Reliability Results

Two-rater reliability results		
Raters	**Z Score (z)**	**Kappa Value (κ)**
Rater 1_Rater 2	12.4	0.78
Rater 1_Rater 3	4.03	0.59
Rater 2_Rater 3	5.11	0.75
Three-rater reliability results (All raters)		
Raters	**Z Score (z)**	**Kappa Value (κ)**
Rater 1_Rater 2_Rater 3	7.64	0.64

As can be seen from the table above, the Fleiss' κ value ranges between moderate to substantial agreement, according to Landis and Koch (1977), while according to Fleiss et al. (2003), this is between fair to good agreement levels. These levels of reliability are acceptable according to these interpretations. These ratings are also statistically significant as indicated by the z score for the IRR test as shown in the table above since z score is positive > 0 and so means κ for all levels of IRR is above chance.

6.5. Factors Considered in the Current Study

This section presents and provides a breakdown of the factors examined in the current study. Some of the factors examined are similar for both variables – h-deletion and h-insertion. However, some of these factors are variable-specific. To make this clearer, the table below outlines the factors that are examined for each variable:

Table 11: Sociolinguistic factors considered for h-deletion and h-insertion in current study (1)[47]

H-deletion	**H-insertion**
Word type – categories: content words, e.g., human, head, vehicle; Who words (i.e., *who*, *whos*e, *whom, whoever, whosoever*); How words (i.e., *how*, *however, anyhow, somehow*); Here words (i.e., *here, hereafter, hereby*)	**Word type –** categories: Silent-h words (e.g., *honest, honour, honourable, vehicle, hour*); vowel-initial words (e.g., content words like *abattoir*, *oven*; and function words like *on*, *and*)
Stress (for all word types) – categories: unstressed h-syllable and stressed h-syllable	**Stress** (for silent-h words) – categories: unstressed h-syllable and stressed h-syllable

[47] Labelled (1) as table will be reduplicated in next chapter as (2)

Preceding phonetic context – categories: pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel **Following phonetic context** – categories: frontedness or anteriority (i.e., back, front, or central) and the height (i.e., mid, low, or high) of the following vowels	**Preceding phonetic context** – categories: pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel **Following phonetic context** – categories: frontedness or anteriority (i.e., back, front, or central) and the height (i.e., mid, low, or high) of the following vowels for silent-h words; and pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid and vowel/semivowel for vowel-initial words
Number of syllables – categories: monosyllable, disyllable, trisyllable, quadrisyllable, pentasyllable, hexasyllable, heptasyllable **H-position** – categories: word-initial, e.g., *house,* and mid-word, e.g., *vehicle* **Ethnicity** – categories: Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo	**Number of syllables** – categories: monosyllable, disyllable, trisyllable, quadrisyllable, pentasyllable, hexasyllable, heptasyllable, **H-position** – categories: word-initial, e.g., *honour* and mid-word, e.g., *dishonour* **Ethnicity** – categories: Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo
Gender – categories: Male, Female	**Gender** – categories: Male, Female
Profession – categories: Academic, Civil servants, clergy, construction worker, demonstrator, footballer, legal practitioner, media personality, medical practitioner, military, musician, pharmacist, politician, publisher, real estate, school proprietor, unknown profession **Social context** – categories: academic discussion, business transaction, conversation, legal, media, politics, TV Demonstration	**Profession** – categories: Academic, Civil servants, clergy, construction worker, demonstrator, footballer, legal practitioner, media personality, medical practitioner, military, musician, pharmacist, politician, publisher, real estate, school proprietor, unknown profession **Social context** – categories: academic discussion, business transaction, conversation, legal, media, politics, TV Demonstration

These factors are expanded on in the sections below. First, linguistic factors are discussed, and then social factors.

6.5.1. Linguistic Factors

The linguistic factors employed in the current study are word type, stress, preceding phonetic context, following phonetic context, number of syllables, and h-position. These are discussed briefly here:

Word type: This is arguably one of the most relevant constraints in h-deletion and h-insertion. Word type is a major factor, especially in studies of h-deletion (Trudgill, 1974; Ramisch, 2010). Theories of h-deletion have long revolved around h-deletion being more likely in function words than in content words. Thus, most studies on h-deletion do not consider function words

at all. The word type categories used in the current study are a modification of the categories used by such studies as Bell and Holmes (1992).

Bell and Holmes (1992) studied 75 speakers in New Zealand for h-deletion. They used the word types lexical words, HERE, and WHO (which consists of Who words and How words as well), on the rationale that the latter two frequently occur in the data and are usually stressed (Bell & Holmes, 1992, p. 236).

For this current study, my word type categories are variable-specific, as shown in Table 11 above. For h-deletion, the word-type categories are below:

Content words including [hj] sequence words, e.g., *human,* and lexical wh-words, e.g., *whole*
Who words (i.e., *who*, *whos*e, *whom, whoever, whosoever*)
How words (i.e., *how*, *however, anyhow, somehow*)
Here words (i.e., *here, hereafter, hereby*)

For h-insertion, the word-type categories examined are:
Silent-h words (orthographic <h> but no pronunciation e.g., *honest, honour, honourable, vehicle, hour*)
Vowel-initial words (e.g., content words like *abattoir*, *oven*; and function words like *on*, *and*)

Note that I have separated Here words and Who words just like Bell and Holmes (1992). However, I have not put Who words and How words together like they have done. This is because of the orthographic influence of *who* (and related words) that I have found in my previous analysis of the data.[48] There is a likelihood of <wh> in *who* being realised as [w], seven speakers in the data produced this realisation as presented in Appendix B15. The same does not apply to How words, and hence my separation of both.

Also, I have not classed words like *whole* with Who words, but I have added the word and other related words like *wholly* to the content word category since these words are content or lexical words and not function words. Again, from my previous analysis,[49] orthographic <wh>

[48] For seminar and conference presentations
[49] For seminar and conference presentations

has not been seen to influence its realisation, unlike in Who words. However, it is largely because of the former reason that I make this distinction. I have also not created a different category for [hj] sequence words (e.g., *human*, *huge*, *humanity*, etc.) as there was no justification for separating these words from content words.

There is a dearth of insight on methodology for vowel-initial words, generally, as stated in the earlier chapters, but the trend seems to be for h-insertion to be examined in content words only (e.g., Childs et al., 2009). This is certainly fine for silent-h words where all words are content words. However, for vowel-initial words, this is not the case. For the current study, both function and content vowel-initial words are taken into consideration because more than one of the few speakers who do have h-insertion in vowel-initial words do so in function words.[50] Items like exclamations (e.g., *ah* and *oh*), fillers (e.g., *erm* and *uhm*), abbreviations and acronyms are, however, excluded from analysis for vowel-initial words as they do not count as words.

Stress: Stress is another central issue in h-deletion and h-insertion, with unstressed syllables being more susceptible to h-deletion (Horvath 1985, 2008) and h-insertion (John & Cardoso, 2009). This is why several related studies exclude unstressed words (e.g., Horvath, 1985; Bell & Holmes, 1992).

Studies have stated that stress in Nigerian English words differs from that in such L1 varieties as British English and (North) American English (Jowitt, 1991; Gut, 2005; Faleye, 2014). For instances, Gut (2005) mentions the tendency for "strong consonant clusters… to pull stress to the preceding syllable as in *an*ˈ*cestor*, i.e., a rightward shift compared to BrE" (p. 162), and Jowitt (1991) states that the second element in compound words like *fire*ˈ*wood* and *proof*ˈ*read* takes the primary stress.

So, it would be logical to think that the results for the h-deletion and h-insertion might differ from L1 patterns. Essentially, there is a need to establish how stress affects h-deletion and h-insertion in non-L1 varieties like Nigerian Englishes since stress is not placed the same way. Therefore, I coded whether a syllable containing a token was stressed or not by the speakers. I coded for just h-words, i.e., h-deletion and silent-h tokens. Vowel-initial words were excluded

[50] These speakers are con_28_2; con_35; dem_05; dem_14; bint_03_2

when coding for stress because there were thousands of function word tokens, like *a*, *it*, *in*, *at*, etc, that were not stressed, compared to other stressed vowel-initial tokens like *oven* or *apple*, which were stressed. It was decided that coding for stress for this category would not only skew the data, since most of the vowel-initial tokens were unstressed function words, but also be time-consuming.

Preceding phonetic context: The preceding phonetic context is another factor considered in the current study. Bell & Holmes (1992) employed this factor in their studies to see how the phonetic environment before the /h/ token would constrain h-deletion and h-insertion. The categories that were thus employed in the current study are pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel. For this study, it is believed that this broader range of categories in the preceding phonetic context will help to provide more information on h-deletion; because, for instance, even though voiceless and voiced obstruents are both consonants, voiceless obstruents are said to inhibit h-deletion while voiced ones favour it (Bell & Holmes, 1992, p. 237). It will also help give more insight into these constraints for h-insertion, something that has hitherto not been done on studies on h-insertion.

Following phonetic context: The reason for considering following phonetic context comes from Ramisch (2010), even though he describes these following phonemes as favouring alternate realisations of /h/ and not necessarily h-deletion. Another reason for considering this was the fact that /h/ did not occur before the front vowel /i/ in Yoruba (not in any of the other languages considered), except in reduplicated sequences (Akinlabi, 1992), so this would provide an opportunity to see whether this had some effect on [h] occurrence in similar contexts in English. This will not only apply to h-deletion but also h-insertion.

Because of these reasons for adopting the following phonetic context, the results for h-deletion will be presented in terms of focusing on the following vowels. So, both frontedness or anteriority (i.e., back, front, or central) and the height (i.e., mid, low, or high) of the following vowels will be considered in the results.

For h-insertion, the same categories as the ones in the preceding phonetic context will be considered for vowel-initial words, i.e., pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel. For silent-h words, the following phonetic context will be the same categories considered for h-deletion, i.e., anteriority (i.e., back, front, or central) and

height (i.e., mid, low, or high), of the following vowels. The relevant vowels have been coded by listening to their pronunciations by each speaker. This is usually markedly different from L1 pronunciations as discussed in Chapter 3, but there are also differences sometimes in the production of vowels depending on ethnicity in Nigeria. Thus, the studies describing the vowels used in Nigerian Englishes (Jowitt, 1991; Josiah & Babatunde, 2011; Olaniyi & Ubong, 2013) were used as a guide in coding for the vowels in this study.

Number of syllables: The influence of the number of syllables in the h-tokens on h-deletion and h-insertion is something that has not been explored in any previous study on h-deletion and h-insertion. However, preliminary studies on this research work found a pattern where the number of syllables influenced h-deletion and h-insertion so that there was less h-deletion and h-insertion in monosyllabic words than in multisyllabic ones.

H-position: Another factor that could constrain h-deletion and h-insertion is its position in the token – whether mid-word or word-initial. Many studies only focus on initial word /h/ and define h-deletion as such, the deletion of /h/ in word-initial position (Milroy, 2004; Mugglestone, 1995; Ramisch, 2010). Some studies have not considered mid-word position /h/ for both h-insertion and h-deletion because of the variability in its realisation, for instance, in words like *vehicle* which can be pronounced with mid-word /h/ or not; and words like *forehead,* which can be produced with or without the /h/. This study, however, considers both mid-word and word-initial positions, even though there were relatively fewer tokens of the former than the latter, especially for h-insertion.

6.5.2. Social Factors

The social factors employed in the current study are ethnicity, gender, profession, and social context. These are discussed briefly below:

Ethnicity: Ethnicity is especially crucial in the current study considering that the crux of one of the questions asked is whether an ethnic group (the Yorubas) is the only group that has h-deletion and h-insertion, as is largely believed, and whether other ethnic groups produce these variables as well.

In Chapter 2, it was established that ethnicity constrains h-deletion and h-insertion, as in the case of Childs et al.'s (2003), Holm's (1988) and Wells' (1982) studies which found that

ethnicity had an effect on Bahamian English with Anglo-Bahamians having more h-deletion than their Afro-Bahamian counterparts. Also, Bell and Holmes's (1992) study, which studied h-deletion in participants of Maori and Pakeha ethnicities in New Zealand, found that ethnicity did influence h-deletion, with Maori speakers deleting more than their Pakeha counterparts.

At several points in the thesis, ethnicity is presented as a more prominent factor than other factors. This itself is not an anomaly for a country like Nigeria, especially considering the discussion in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2). Apart from this, the subject matter of this thesis is directly linked to the prominence or salience of ethnicity. Other studies on Nigerian Englishes have affirmed that any discussion on language must proffer salience on ethnicity as a factor (Brann, 1991; Ezema, 2012). Again, because of the constraints of the corpus data being used, such information as socio-economic class and place were not available to be analysed. However, other than ethnicity, other relevant factors that need to be explored are explored, but the salience of ethnicity in the thesis and in Nigeria cannot be underplayed.

Gender: Gender is a central factor in any study on variation, with the association of women with the use of prestige variants: "women show a lower rate of stigmatized variants and a higher rate of prestige variants than men" (Labov, 2001, pp. 266 - 267).

Previous studies on h-deletion and h-insertion have found this to be borne out as women produced less of these variants than men in L1 Englishes (Horvath, 1985; Petyt, 1985; Bell & Holmes, 1992).

Profession: Another factor that has been taken into consideration is participants' professions. Usually, it would hold that people in such professions as academia and the media (national media) would be expected to produce more standard prestige varieties because of their position as standard-bearers, than, say, a politician.

As ICE-NG has these categories as very broad and wide-ranging, with duplications like 'barrister' and 'lawyer', the current study narrows down this context so that similar professions are classed together, so, for instance, 'lecturer', 'professor', 'teacher', 'university student', 'student' are all classed as 'academics'.

Social context: The social context is similar to the profession factor in that the more formal the context, the less such 'non-standard' realisations as h-deletion and h-insertion are expected. The term 'social context' was coined for the current study as the files are referred to as 'text categories' in ICE-NG. As with the further narrowing of the original ICE-NG categories for the profession context, social context is also narrowed for ease of analysis and to eliminate redundancy, which will make the results more reliable. From the 15 categories on ICE-NG, this becomes seven: Media, Business Transactions, Legal, Parliamentary Debates, Academic, Conversations, and TV Demonstrations. Another reason for the distinction is that it was discovered that some files did not fall within the context they had been subsumed in. A major instance is the case of almost all the Business Transaction category where files were academic staff meetings and not business transactions (Only btr_01 and btr_08 were actual business transactions; btr_02 to btr_07 and btr_09 to btr_11 were academic discussions).

Media and TV Demonstration were also distinguished as separate social contexts because of the education of those involved. While the participants in the Media category like Broadcast News, Broadcast Talks and Broadcast Discussions are usually university-educated media practitioners, those in TV Demonstration sourced mainly from the Demonstration category are less educated demonstrators like cooks and builders.

The conflation of the social context and the profession factors can further be justified because there is no need to compare this with other studies.

6.6. Ethical Considerations

Seeking permission and respecting participants' privacy is not all that ethics, especially in linguistic studies, is about. If that were the case, one might argue that the job of seeking participants' permission and respecting their privacy through anonymising participants with codes or tags like Les 01 in corpora has covered the issue of ethics for any user of a corpus. This might be why the issue of ethics in corpus-based studies is rarely brought up. Indeed, the issue of ethics is also not mentioned in the ICE-NG manual. In instances in the current study where I, the researcher, have had to glean examples from such personal information as tweets from Twitter, the Twitter handles have been anonymised using just initials.

Generally, however, apart from anonymising and participants' consent, other issues subsumed under the umbrella of ethics should be considered when using corpus data. First of these is the responsibility to analyse the corpus data so that it gives reliable and credible results (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). This is because there will be no telling where the results generated will be used, and these may have dire consequences if they are false or error-ridden.

Another ethical consideration is making analyses from which results derived are available for others researching in the field. It is a fact that sometimes different analyses yield different results, or at least certain nuances that one researcher has not observed might be uncovered by another using a different method of analysis. Therefore, it is pertinent for replicability and clarity sakes that analyses used are clearly shown and available for use and dissection by future researchers in the field.

Lastly, McEnery and Hardie (2012) emphasised the ethical responsibility to prevent misinterpretation of results. They cited the example of Leech's (2004a, 2004b) research on the evolving use of the modal verbs and how the media took that to be a commentary on neglecting proper language standards and associated with political apprehension over social deterioration. McEnery and Hardie (2012) conclude, "in practice, there may not be much a researcher can do to correct mass misinterpretation of their work. Regardless, we would argue that they have an ethical obligation to try – as a part of the more general responsibility of academia to the society that supports it" (p. 67).

All of these have been taken into consideration in the present study.

6.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to present the data collection and analysis elements used in this study, especially in terms of ICE-NG that has been employed in sourcing data for the variationist section of this study. A background on ICE-NG is provided, as well as a discussion on the constraints and benefits of using ICE-NG for the present study. It has been necessary to point out possible drawbacks to using ICE-NG so that results generated are interpreted in the light of the constraints.

Consideration is also given to ethics, how the data is coded, and the inter-rater reliability results that have been obtained in determining how acceptable results will be. This is in addition to giving an overview of how the results in the next chapter will be analysed.

The overarching aim has been to present all the bases covered in the systematic analyses of the data used and the description of the information relating to the data used. It is hoped that this will help provide a framework for interpreting the results in the subsequent chapters. The next chapter will present the results of the study.

Chapter 7 – Presentation of Results

7.1. Introduction

This chapter will mainly focus on presenting the results. The discussion based on the interpretation of the results will be done in the next chapter, Chapter 8, which discusses the study's main findings. In terms of analysis, I have considered both similar and variable-specific factors as presented in the table below, already presented in the previous chapter. The factors considered for h-deletion and h-insertion in this study are:

Table 12: Sociolinguistic factors considered for h-deletion and h-insertion in current study (2)

H-deletion	**H-insertion**
Word type – categories: content words, e.g., human, head, vehicle; Who words (i.e., *who*, *whos*e, *whom, whoever, whosoever*); How words (i.e., *how*, *however, anyhow, somehow*); Here words (i.e., *here, hereafter, hereby*)	**Word type –** categories: Silent-h words (e.g., *honest, honour, honourable, vehicle, hour*); vowel-initial words (e.g., content words like *abattoir*, *oven*; and function words like *on*, *and*)
Stress (for all word types) – categories: unstressed h-syllable and stressed h-syllable	**Stress** (for silent-h words) – categories: unstressed h-syllable and stressed h-syllable
Preceding phonetic context – categories: pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel	**Preceding phonetic context** – categories: pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel
Following phonetic context – categories: frontedness or anteriority (i.e., back, front, or central) and the height (i.e., mid, low, or high) of the following vowels	**Following phonetic context** – categories: frontedness or anteriority (i.e., back, front, or central) and the height (i.e., mid, low, or high) of the following vowels for silent-h words; and pause, voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent, nasal, liquid, and vowel/semivowel for vowel-initial words
Number of syllables – categories: monosyllable, disyllable, trisyllable, quadrisyllable, pentasyllable, hexasyllable, heptasyllable	**Number of syllables** – categories: monosyllable, disyllable, trisyllable, quadrisyllable, pentasyllable, hexasyllable, heptasyllable,
H-position – categories: word-initial, e.g., *house,* and mid-word, e.g., *vehicle*	**H-position** – categories: word-initial, e.g., *honour* and mid-word, e.g., *dishonour*
Ethnicity – categories: Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo	**Ethnicity** – categories: Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo
Gender – categories: Male, Female	**Gender** – categories: Male, Female
Profession – categories: Academic, Civil servants, clergy, construction worker, demonstrator, footballer, legal practitioner, media personality, medical practitioner, military, musician, pharmacist, politician,	**Profession** – categories: Academic, Civil servants, clergy, construction worker, demonstrator, footballer, legal practitioner, media personality, medical practitioner, military, musician, pharmacist, politician,

publisher, real estate, school proprietor, unknown profession	publisher, real estate, school proprietor, unknown profession
Social context – categories: academic discussion, business transaction, conversation, legal, media, politics, TV Demonstration	**Social context** – categories: academic discussion, business transaction, conversation, legal, media, politics, TV Demonstration

7.2. Results for H-deletion in Nigerian Englishes

The results for h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes using most of the sociolinguistic factors outlined in the table above will be presented here. In order to find out whether the relevant factors that have been outlined above in Chapter 6 (Section 6.5) are statistically significant in the h-deletion rate found in the current study, I have employed a ctree (conditional inference tree) plot in R. The reason for the choice of this non-parametric statistical tool has already been discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3). All the factors considered in h-deletion were analysed, except profession and social context, though these will feature in a presentation of individual results in a section below. Profession and social context are excluded from the statistical analyses because, as will be discussed below, these factors would skew the results because of relative differences between the number of participants in each category, for instance, in terms of profession, school proprietor was the highest h-deleters even though this category had only one speaker in it.

7.2.1. Conditional Inference Tree Analysis Result for H-deletion

Figure 13 below shows the result of the conditional inference tree analysis for h-deletion (in the terminal nodes, the black areas represent the production of /h/, while the grey areas represent h-deletion):

Figure 13: Ctree for h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes for the current study

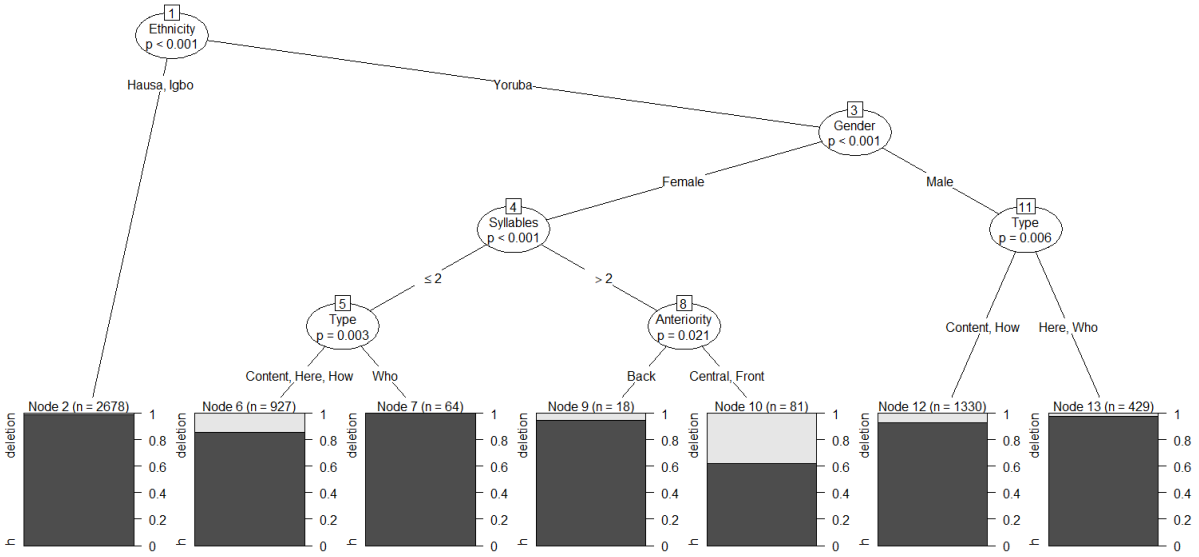


Figure 13 above shows that ethnicity is the most important factor in h-deletion, with a p-value of less than 0.001, marking a clear difference between the h-deletion rates among Yoruba English speakers on the one hand and Hausa and Igbo English speakers on the other hand as shown in Table 13 further down. No other nodes are significant for Hausa and Igbo speakers.

For Yoruba speakers, node 3 shows that the most important factor is gender ($p<0.001$). On the right, for male Yoruba speakers, word type is significant (nodes 11, 12, and 13; $p=0.006$) with more deletion in content and How words. On the left, the number of syllables is significant for female Yoruba English speakers (node 4; $p<0.001$). In turn, female Yoruba English speakers delete more in content, Here and How words, than in Who words in monosyllabic and disyllabic words (nodes 5, 6, and 7; $p=0.003$). Finally, in polysyllabic words, female Yoruba English speakers were seen to delete more in central and front phonetic following contexts than in back phonetic following contexts, in terms of anteriority (nodes 8, 9, and 10; $p=0.021$). Other factors like position, stress and vowel height did not appear in the ctree plot and are non-significant since the tree does not show values for non-significant factors.

7.2.2. Breakdown of Significant Sociolinguistic Constraints for H-deletion

In this section, a breakdown of the statistically significant sociolinguistic constraints for h-deletion will be presented, sometimes with reference to other relevant patterns in overall h-deletion.

In terms of h-deletion, ethnicity is the most significant factor, as shown in Figure 13 ($p<0.001$). The table below presents a breakdown of the results of h-deletion according to ethnicity:

Table 13: Breakdown of h-deletion results according to ethnicity

Constraint	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Ethnicity		
Hausa	14(865)	1.6
Yoruba	271(2849)	9.5
Igbo	16(1813)	0.9

As shown above, even though all the ethnic groups produced h-deletion, Yoruba speakers produced a significantly higher rate of h-deletion than the other two ethnic groups.

Gender was significant for Yoruba speakers, so that Yoruba female speakers significantly deleted more than their male counterparts ($p<0.001$), as shown in Figure 13. The table below shows the breakdown of h-deletion according to gender for Yoruba speakers the three ethnic groups:

Table 14: Breakdown of h-deletion results for Yoruba speakers according to gender

Constraint	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Gender		
Female	166(1090)	15.2
Male	105(1759)	5.9

Women deleting in more tokens than men is only the case for Yoruba English speakers, as shown in the table below, even though gender is not significant for the other ethnic groups examined.

Table 15: Breakdown of h-deletion results for the three ethnic groups according to gender

Constraint	Hausa Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	%	Yoruba Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	%	Igbo Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	%
Gender						
Female	1(13)	7.7	166(1090)	15.2	3(534)	0.6
Male	19(851)	2.2	105(1759)	5.9	13(1279)	1.0

The number of syllables is also significant ($p<0.001$) among female Yoruba English speakers who produced the most h-deletion in the study.

Table 16: Breakdown of h-deletion results for female Yoruba speakers according to number of syllables

Constraint	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Number of syllables		
Monosyllable	78(684)	11.4
Disyllable	56(309)	18.1
Trisyllable	30(95)	31.6
Quadrisyllable	2(4)	50

This correspondence between the rate of h-deletion and the number of syllables among female Yoruba speakers is shown in the table above, with deletion increasing with the number of syllables.

Word type was significant as well for Yoruba English speakers (female Yoruba speakers at $p=0.003$, in monosyllabic and disyllabic words; and male Yoruba English speakers at $p=0.006$), as shown in Figure 13. The tables below show the distribution of h-deletion for Yoruba women, in monosyllabic and disyllabic words, and for Yoruba men, according to word type:

Table 17: Breakdown of h-deletion results for female Yoruba speakers according to word type in monosyllabic and disyllabic words

Constraint	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Word type		
Content words	128(801)	16
Who words	0(65)	0
How words	28(131)	21.4
Here words	10(93)	10.8

As presented in the table above, and in consonance with Figure 13, Yoruba women significantly deleted more in content, Here and How words in comparison with Who words.

Table 18: Breakdown of h-deletion results for male Yoruba speakers according to word type

Constraint	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Word type		
Content words	82(1110)	7.4
Who words	3(248)	1.2
How words	14(220)	6.4
Here words	6(181)	3.3

As presented in the table above, and in consonance with Figure 13, Yoruba men significantly deleted more in content and How words in comparison with How and Who words.

Overall, even though h-deletion according to word type was only significant for Yoruba speakers, the distribution of h-deletion across the ethnic groups, in comparison to Yoruba speakers, is presented below:

Table 19: Breakdown of h-deletion results for all speakers according to word type

Constraint	Hausa Tokens with h-deletion (Total) %		Yoruba Tokens with h-deletion (Total) %		Igbo Tokens with h-deletion (Total) %	
Word type						
Content words	7(554)	1.3	229(3532)	6.4	11(1067)	1.1
Who words	0 (98)	0	6(673)	0.9	3(262)	1.1
How words	7(144)	4.9	50(747)	6.7	1(252)	0.4
Here words	0(69)	0	16(575)	2.8	0(232)	0

Yoruba speakers, for whom this factor is significant, had h-deletion across all word types, as shown in the table above. For Hausa speakers, h-deletion was only produced in content and How words, though there was more deletion in How words (4.9%) than in content words (1.3%). And, for Igbo speakers, the table above shows an equal percentage of deletion in content words, no deletion in Here words, and just one instance of deletion in How words.

Finally, anteriority of the following vowel, one of the categories in the following phonetic context, along with height, is also statistically significant for h-deletion for female Yoruba English speakers in syllables greater than two ($p=0.021$). The breakdown of h-deletion according to a following phonetic context (anteriority of the following vowel) in syllables greater than two is below:

Table 20: Breakdown of h-deletion results according to a following phonetic context (anteriority of the following vowel)

Constraint	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Following phonetic context (Anteriority of the following vowel)		
Front	135(754)	18
Central	5(40)	12.5
Back	26(296)	8.8

Overall, the factors examined for h-deletion which were not statistically significant were preceding phonetic context, following phonetic context in terms of the height of the following vowel, h-position, and stress.

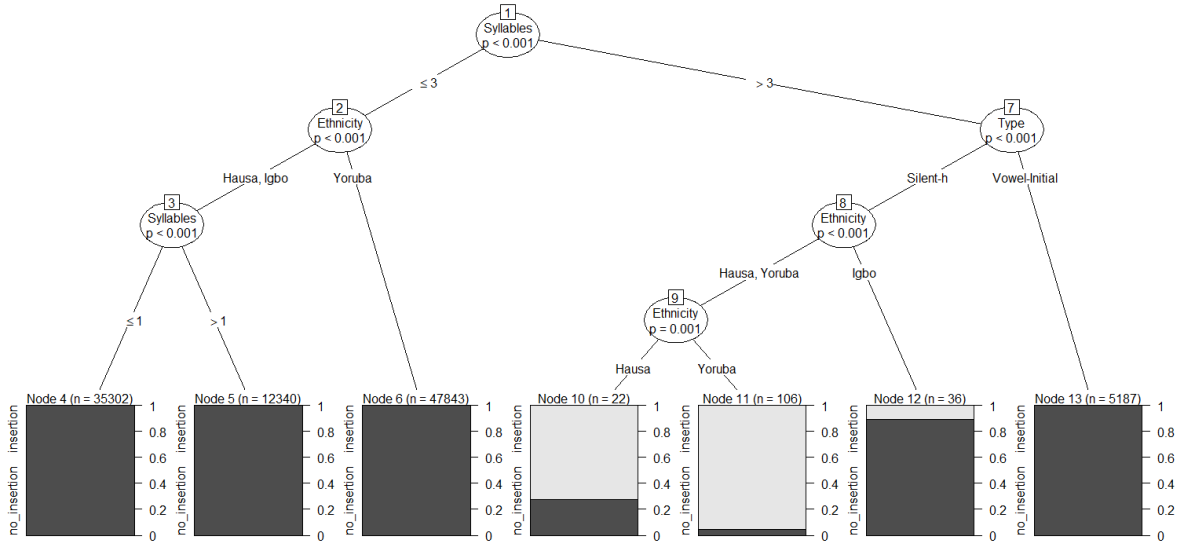
7.3. Results for H-Insertion in Nigerian Englishes

As with the results for h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes, this section will be presented in two sub-sections – the ctree analysis results for h-insertion, and the breakdown of the statistically significant constraints for h-insertion.

7.3.1. Conditional Inference Tree Analysis Result for H-insertion

The ctree analysis result for h-insertion is presented below (in the terminal nodes, the black areas represent no h-insertion, while the grey areas represent h-insertion):

Figure 14: Ctree for h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes for the current study



As shown in Figure 14 above, the number of syllables was the most important factor in h-insertion (node 1; p<0.001). When the right hand is examined, word type is also significant (node 7; p<0.001) for words with at least three syllables where there is significantly more h-insertion in silent-h words in comparison with vowel-Initial words. Ethnicity is also significant for polysyllabic silent-h words, with Hausas and Yorubas producing the bulk of these (node 8; p<0.001). Again, ethnicity is significant for silent-h words, with more Yoruba speakers producing h-insertion in comparison with Hausa speakers (nodes 9, 10 and 11; p=0.001).

On the left, Figure 14 shows that ethnicity is also significant for words with three or less than three syllables, with more Hausa and Igbo English speakers inserting h in these words than Yoruba English speakers (node 2; p<0.001). For Hausa and Igbo English speakers, the number of syllables was, again, significant as monosyllabic words were inserted in less than disyllabic and other polysyllabic words (nodes 3, 4 and 5; p<0.001).

7.3.2. Breakdown of Significant Sociolinguistic Constraints for H-insertion

In this section, a breakdown of the statistically significant sociolinguistic constraints for h-insertion will be presented, sometimes with reference to other relevant patterns in overall h-insertion.

As with h-deletion in Nigerian English, the number of syllables influences h-insertion in insertion being more frequent the higher the syllables. As shown in Figure 14, the number of syllables is the most important predictor of h-insertion in the study (p<0.001), with there being

a significantly higher rate of insertion in syllables greater than three than in syllables less than or equal to three. The table below shows the effect of the number of syllables on h-insertion, in syllables greater than three and equal to or less than three, in the current study:

Table 21: Breakdown of h-insertion results for speakers according to number of syllables

Constraint	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Number of syllables		
Syllables greater than three	120(1844)	6.5
Syllables less than or equal to three	65(31658)	0.2

The number of syllables is also significant for Hausa and Igbo English speakers in syllables less than or equal to three ($p<0.001$)

Table 22: Breakdown of h-insertion results for Hausa and Igbo English speakers in syllables less than or equal to three

Constraint	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Number of syllables		
Syllables greater than one	34(10054)	0.3
Syllables less than or equal to one	7(23272)	0.03

Again, as with h-deletion, ethnicity significantly influences h-insertion, with ethnicity being significant in terms of significantly fewer Hausa and Igbo speakers producing h-insertion in syllables less than or equal to three in comparison with Yoruba speakers ($p<0.001$). The breakdown of this result is shown in the table below:

Table 23: Breakdown of h-insertion results according to ethnicity in syllables greater than three

Constraint	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Ethnicity		
Syllables less than or equal to three		
Hausa	9(16081)	0.05
Yoruba	122(47843)	0.3
Igbo	12(31561)	0.04

Ethnicity is also significant in terms of word type, with Hausa and Yoruba speakers significantly inserting more in silent-h words (with more than three syllables) in comparison with Igbo speakers ($p<0.001$). The breakdown of this result is shown below:

Table 24: Breakdown of h-insertion results according to ethnicity in silent-h tokens with syllables greater than three

Constraint	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Ethnicity		
Syllables greater than three Silent-h words		
Hausa	16(23)	69.6
Yoruba	101(106)	95.3
Igbo	3(35)	8.6

One of the more salient inter-ethnic differences is found in h-insertion according to word type. In Figure 14, word type was found to be significant for all speakers with significantly more h-insertion in silent-h words (in syllables greater than three) as compared with vowel-initial words ($p<0.001$). This is also presented in the table below:

Table 25: Breakdown of h-insertion results for all speakers in silent-h and vowel-initial tokens with syllables greater than three

Constraint	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Word type		
Silent-h	120(164)	73.2
Vowel-initial	0(1680)	0

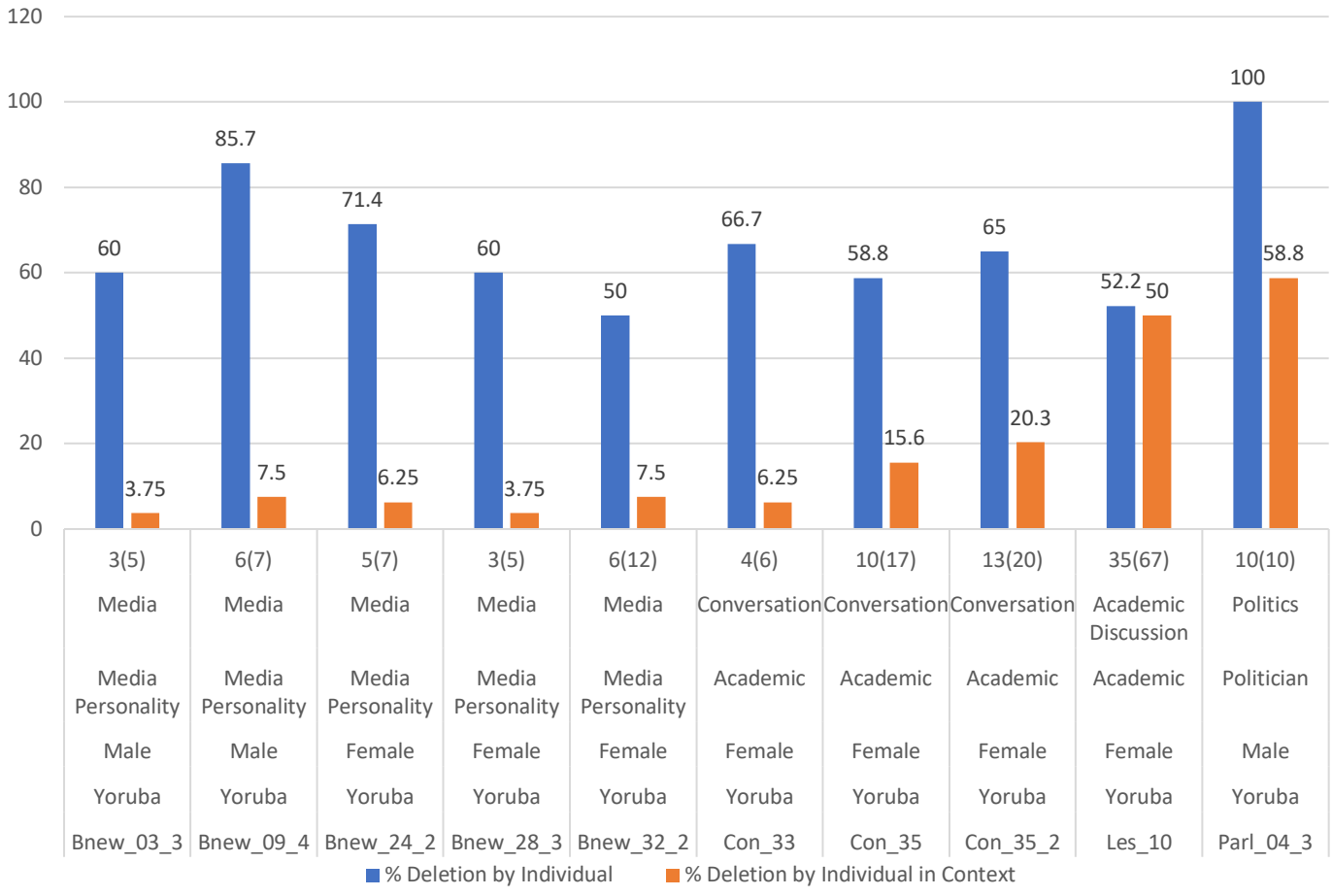
Overall, the factors examined for h-insertion which were not statistically significant were preceding phonetic context, following phonetic context, h-position, gender, and stress.

7.4. Results for Individuals with the Highest H-deletion and H-insertion Rates

In total, there were 92 h-deleters and 68 h-inserters, out of a total of 476 participants for h-deletion and 589 participants for h-insertion, as presented in Table 8 in the previous chapter. With the relative paucity of h-deletion and h-insertion in the data, it is vital to show a breakdown of relevant individual results to reveal any nuance or pattern that can give more insight into h-deletion and h-insertion among the groups studied.

Firstly, the results of the h-deletion and h-inserters by the individuals who produced the highest rates of these variable will be considered. The charts below show the details of the highest deleters and highest inserters as well as the percentage of overall h-deletion and h-insertion they contribute to their social context category. In terms of the highest h-inserters, results here are for silent-h inserters only. This is because a rule of at least five tokens per individual examined who deleted or inserted at least half of these tokens was applied, so results could be relatively generalisable. As h-insertion in vowel-initial tokens were significantly few, no vowel-initial h-inserter could be profiled as one of the highest h-inserters, but a table showing vowel-insertion results will be shown later.

Figure 15: Chart showing breakdown of highest h-deleters in the study

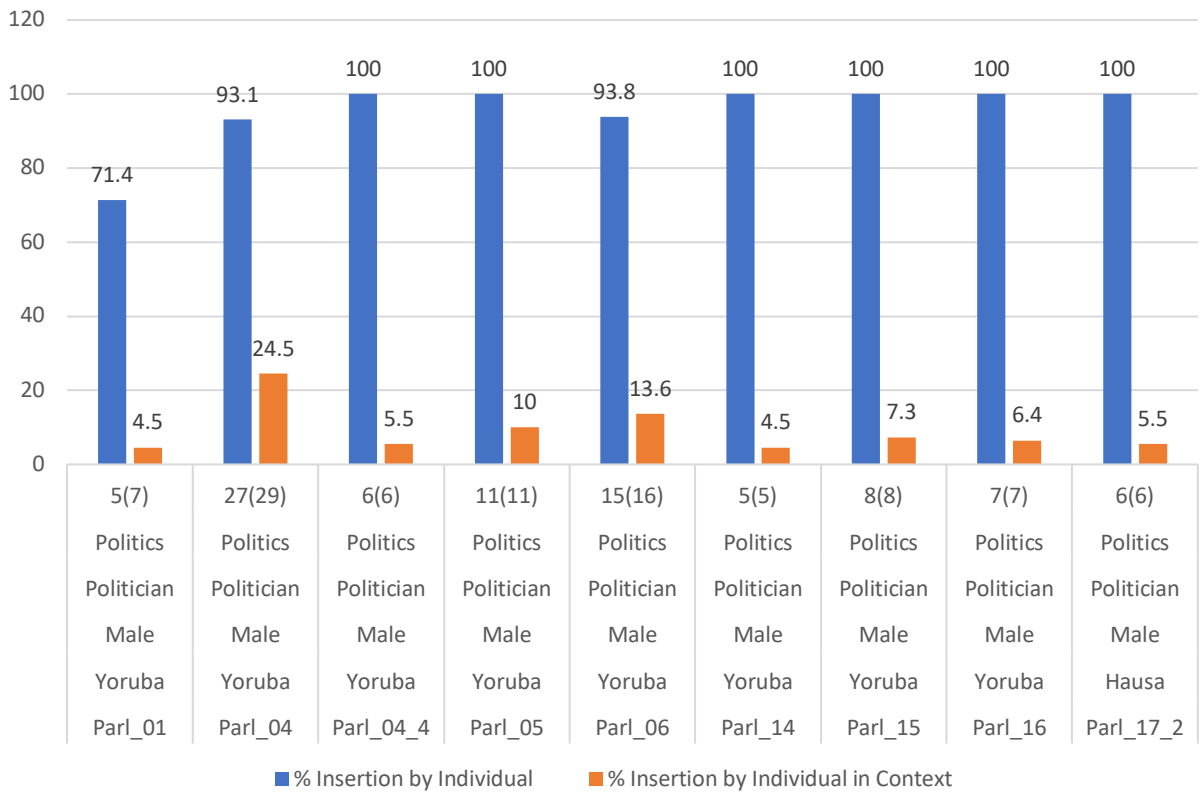


As can be seen in the chart above, speakers like Les_10 and Parl_04_3 contribute at least half of all the tokens deleted in the social contexts in the Academic Discussion (14 other h-deleters

out of 60 speakers in context) and Politics social contexts (four other h-deleters out of 24 speakers in context), respectively, in which they appear.

For the highest silent-h h-inserters, only 4 (Bnew_03_3, Bnew_09_4, Bnew_24_2, Bnew_28_3, Bnew_32_2) and 3 (Con_33, Con_35, Con_35_2) speakers contribute more than 25% to the deletion in the Media and Conversation social contexts, respectively, out of 41 (there were 235 speakers in this context) and 22 (there were 85 speakers in this context) other inserters in these contexts. This is shown in the chart below:

Figure 16: Chart showing breakdown of highest h-inserters for silent-h words



In terms of h-insertion for silent-h words, these nine speakers (20 speakers out of 24 in the Politics context produced h-insertion) in Figure 16 above contribute 82% of the whole insertion rate in that social context.

For vowel-initial h-inserters, there were only 14 inserters in the whole of the data, the data for these h-inserters are presented below:

Table 26: Table showing breakdown of all vowel-initial h-inserters in the study

Speaker_ID	Content words (Number of tokens with h-insertion/tokens produced)	Function words (Number of tokens with h-insertion/tokens produced)
Bint_01	end (1/1)	alright (1/2)
Bint_01_2	eight (2/8)	
Bint_03_2	able (1/23); area (1/4)	all (1/8); also (1/7); on (1/21)
Bnew_06_2	earth (1/1)	
Bnew_07_2	armed (1/1)	
Con_23_2	eat (1/1)	
Con_28_2	abuse (1/1); argument (1/2); else (1/2); impact (1/2); own (1/2)	anywhere (1/1); are (4/24); in (3/33); on (2/17); other (1/3)
Con_34_2	earth (2/10)	
Con_35	I (1/49); area (1/2)	in (2/24)
Con_38	able (2/3); active (1/1); areas (1/1); emir (3/3); evidence (1/1)	all (1/15); am (1/2); are (1/38); everybody (1/2)
Dem_02	add (2/2); oil (5/8); onion (2/3); owner (1/1)	all (1/3); also (1/10)
Dem_05	arm (1/1); equal (1/4)	in (1/4); inner (2/2); on (2/7)
Dem_14	add (1/4); end (1/5); oil (2/7)	on (3/53)
Les_10	answer (1/1); ask (1/3); asked (3/3); earn (6/7); end (1/1); engine (1/1); error (5/7); observed (1/5); old (1/1)	all (1/11); always (1/5); and (1/106); anywhere (1/1); up (1/1)

The table above shows the speakers, number of tokens produced and number of tokens with vowel-initial h-insertion for the study. Of the 14 speakers who inserted, 13 were Yoruba English speakers and one (Con_34_2) was an Igbo English speaker.

Furthermore, in attempting to extrapolate more information from individual results, I present the profiles (Speaker ID, words, tokens produced, tokens with h-insertion or h-deletion, and the percentage of this insertion and deletion rate) for the highest h-deleters and h-inserters in each of the three ethnic groups sampled in this study. Individuals who produced the highest h-deletion and h-insertion rates are profiled for each ethnic group to provide a representative sample of patterns of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes.

For Yoruba speakers, three individuals contributed a large percentage of the overall deletion and insertion[51] in the social contexts examined. Two of these produced the highest rate of h-deletion, overall, in the social context in which they appeared. One of these speakers, Les_10, produced half of the h-deletion tokens in the Academic Discussion social context. In that social context, there were altogether 70 deleted tokens out of 1286. Of these, half (35 tokens; 52.2%) of the deleted tokens were produced by Les_10, as shown in Table 27 even though 14 other speakers produced h-deletion at least once. The second highest h-deleter was Parl_04_3 in the Politics Social Context. Of the 17 deleted tokens (out of 120), 10 of these (58.8%) were produced by speaker Parl_04_3. In terms of h-insertion, there was only one individual who produced the bulk of the h-insertion in the social context in which they appeared. This was Parl_04, who produced 24.5% of the h-insertion in the Politics social context, producing h-insertion in 27 of the overall 110 tokens in the context. The table below presents words and details of tokens deleted by the Yoruba speakers who produced h-deletion and h-insertion:

Table 27: Profile of words, tokens produced, and tokens with h-deletion for highest Yoruba h-deleters

Speakers	Words	Tokens produced	Tokens with h-deletion	Percentage deletion (%)
Les_10	How	15	12	80
	Happening	2	2	100
	Habit	12	11	91.7
	Habitual	6	6	100
	Hearing	5	1	20
	Behaviour	6	4	66.7
	Here	5	1	20
Parl_04_3	Who	2	2	100
	House	8	8	100
	Here	1	1	100
	Healthy	1	1	100
	Help	1	1	100

In terms of h-insertion, more than a quarter of the insertion in the Politics social context (27.3%), which is the context with the highest insertion rate, was produced by one speaker, Parl_04. The speaker produced 27 out of the 99 tokens that had h-insertion. The speaker's instances of h-insertion are presented below.

[51] The speakers profiled are the ones that produced more than a quarter of the h-deletion and almost a quarter of h-insertion in their social context, as this makes it easier to see the pattern of insertion or deletion since they have more tokens to examine.

Table 28: Profile of word, tokens produced, and tokens with h-insertion for highest Yoruba h-inserters

Speaker	Word	Tokens produced	Tokens with h-insertion	Percentage insertion (%)
Parl_04	Honourable	28	26	92.9

In the case of the highest h-deleters and highest h-inserters among the Hausa English speakers, speakers Con_45_2 and Con_52_2 produced the highest rates of h-deletion. Their instances of h-deletion are presented in the table below:

Table 29: Profile of word, tokens produced, and tokens with h-deletion for highest Hausa h-deleters

Speakers	Words	Tokens produced	Tokens with h-deletion	Percentage deletion (%)
Con_45_2	Home	4	1	25
Con_52_2	How	14	3	21.4
	Happen	3	1	33.3

In the case of h-insertion among Hausa speakers, as stated before, h-insertion was produced only in silent-h words. For all 15 speakers who produced h-insertion, all the silent-h target words they produced featured h-insertion. The instances of insertion for the Hausa speaker who produced the most amount of h-insertion in the context in which he appeared (Politics), as listed in Figure 16 is below:

Table 30: Profile of word, tokens produced, and tokens with h-insertion for highest Hausa h-inserter

Speaker	Word	Tokens produced	Tokens with h-insertion	Percentage deletion (%)
Parl_17_2	Honourable	6	6	100

For Igbo speakers, the instances of the target words by most of the speakers who produced them were not enough to decipher the pattern of h-deletion. Most of these speakers produced only one or two instances of the target word, so there were just three speakers who produced at least four instances of the target word where the token was deleted at least once. These three will be examined below:

Table 31: Profile of words, tokens produced, and tokens with h-deletion for highest Igbo h-deleters

Speakers	Words	Tokens produced	Tokens with h-deletion	Percentage deletion (%)
Unsp_35	Hand	4	1	25
Com_29	Happen	6	2	33.3
Con_19	How	11	1	9.1

Two Igbo speakers of the 10 h-inserters produced at least four instances of the same target word where h-insertion occurred. These instances are presented below:

Table 32: Profile of words, tokens produced, and tokens with h-insertion for highest Igbo h-inserters

Speakers	Words	Tokens produced	Tokens with h-insertion	Percentage insertion (%)
Btal_32	Honour	4	4	100
Con_34_2	Earth	10	2	20

On the whole, the instances presented above indicate that the speakers profiled are mostly consistent in terms of what they do with a token, whether that is h-deleting or h-retaining.

7.5. Co-occurrence of H-deletion and H-insertion

There were 18 speakers who both inserted and deleted /h/. Of these 18 speakers, none were Igbos, three were Hausas (three Hausa males), and 15 were Yorubas (seven Yoruba females and eight Yoruba males). This means that 26.5% of h-inserters also deleted /h/ at least once.

A discussion of the implications of this co-occurrence pattern will be done in the next chapter that discusses the main findings of the study. The next section concludes the current chapter on the presentation of the results for the current study.

7.6. Conclusion

Overall, this chapter has presented the results of the study. Results of ctree analysis have been presented, and the breakdown of results according to the sociolinguistic factors coded for.

Relevant individual patterns of h-deletion and h-insertion were also presented. Finally, the results of the co-occurrence of h-deletion and h-insertion among speakers are also presented.

The next chapter discusses the main findings of the study, including relevant results presented in this chapter.

Chapter 8 – Discussion of Findings

8.1. Introduction

The current chapter will discuss the main findings of the study. The main findings that will be discussed in this chapter are:

1. The vital role played by ethnic differences in h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes.
2. The distinctive patterning of H-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, suggesting that they are two separate processes
3. The implications of patterns of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes for their enregisterment as what is known as the 'h-factor'
4. The implications of patterns of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes for the place of these Englishes in World Englishes models

8.2. The Role of Ethnicity and Individual Differences in the Distribution of H-deletion and H-insertion (the 'H-factor') in Nigerian Englishes

One major finding from the study was that Yoruba speakers were significantly more h-deleting and h-inserting than other ethnic groups. Overall, h-deletion and h-insertion were significantly higher among Yoruba speakers than speakers of the other two ethnicities at 9.5% for h-deletion and 0.4% for h-insertion. In comparison, overall, Hausa speakers had a 1.6% h-deletion rate and a 0.1% h-insertion rate, and Igbo speakers had a 0.9% h-deletion rate and a 0.04% h-insertion rate. These differences in rate of h-deletion and h-insertion between Yoruba speakers on the one hand and Igbo and Hausa speakers, on the other hand, are statistically significant with p values of <0.001 for both variables.[52]

The fact that Yoruba speakers significantly produced more h-deletion and h-insertion than their counterparts is perhaps the most important finding in this study, even though the other groups were found to produce h-deletion and h-insertion as well, something which contradicts the commonly held view that h-deletion and h-insertion are exclusive preserves of Yoruba speakers (e.g., Awonusi, 1990; Udofot, 2004; Gut, 2004).

[52] See Figures 13 and 14

However, one would expect a higher rate of h-deletion and h-insertion among Yoruba speakers, given that they are solely associated with these variables in Nigeria in descriptive dialectal studies mentioned in the literature review and the popular culture opinion sampled in the metadiscursive pieces considered in Chapter 4 (e.g., Gbagaun-Free, 2011; Kamson, 2011, Erhime, 2014). This perceived 100% h-deletion and h-insertion rates as depicted on these academic studies and metadiscursive pieces is not exactly reflected in the deletion and insertion rates among the Yoruba speakers in ICE-NG. Also, Yoruba speakers were easily the largest group of speakers in the corpus, so low rates of h-deletion and h-insertion is not due to a small sample.

Since there is no previous empirical study on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, we must rely on previous studies on h-deletion and h-insertion to show representative rates. This is the case for Bell & Holmes' (1992) study, referenced already in this thesis. The study described an overall mean average of 14% deletion and individual deletion rates of up to 30% as low (Bell & Holmes, 1992, p. 246). Other studies like Cheshire et al. (2008, 2013) and Gordon et al. (2004), reviewed in Chapter 2, made comparable claims of around 10% h-deletion (the Yoruba deletion rate) as being low. The former saw percentage results of 11% deletion rate (in their 2008 study) and 18% deletion rate (in their 2013 study) as being low and implying h-fullness for Multicultural London English, which had erstwhile been regarded as h-dropping because of Cockney English influence. The latter saw a 9% overall deletion rate in their study of NZE, which is taken to mean that h-dropping is rare in NZE and that the variety is h-full.

In view of the way these studies have interpreted the h-deletion rates in their studies, there is an apparent discrepancy between the comparably low rates of h-deletion and h-insertion among the Yoruba English speakers in this study, and the popular view of these variants as exclusive and ubiquitous among Yoruba speakers. The variationist findings must thus be interpreted in relation to enregisterment, and in relation to relevant World Englishes frameworks.

Firstly, I would like to discuss the role of individual h-deleters and h-inserters in understanding h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English. The breakdown of individual h-deletion and h-insertion patterns has been presented in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4). The current study is the only one on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes to provide this insight into both individuals and groups.

So, in terms of individual h-deleters and h-inserters, the role they play in uncovering some nuances compulsory for the understanding of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian English is vital. Many of these nuances are found in deciphering the relevant variation patterns behind the general results. It is only in breaking down the results according to individual h-deleters and h-inserters that an accurate picture of variation patterns is revealed. Consider the case of the highest h-inserters for silent-h words whose results were presented in the previous chapter (Section 7.4). Here, the fact that most of these h-inserters are Yoruba male politicians would indicate a structured variation pattern. However, a deeper look into the individual deleters and the tokens they do produce h-deletion in will reveal that Yoruba male politicians were only shown to be the largest because of the sheer number of Yoruba male participants and the tokens they produced in the Politics social context, relative to other categories of speakers, as shown in Table 9.

Another individual-related finding that would be important to address is whether the h-deleters and h-inserters in this study produce h-deletion and h-insertion idiosyncratically. This is because of the comparably low rate of h-deletion (and h-insertion) across the board. However, and more tellingly, for the speakers who produced h-deletion and h-insertion (especially in vowel-initial words), these instances of h-deletion, especially for content words and h-insertion, is lexically idiosyncratic. For example, when the instances of h-deletion for the highest h-deleters (in the social context categories in which they appeared) in the data, i.e. Les_10 and Parl_04_3 is examined, it is evident that for Les_10, h-deletion is produced primarily in habit type words (i.e. *habit*, *habitual*), and for Parl_04_3, it is *house*, *healthy*, and *help*, as shown in Table 28. For h-inserters, particularly for vowel-initial insertion, insertion is also lexically idiosyncratic as it is limited to certain words for the speakers, e.g., words like *onion* and *oil* for Dem_02; and *asked*, *earned*, and *error* for Les_10, as shown in Table 29.

Finally, in terms of whether these high deleters and inserters are conservatists or innovators. In the sense in which conservatism or innovation are addressed in such studies as Tollfree (1999), Macafee (1997, 2003) and Stuart-Smith, Timmins, & Tweedie (2006), in terms of maintenance or change in the use of a feature diachronically, it is simply not possible to determine that with the current data, as interesting as that would be to find out. For any study to judge the level of innovativeness or conservatism of a feature use, as described in the studies reference above, there ought to be a Point A where the ‘old’ feature is established and a Point B in the future where the ‘old’ feature persists and exists alongside a ‘new’ feature or is being phased out by

the same. Studies that have determined whether the speakers who use a shibboleth or not are conservatists or innovators responsible for spreading relevant linguistic features have had access to vital diachronic or historical information and or relevant variables that determine this (e.g., the case of Scots L-vocalisation and language change in Glaswegian by Stuart-Smith et al., 2006; Stuart-Smith & Timmins, 2010; and Brato, 2012). In addition to these, age is a major factor in these studies since younger people are more involved in promoting linguistic variation and change (e.g., in Labov, 1972; 1979; and Kerswill, 2010).

I have not used age as a factor in this study because of the corpus-related issues of unrecorded and broad approximation of ages discussed in the methodology chapter (Section 6.2). Also, as this is the first empirical study of its kind on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, I do not have access to any prior historical empirical studies on h-deletion and h-insertion that would serve as a Point A to judge the level of conservatism or innovativeness in this study. Any attempt to do so would only amount to speculation.

There is a sense in which these high deleters and high inserters can be seen as innovative since the evidence has pointed to idiosyncrasy in their h-insertion and h-deletion. However, this innovativeness is different from observing changes or maintenance in the production of these features diachronically.

8.3. The Processes of H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Englishes

One of the salient findings from the current study is that h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes are independent processes.

Considering the results from the previous chapter, the sociolinguistic constraints that influence h-deletion and h-insertion are different, but, more importantly, there is little co-occurrence between speakers who produce h-deletion and h-insertion. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter (Section 7.5), there was no co-occurrence among Igbo speakers and only three speakers out of 21 had co-occurrence among the Hausa speakers. Moreover, in the case of Yoruba speakers, which gives more instances to see what is going on in the data because of the availability of relatively more tokens than the other ethnic groups, this limited co-occurrence is even more apparent. Fifteen Yoruba speakers produced at least an instance of both h-deletion

and h-insertion out of a possible 110 speakers, equating to just 13.4%. This low figure points to the independence of both processes.

This idea of h-deletion and h-insertion being independent processes is reinforced by a study like Schreier (2019), reviewed in Chapter 2, that showed h-insertion in Trista da Cunha English without corresponding h-deletion, though studies like that are in the minority, as shown in that chapter. Most studies in the literature review depict h-deletion and h-insertion as the same process, with h-insertion being the hypercorrect version of h-deletion. This is the case with studies on L1 English users. Mugglestone (2007, p. 119) and Lopez (2007, p. 163) exemplify the newly-rich English speaker as having both processes (h-insertion and h-deletion) co-occur, with insertion as the result of misapplication and overuse of [h]. This is also the case even in studies on L2 Englishes that have been reviewed in the same chapter, granted very few studies discuss h-insertion, but when they mention it like in Bobda's (2010) dialectal description of Sierra Leonean English, it is said to be a result of hypercorrection that goes hand in glove with h-deletion as reflected in the quote below:

> Krio language has become overwhelmingly the lingua franca of Sierra Leone and Krio culture permeates every aspect of Sierra Leonean life. Examples of Krio features in Sierra Leonean English include phonological features like /h/ deletion, for example, 'ammer, 'andsome, 'orrible (hammer, handsome, horrible) or corresponding hyper-correct /h/ insertion, as in [h]eat, [h]also, [h]element… (Bobda, 2010, p. 167).

Also, as mentioned in Chapter 2, when Bobda (2007) describes h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, he states, "/h/ (is) often silent in Yoruba and other southern accents; hypercorrect occurrence of /h/ is also heard" (p. 285).

However, the results show that the view that h-insertion is a hypercorrect version of h-deletion is undermined in the case of (educated) Nigerian Englishes. The results suggest that h-deletion is unlikely to be due to L1 transfer, as the case is for most of the other L2 varieties, some of which were discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, e.g. Tamil transfer to the English spoken by L2 speakers of Malaysian English (Baskaran, 2008); French transfer in the case of French English speakers (Janda & Auger 1992; Kamiyama et al., 2011); and Afrikaans substrate influence on South African English (Lass, 2009).

The exposition in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.2) showed that all the L1s reviewed in this study had [h] though, in the case of Igbos, certain regions like Onicha and Edda Igbo lacked [h] (Eme & Uba, 2016; Onumajuru, 2015; 2016). Again, [h] is rare in word-initial positions in Igbo, generally (Awde & Wambu, 2006). In the case of Yoruba, [h] is also rare in word-initial positions, as in Igbo (Igboanusi, 2006), and it does not appear at all when the token comes before the allophone [i], except in reduplicated words (Akinlabi, 1992). However, there is very marginal h-deletion and h-insertion among Igbo English speakers, and most Yoruba speakers also did not produce h-deletion and or h-insertion. In fact, Yoruba English speakers' tokens were produced more before the high front [i] vowel, something that L1 transfer would not have allowed. Also, L1 transfer would mean a lot more deletion than has been recorded in the data, and h-deletion irrespective of word origin. Furthermore, even though, as has been pointed out in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2.2.3), h-initial English loanwords into Yoruba are largely realised without the 'h', due to the rarity of h in word-initial positions in Yoruba, this does not seem to have affected h-production by the majority of Yoruba English speakers sampled in this study. In all, there is limited evidence of L1 transfer, at least in the h-deletion and h-insertion of the speakers examined here.

If L1 transfer, early English input and hypercorrection do not account for h-insertion and h-deletion in Nigerian English, what then accounts for h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes? I make some arguments for what accounts for h-deletion and h-insertion on the basis of the results generated in this study. It is important to note that these theories have been posited despite the low degree of h-deletion and h-insertion found, so they should be considered hedged.

H-deletion and h-insertion, when they occurred, were significantly influenced by several sociolinguistic and extralinguistic factors. Some of the reasons for the significance of these factors in constraining h-deletion (and h-insertion) and their implications are unknown, but in cases where these are known, they will be expanded on below.

Firstly, h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes, when it does occur, is constrained by a number of sociolinguistic factors. These factors are ethnicity, gender, the number of syllables, word type, and anteriority of the following vowel. Ethnicity was the most significant factor that influenced h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes, with Yoruba speakers significantly producing more h-deletion than Hausa and Igbo speakers. The implications of this will be discussed more in the sections on enregisterment and World Englishes. H-deletion was also gender constrained, with

significantly more Yoruba women producing h-deletion than Yoruba men. The number of syllables was another factor that constrained h-deletion for Yoruba women with significantly more h-deletion for produced in words with greater than two syllables like *habit*, *hamlet*, and *behaviour*. Anteriority of the following vowel and word type also constrained h-deletion for Yoruba women. These two factors interact, so that the highest deletion rates were found for tokens preceding front and central vowels, most predominantly the high front unrounded vowel /i/ in Here words, the low front unrounded vowel /a/ at the onset of the diphthong in How words, and the low central unrounded vowel /ä/ in content words like *habitual* and *habit*. At least for h-deletion in +front following phonetic context, as in Here words, this might be a phonetic occurrence. Bell and Holmes (1992) also found h-deletion to be significantly higher in Here words than in other words. It is unclear exactly why the other following phonetic contexts found to be significant in terms of anteriority of the following vowel would elicit h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes.

Other than these sociolinguistic factors considered in the study, as discussed in Section 8.2 above, lexical idiosyncrasy also influences h-deletion in Nigerian Englishes.

In terms of h-insertion, this is constrained sociolinguistically and extralinguistically. The number of syllables was the most significant factor that constrained h-insertion, with more insertion in words with three or more than three syllables, e.g., *honourable*, *honestly*, and *honesty*. Ethnicity and word type also constrained h-insertion, with significantly more Hausa and Yoruba speakers producing h-insertion in silent-h words, like the examples in the preceding sentence, than Igbo speakers.

Extralinguistically, I posit that h-insertion in silent-h words is also influenced by orthography. Significantly more h-insertion was produced in silent-h words, and all those who produced h-insertion in this word type did so in all or almost all instances of the tokens they produced, alluding to a systematicity in this category of h-insertion. The impact of orthography in Nigerian English is largely due to English being learnt, primarily, in formal settings, as has been discussed in Chapter 4, with books and spellings being guides for English language learning with L2 English teachers at all levels (Awonusi, 1994; Bamgbose, 1998; Igboanusi, 2006; Iyamu & Ogiegbaen, 2008; Olagbaju & Akinsowon, 2014). Indeed, another target word group whose pronunciation as reflected in the results could be traced to the impact of

orthography was Who words, where there were at least one Igbo and one Yoruba speaker who produced the 'h' in *who* and related words as [w][53] (see Appendix B15 for further breakdown).

It would also be worthwhile to account for h-insertion in vowel-initial words as it occurs mainly in the speech of Yoruba English speakers. It would be easy to think that vowel-initial h-insertion is a result of hypercorrection on the part of the speakers who produce it, at least in terms of it being the hypercorrect version of h-deletion. However, of the 14 speakers who produced insertion in this word type, only six had at least one instance of h-deletion. Again, as discussed in the preceding section, there is lexical idiosyncrasy involved in this category of h-insertion for the speakers who produced it.

One thing is clear and needs to be reiterated, the relative prominence of h-deletion and h-insertion for Yoruba speakers to some extent explains the association of this feature with Yoruba speakers and why it has been enregistered as what is known as the (Yoruba) 'h-factor'. This issue will be explored below in relation to the results of the study.

8.4. H-deletion and H-insertion and Their Enregisterment as the 'H-factor' in Nigerian Englishes

The results have established that h-deletion and h-insertion are significantly more prevalent ($p<0.001$) in Yoruba English at 9.5% overall deletion rate and 0.4% overall insertion rate than in the other Nigerian Englishes profiled in this study. However, for Yoruba speakers to be linked to h-deletion and h-insertion in studies, and for those features to be enregistered as an index of Yoruba identity, these features are expected to be ubiquitous in their speech. Studies like Eka (1985), Odumuh (1987), Awonusi (1990), Jowitt (1991), Udofot (2004), Gut (2004), and Josiah and Babatunde (2011) list h-deletion and h-insertion as features exclusive to Yoruba speakers. This view mirrors albeit exaggerated views on new media like Erhime (2014), Byorna (2016) and Adedoja (2019) give the perception of a consistent h-deletion and h-insertion rate for Yoruba speakers. These academic studies and the new media sources designate h-deletion and h-insertion as linguistic markers that set Yoruba English speakers apart from English speakers from other ethnic groups in Nigeria.

[53] Six instances by five Yoruba speakers; and two instances by two Igbo English speakers.

The results challenge the notion of total exclusivity in the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes since other ethnic groups studied also produced h-deletion and h-insertion, even if to a relatively non-significant degree than Yoruba speakers. The notion itself of features being enregistered as exclusive to a group of speakers when in actuality this is not true is not new. In Chapter 4, when this issue was discussed, some instances discussed were the cases of Pittsburghese (Johnstone & Baumgardt, 2004) and Yoopanese (Remlinger, 2009). Both of these varieties were said to be exclusive to speakers from the Pittsburgh and Keweenaw Peninsula, respectively. However, Johnstone and Baumgardt (2004) stated that the features enregistered as Pittsburghese were, in fact, common in central and western Pennsylvania and even throughout the United States; Remlinger (2009) noted the same thing, stating that the features that were enregistered as Yoopanese were common throughout northern United States (p. 119).

This, logically, brings up the issue of why features would be seen as exclusive when they are not and enregistered on the basis of perceived exclusivity, an issue that has been discussed extensively in Chapter 4. This question is especially necessary because h-deletion and h-insertion, as associated with the Yoruba South-West, are the only known enregistered shibboleths in Nigeria. In the case of h-deletion and h-insertion enregisterment as the 'h-factor', I have proposed that the enregisterment of these features is due to their association with the broader use of English in Nigeria, because of their use of English as an additional language, and their status as the most educated group in Nigeria. This is linked to their prominence in mass media, making their use of English and any perceived 'deviation' from 'standard English', in this case h-deletion and h-insertion, to be magnified.

The results of the study, showing a statistically significantly higher rate of h-deletion and h-insertion, correlate with the extralinguistic factors listed above. Because, compared to the use of these variables by other speakers, Yoruba speakers produce a significantly higher rate, their significant production of these variables in their use of English, which is made visible through mass media, is more pronounced. Thus, these variables are enregistered as preserves of Yoruba English speakers because they are significant perceived 'errors' in their use of English.

8.5. H-deletion and H-insertion and Their Implication on the Status of Nigerian Englishes in World Englishes Models

While a sociolinguistic viewpoint in terms of variationist and enregisterment approaches has provided some degree of insight into what the implications of h-deletion and h-insertion are in Nigerian Englishes, a World Englishes approach takes it even further by providing a bigger picture of what these findings mean for the overall status of English in Nigeria.

My account of where Nigerian Englishes belong in World Englishes framework, specifically Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model, with some factors from Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) EIF Model, was detailed in Chapter 5. In that chapter, I sought to answer Schneider's (2007) question "where to from here?" (p. 210). I theorised that Nigeria was between Phase 3, the nativisation phase, and Phase 4, the endonormative phase, where even though there are signs of phase 4 with components such as creativity in English, the Nigerian English (as opposed to English in Nigeria) terminology, as well as attempts at codification, an endonormative variety has still not been generally agreed on, accepted, or officially codified. I had added that the Dynamic Model does not take the heterogenous nature of many multilingual postcolonial L2 Englishes like Nigerian Englishes into account. This is because ethnic tensions and strife might prevent the emergence of a homogenous pan-ethnic variety which is necessary for Phase 4.

I had also mentioned in Chapter 5 that the fact that there were regional differences in Nigerian English, variables of which are the subject of this thesis, points to the fact that a pan-ethnic national variety does not exist in Nigeria. I added that as tempting as it would be to conclude that Nigerian English had skipped to Phase 5, the implications of that would be that Nigerian Englishes are regional varieties of British English, which is still the standard in principle, and this is not the case in Nigeria, as discussed in that chapter. So, even though Nigerian English is currently showing more signs of Phase 4, an endonormative variety is still far from being officially adopted and accepted.

Given the results presented in the previous chapter, which show a statistically significant higher rate in h-deletion and h-insertion among Yoruba speakers compared to Hausa and Igbo speakers, there is confirmation that h-insertion and h-deletion are significant sub-ethnic markers of educated Nigerian Englishes. This corroborates the hypothesis made in Chapter 5

that there is as yet no pan-ethnic variety established in the speech of educated Nigerian English speakers, who are prime examples of the English norm setters in Nigeria and have been sampled in this study since h-deletion and h-insertion are significant markers of a regional variety of English.

It is unclear if these features were more prevalent or not in educated Yoruba English than they are now since there are no relevant prior empirical studies to compare. It will be interesting to consider if h-deletion and h-insertion will spread to become pan-ethnic markers in educated Nigerian Englishes, like t-affrication has done in Ghanaian Englishes, given that the English spoken by the two other ethnic groups profiled, Igbo and Hausa Nigerian English speakers, feature insignificant rates of these variables. Whether these sub-ethnic markers will spread to become pan-ethnic markers will be a relevant topic for a future study on h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes.

8.6. Conclusion

The current chapter has discussed the findings of the thesis. The major findings discussed in this chapter, viz, the central role that ethnicity and individuals play in providing more information on h-deletion and h-insertion; the fact that h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes are independent processes; the implications of patterns of h-deletion and h-insertion for their enregisterment as the 'h-factor'; and the implications of the patterns of h-deletion and h-insertion for the status of English in World Englishes models have provided more insight on h-deletion and h-insertion in not only Nigerian Englishes but in other L2 varieties of English as well.

The next chapter concludes the thesis.

Chapter 9 – Conclusion

9.1. Introduction

The research questions posed in Chapter 1 of this thesis will be revisited and addressed below. This chapter will also discuss the implications of the findings in this research, the limitations of the study, and recommendations for future research.

9.2. Research Questions

The thesis has attempted to fill the gap in empirical research on post-colonial L2 Englishes on h-deletion and h-insertion to provide a nuanced view of what constrains these variables. It has also looked at how these variables index other social meanings resulting from extralinguistic factors in L2 environments. The following questions were posed at the beginning of the thesis to investigate h-deletion and h-insertion and their enregisterment in Nigerian Englishes as the so-called 'h-factor':

1. What is the frequency and sociolinguistic constraints of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes?
    i. How widespread are h-deletion and h-insertion in Educated Nigerian English in ICE-NG?
    ii. Also, given the relative preponderance of studies that ascribe this phenomenon solely to Educated Yoruba English, will this study find h-deletion and h-insertion in the other major varieties (Hausa Nigerian English and Igbo Nigerian English) and to what extent?
    iii. In addition to ethnicity, what sociolinguistic factors influence h-deletion and h-insertion in the varieties of Nigerian English studied?
2. What factors motivate the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as what is known as the 'h-factor' in Nigeria?
3. What do h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the status of English in Nigeria according to World Englishes models?

For the first question, as indicated, there are three parts.

The answer to the first part about how widespread h-deletion and h-insertion were in the educated Nigerian Englishes in ICE-NG is that h-deletion and h-insertion were low, overall, at 5.4% and 0.3%, respectively.

The second part of Question 1 asks whether, given what is said about h-deletion and h-insertion being exclusive preserves of Yoruba English speakers, there would be any or both of these variables found in the other educated Nigerian Englishes studied, i.e., Hausa and Igbo Englishes. The answer to that question is that there was significantly more h-deletion and h-insertion found in Yoruba English speakers as compared to Hausa and Igbo English speakers, who did produce h-deletion and h-insertion as well, but to a significantly lesser degree than what was found in Yoruba English speakers.

For the last part of Question 1, the sociolinguistic factors explored were word type, token position, stress, preceding phonetic context, following phonetic context in terms of anteriority and height, number of syllables, ethnicity, gender, profession, and social context. The results showed that ethnicity, word type, and gender significantly influenced h-deletion and h-insertion, as detailed in Chapters 7 and 8. In addition, the novel factors introduced in this study, i.e., number of syllables and following phonetic context (in terms of anteriority of the following vowel) significantly constrained h-deletion and h-insertion.

In terms of the sociolinguistic factors that constrained h-deletion, other than ethnicity, as outlined in Chapters 7 and 8, this variable was constrained by gender, number of syllables, word type, and the following phonetic context (in terms of anteriority of the following vowel). Significantly more Yoruba women produced h-deletion than more Yoruba men. The number of syllables was another factor that constrained h-deletion for Yoruba with significantly more h-deletion produced in words with more than two syllables like *habit*, *hamlet*, and *behaviour*. Anteriority of the following vowel and word type also constrained h-deletion for Yoruba women. These two factors correlate, so that the highest deletion rates were found for tokens preceding front and central vowels, most predominantly the high front unrounded vowel /i/ in Here words, the low front unrounded vowel /a/ at the onset of the diphthong in How words, and the low central unrounded vowel /ä/ in content words like *habitual* and *habit*. I also show that h-deletion is lexically idiosyncratic as evidenced in the instances of h-deletion by the highest deleters profiled in Chapter 7 (Section 7.4), an example of whom is Les_10, who produced h-deletion mostly in habit type words (i.e., *habit*, *habitual*).

In terms of h-insertion, this is also constrained sociolinguistically by factors other than ethnicity. The number of syllables was the most significant factor that constrained h-insertion, with more insertion in words with three or more than three syllables, e.g., *honourable*, *honestly*, and *honesty*. Word type also constrained h-insertion, with significantly more h-insertion in silent-h words compared to vowel-initial words. Like in the case of h-deletion, there was evidence of idiosyncrasy in the vowel-initial words category of h-insertion, for instance, by Dem_02, who produced most vowel-initial insertions in words like *onion* and *oil*. Other than these, h-insertion, in silent-h words, is also constrained extralinguistically. I posit that orthography influences silent-h h-insertion because of the significantly higher rate of h-insertion in silent-h words and the insertion in all or most instances of tokens produced. This is also linked to how English is learnt in Nigeria. English is primarily learnt in formal settings with books as a guide, as pointed out in previous chapters.

Question 2 focuses on what factors motivate the enregisterment of h-deletion and h-insertion as the 'h-factor' in Nigeria.

I answer this question in Chapter 4 (Section 4.7) and the discussion chapter (Section 8.4). In these sections, I posit that extralinguistic factors like the relatively more prominent use of English in all domains in the Yoruba South-West, being the most educated group in Nigeria, and their visibility in mass media influence the enregisterment of h-insertion and h-deletion. These factors correspond to the significant salience of h-deletion and h-insertion in Yoruba English compared to speakers of other ethnicities sampled. So that h-deletion and h-insertion, I theorise, are enregistered as a marker of Yoruba identity because they are salient markers of perceived 'errors' in the use of 'standard' English by a group that proficient 'standard' English is expected from because of their use of English as an additional language and being the most educated group in Nigeria. This use of English, with the salient h-deletion and h-insertion, is magnified because of the relative visibility of the group in mass media.

The final question looks at a broader implication of h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes. The question asked in this respect was: What do h-deletion and h-insertion mean for the status of English in Nigeria according to World Englishes models?

I have employed Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model with factors from Buschfeld & Kautzsch's (2017) EIF Model to answer this question. I have chosen Schneider's Dynamic Model since it is perhaps one of the most popular World Englishes frameworks for Post-colonial Englishes like Nigerian English, and it does include a profile of Nigerian English (in Schneider, 2007). I have charted the status of Nigerian Englishes in the Dynamic Model, situating it between Phase 3 and Phase 4 because there is no pan-ethnic variety accepted and codified as a carrier of identity. I have then gone on to posit in Chapter 8 (Section 8.5) that h-deletion and h-insertion corroborate the theory that there is no pan-ethnic variety of Nigerian Englishes since these variables are significant sub-ethnic markers of an educated Nigerian English variety. Finally, I have observed that Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model fails to account for the level of heterogeneity of multilingual IDG-dominated varieties like Nigerian Englishes, since there is the possibility that these varieties might never attain or complete Phases 4 and 5 due to ethnic tensions and strife that could mean that an ethnically homogeneous national variety might never emerge as an identity carrier.

9.3. Implications of the Study for Enregisterment Studies

This study is principally relevant to enregisterment studies in L2 Englishes like Nigerian Englishes because of its focus on the under-researched L2 English-speaking communities. This research has shown that for countries like Nigeria, enregisterment goes beyond social status signalling or community pride, as is common in L1 English, in this case, it is the prominence of an ethnic group in domains where English is used, including Western education, and their relative visibility in mass media. This prominence is also linked to the fact that during the colonial era, mass media and Western education, in terms of the printing press and schools, were first established in the Yoruba speaking South-West, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Thus, the implications of this study for enregisterment studies in the relatively under-researched post-colonial L2 community is extensive; not just for variables like h-deletion and h-insertion, but also for those on other variables that have been enregistered for reasons other than status and community pride signalling. Some examples of these variables would be mid-word and final schwa in South African English and yod deletion in Fiji. In the case of the former, Mesthrie (2017), as has been pointed out in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2), mentioned that this variable was enregistered to index a broad Black South African English (BSAE) speaker with the social meaning of cheap and comical being assigned (p. 322). This is the only point

where this is mentioned though, apart from two other mentions in footnotes (pp. 322, 326), and the study does not explore this concept of enregisterment further.

Similarly, Yod deletion in Fiji English would greatly benefit from an enregisterment study such as this. A study like Tent (2001) has already uncovered the fact that the variable was used more by some speech communities than others that would be considered relatively 'non-native', i.e., Indo-Fijians and acrolectal part-Europeans, and male speakers, but since this was only studied using a variationist approach, nothing further is made of these results. I believe an enregisterment analysis like this one would greatly benefit this variable.

9.4. The Limitations of the Study

Despite judging ICE-NG as being appropriate for this study because of the convenience of getting representative data across the ethnic groups for a time-limited research work like a PhD thesis, and although the corpus has been used successfully in sociolinguistic studies on Nigerian English, even in recent times (Choon et al., 2012; Akinlotan & Housen, 2017; Gut & Fuchs, 2017; Agbo & Plag, 2018; Dyrenko & Fuchs, 2018, Obiegbu, 2018; Unuaboh & Oladipupo, 2018), there are still some limitations that need to be stated here.

Perhaps the most pertinent one is the size and representativeness of the data because the corpus was not designed solely for the study of h-deletion and h-insertion. Even with just data from the three ethnic groups this study focuses on, there are inequalities in the number of tokens and speakers across the ethnic groups,[54] which might have affected the results of the study. Other limitations that stem from the use of corpus data have been outlined in Chapter 6 (Sections 6.2 and 6.3), some of which were issues with the audio and incorrect and or unavailable metadata, such as age and location of speakers.

And, while the results are to be interpreted with these limitations in mind, they do not take away from the relevant and original findings that the study has provided on h-deletion and h-insertion, in general, and their enregisterment in Nigerian Englishes.

[54] There were 60 Hausa participants, 132 Igbo participants, and 382 Yoruba participants, as presented in Table 8.

9.5. Recommendations for Future Research

While the study has focused on h-deletion and h-insertion, their enregisterment in Nigerian Englishes, and what these variables mean for the status of Nigerian Englishes in terms of World Englishes, its findings and methodology can certainly be applied to other phonological shibboleths, especially in L2 English-speaking countries like Nigeria. Apart from the shibboleths that had been mentioned in Section 9.3, there are several other phonological shibboleths in L2 English-speaking countries like the devoicing of /z/ and /g/ by Bemba Zambian English speakers (as described in such studies as Tripathi, 1990; Chikuta, 2017); [l ~ r] alternation in some southern varieties of Ghanaian English (as described in such studies as Gyasi, 1991; Huber, 2008; Obeng, 2010); and the same [l ~ r] feature in Kenyan English which is described by Schmied (2004) as a 'subnational identifier' (p. 159) in the country with Gikuyu Kenyan English speakers favouring [r] and Embu Kenyan English speakers favouring [l]; /t/affrication in Ghanaian English (as described in such studies as Huber, 2008, 2014; Brato, 2012, 2015, 2020), etc. All the variables listed have an element of indexing ethnic identity, at least at some point, some others have been said to transcend this to become pan-ethnic (e.g., /t/ affrication in Ghanaian English which was said to be a sub-ethnic marker for educated Fante English speakers but is now pan-ethnic as it is present in the educated English spoken by other ethnic groups - Brato, 2015, 2020). These variables would greatly benefit from a multidisciplinary, comprehensive approach like the one used in the current study, which ensures that a true picture of not just linguistic but extralinguistic factors that constrain such shibboleths is discovered.

The study has examined h-deletion and h-insertion within the constraints of old and existing factors and found that new factors like number of syllables and following phonetic contexts would benefit studies on the variables. It is recommended that these are applied to studies on h-deletion and h-insertion and other related studies.

The current study has also employed corpus data in studying h-deletion and h-insertion and how the findings explain the enregisterment of these variables as what is known as the 'h-factor' in Nigerian Englishes. It would be interesting to find out if findings will be different if the data is collected via sociolinguistic interviews, as these interviews will be targeted to specific relevant h-tokens and factors. Given the limitations outlined previously on the use of corpus data, such data collection methods as sociolinguistic interviews by the researcher would

complement the current study. It would allow the data to be tailored to several related questions, including covering more bases that corpus-based research like the current one cannot cover.

Another recommendation for further studies would be solely applying the EIF Model to Nigerian Englishes to chart the development of this English from the foundational phase. This study has mainly used relevant factors from the EIF Model to answer Schneider's (2007) question, "Where to from here?" for Nigerian English. It will be beneficial for further studies on Nigerian Englishes to explore the developmental history of the varieties with the EIF Model. Indeed, the EIF Model seems to have become a contemporary reference Model for World Englishes with Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2020) volume focusing on the EIF Model and its applicability to World Englishes from English English (Upton, 2020) to Indian English (Labade, Lange, & Leuckert, 2020), Ghanaian English (Brato, 2020); English in South Korea (Rüdiger, 2020), English in Japan (Ike & D'Angelo, 2020), etc.

Finally, it will be worthwhile to revisit h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes in a future study, as mentioned in the previous chapter, to determine whether or not the feature has spread in educated Nigerian Englishes.

Overall, the thesis is the first extensive study into h-deletion and h-insertion in Nigerian Englishes, how these have been enregistered as 'the h-factor', and what they mean for the status of English in Nigeria. It is hoped that it has given more insight into a hitherto understudied L2 English subject and is relevant not just to the same but to the sociolinguistic and World Englishes studies of variables and varieties in other settings as well.

References

Abegunrin, O. (2009). Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflicts in Africa. *Africa in Global Politics in the Twenty-First Century,* 83 - 111.

Achebe, C. (2012). *There Was a Country: A Personal History of Biafra*. USA/Great Britain: Penguin Press.

Acholonu, C., Penfield, J., & Okezie, J. (1980). Linguistic Processes of Lexical Innovation in Igbo. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 22(3), 118 – 130.

Adamu, H. (1973). *The North and Nigerian Unity*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.

Adamu, A., & Ocheni, D. (2016). Ethnic Politics and the Challenges of National Integration in Nigeria. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance,* 7(7), 1 – 20.

Adebanwi, W. (2004). The City, Hegemony and Ethno-Spatial Politics: The Press and the Struggle for Lagos in Colonial Nigeria. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics,* 4, 25 – 51.

Adedoja, P. (2019, January 23). *Dealing with the H factor* [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i8Ob3OAlaa4.

Adegbija, E. (2004). *Multilingualism: A Nigerian Case Study*. New Jersey/Eritrea: African World Press.

Adegbite, W., Udofot, I., & Ayoola, K. (2014). *A Dictionary of Nigerian English*. Ile Ife: Obafemi Awolowo University Press.

Adelekan, I. (2010). Vulnerability of Poor Urban Coastal Communities to Flooding in Lagos, Nigeria. *Environment and Urbanization,* 22(2), 433 – 450.

Adeniran, A. (1978). Personalities and Policies in the Establishment of English in Northern Nigeria During the British Colonial Administration, 1900 – 1943. *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 9(2), 105 – 126.

Adesanoye, F. (2004). The English Language in Nigeria: The Case of a Vanishing Model. In K. Owolabi & A. Dasylva (Eds.), Forms and Functions of English and Indigenous Languages in Nigeria, (pp. 507 – 522), Ibadan: Group Publishers.

Adewunmi, B. (2010). The H factor. *Yoruba Girl Dancing*. [Blog Post] Retrieved from http://yorubagirldancing.com/the-h-factor

Adomi, E. (2005). Internet Development and Connectivity in Nigeria. *Program Electronic Library and Information Systems*, 39(3), 257 – 268.

Agbakwuru, C. (2013). Ethnic Prejudice and the Problem of Peaceful Co-existence in Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(5), 86 – 93.

Agbo, O., & Plag, I. (2018). *The Relationship of Nigerian Pidgin English and Standard English in Nigeria: Evidence from Copula Constructions*. Submitted for Publication. Retrieved from http://www.anglistik.hhu.de/fileadmin/redaktion/Fakultaeten/Philosophische_Fakultaet/Anglistik_und_Amerikanistik/Ang3_Linguistics/Dateien/Detailseiten/Plag/2018/AgboPlag_2018-03-18.pdf

Agbo, P., Okoye, K., Uwaegbute, K., & Agbo, C. (2021). From Nigeria/Biafra War to Increasing Ethnic Conflict: The Imperative of Nehemiah's Administrative Strategy? *African Renaissance*, 18(1), 91 – 114.

Agha, A. (2003). The Social Life of Cultural Value. *Language and Communication*, 23, 231-273.

Agha, A. (2006). The Social Life of Cultural Value. In *Language and Social Relations* (pp. 190 – 232). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Agu, O. (1991). Songs and War: The Mixed Messages of Biafran War Songs. *African Languages and Cultures,* 4(1), 5 – 19.

Ajani, T. (2007). Is There Indeed a 'Nigerian English'? *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences,* 1(1), 9 – 26.

Ajayi, I., & Ekundayo, H. (2008). The Deregulation of University Education in Nigeria: Implications for Quality Assurance. *Nebula,* 5(4), 212 – 224.

Akande, O., & Ojukuku, R. (2008). The Impact of Entrepreneurial Skills on Small Business Performance in Lagos - South-Western Nigeria. *World Conference*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: International Council for Small Business.

Akande, A., & Salami, L. (2010). Use and Attitudes towards Nigerian Pidgin English among Nigerian University Students. In R. Millar (Ed.), *Marginal Dialects: Scotland, Ireland and Beyond*, (pp. 70 – 89), Aberdeen: Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ireland.

Ake, C. (1993). What is the Problem of Ethnicity in Africa? *Transformation 22,* 1 – 14.

Akere, F. (1981). Sociological Consequences of Language Contact: English Versus Nigerian Languages. *Language Sciences: A World Journal of the Sciences of Language*, 3(2), 282 – 304.

Akers, G. (1981). *Phonological Variation in the Jamaican Continuum*. Ann Arbor, MI: Karoma.

Akinlabi, A. (1992). Supraglottal Deletion in Yoruba Glides. In: D. Bates (Ed.), *The Proceedings of the Tenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* (pp. 13 – 26). US: Centre for the Study of language and Information.

Akinlotan, M., & Housen, A. (2017). Noun Phrase Complexity in Nigerian English. *English Today,* 31 – 38.

Akinwale, A. (2013). Yoruba Traditional Education System: A Veritable Tool for Salvaging the Crisis Laden Education System in Nigeria. Academic Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies, 2(6), 141 - 145.

Akpan, N., Nwokah, I., & Andem, A. (2018). The Clamour for Political Restructuring and the Challenges of National Integration in Nigeria. *American Research Journal of Humanities Social Sciences.* 1(3), 10 – 17.

Amadi, D., & Nnamani, U. (2014). How the Issues of Secession and Confederation Could Have Prevented the Nigeria-Biafra War. *Global Journal of Arts Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2(4), 20 – 25.

Alo, M., & Igwebuike, E. (2012). The Grammaticality and Acceptability of Nigerianisms: Implications for the Codification of Nigerian English. *Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association*, 15(1), 14 - 32.

Alubo, O. (2004). Citizenship and Nation Making in Nigeria: New Challenges and Contestations. *Identity, Culture and Politics*, 5(1-2), 135 - 161.

Angerbrandt, H. (2011). Political Decentralisation and Conflict: The Sharia Crisis in Kaduna, Nigeria. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 1(29), 15 – 31.

Antoninis, M. (2014). Tackling the largest Global Education Challenge? Secular and Religious Education in Northern Nigeria. *World Development*, 59, 82 - 92.

Anyanwu, O. (2010). Experiment with Mass University Education in Post-civil War Nigeria, 1970-1979. *Journal of Nigeria Studies*, 1(1), 1 - 36.

Aremu M. (2015). A Pragmatic Analysis of Nigerianisms in the English Usage in Soyinka's Death and the King's Horseman. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 8(5), 92 – 114.

Ashby, M., & Maidment, J. (2005). *Introducing Phonetic Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Attah, N. (2013). Contesting Exclusion in a Multi-Ethnic State: Rethinking Ethnic Nationalism in Nigeria. *Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 19(5), 607 – 620.

Awde, N., & Wambu, O. (2006). *Igbo-English English-Igbo Dictionary and Phrasebook*. New York: Hippocrene Books.

Awonusi, V. (1986). Regional Accents and Internal Variability in Nigerian English: A Historical analysis. *English Studies*, 555 – 560.

Awonusi, V. (1990). Coming of Age: English in Nigeria. *English Today*, 22, 31 – 35.

Awonusi, V. (1994). The Americanization of Nigerian English. *World Englishes*, 13(1), 75 – 82.

Awonusi, V. (2004). Some Characteristics of Nigerian English Phonology. In A. Dadzie & S. Awonusi. (Eds.), *Nigerian English: Influences and Characteristics* (pp. 203 - 225). Lagos: Concept Publications.

Ayandele, E. (1979). *Nigerian Historical Studies*. New Jersey: Frank Cass and Company Limited.

Ayeomoni, M. (2006). Code-Switching and Code-Mixing: Style of Language Use in Childhood in Yoruba Speech Community. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 15(1), 90 – 99.

Ayo, C., Adewoye, J., & Oni, A. (2011). Business-to-Consumer E-commerce in Nigeria: Prospects and Challenges. *African Journal of Business Management,* 5(13), 5109 – 5117.

Balogun, T. (2013). An Endangered Nigerian Indigenous Language: The Case of Yoruba Language. *African Nebula*, 6, 79 – 82.

Bamgbose, A. (1982). Standard Nigerian English: Issues of Identification. In B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*, (pp. 148 – 161), Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Bamgbose*,* A. (1995). English in the Nigerian Environment. In: A. Bamgbose*,* A. Banjo & A. Thomas (Eds.), *New Englishes: A West African Perspective*, (pp. 9 – 26), Ibadan: Mosuro.

Bamgbose, A. (1998). Torn between the Norms: Innovations in World Englishes. *World Englishes*, 17(1), 1 – 14.

Bamidele, O. (2019). *The /h/ Phenomenon: Overgeneralised or Confused? The Nigerian Yoruba-English Speakers as a Case Study*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation, West Virginia University. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333264276_THE_h_PHENOMENON_OVERGENERALISED_OR_CONFUSED_THE_NIGERIAN_YORUBA-ENGLISH_SPEAKERS_AS_A_CASE_STUDY

Bamidele, S. (2020). Ethnic Conflict and the Politics of Spoils in Nigeria. *Social Change*, 50(4), 569 – 583.

Bamiro, E. (1991). Nigerian Englishes in Nigerian English Literature. *World Englishes*, 10(1), 7 – 17.

Bamiro, E. (1994). Lexico-Semantic Variation in Nigerian English. *World Englishes*, 13, 47 - 60.

Bamiro, E. (2006). Nativization Strategies: Nigerianisms at the Intersection of Ideology and Gender in Achebe's Fiction. *World Englishes*, 25(3-4), 315 – 328.

Banjo, A. (1971). Toward a Definition of 'Standard Nigerian Spoken English'. *Acte due Be congress de la Societe Linguistique de l'Afrique Occidentale* (pp. 166 - 175). Abidjan: Universite d'Abidjan.

Banjo, A. (1993). An Endonormative Model for Teaching of the English Language in Nigeria. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 3(2), 261 – 275.

Barrera, B. (2015). *A Sociolinguistic Study of T-glottalling in Young RP: Accent, Class and Education*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Essex, Essex. Retrieved from http://repository.essex.ac.uk/16806/1/PhD%20Thesis_Library%20%28Badia%20Barrera%29.pdf

Bashirnezhad, M., & Zargham, G. (2017). A Comparative Typology on Phonological System of Russian, English and Persian Languages. *International Journal of Educational Investigations*, 4(5): 38 – 52.

Baskaran, L. (2008). Malaysian English: Phonology. In: B. Kortmann, E. Schneider, K. Burridge, R. Mesthrie, & C. Upton (Eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English* (pp. 1047 – 1063), Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bateman, H. (1969). *The Man Who Drew the 20th Century: The Drawings of H.M. Bateman*. London: Macdonald and Co.

Battabox. (2016, March 25). *How Difficult to Get a Factory Job in Nigeria* [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YFL39IaFve0

BBC News. (2014, February 26). Nigeria Leads in Religious Belief. *BBC*. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/wtwtgod/3490490.stm/

Beal, J. (2009). Enregisterment, Commodification and Historical Context: "Geordie" versus "Sheffieldish". *American Speech*, 84(2), 138 - 156.

Bekker, I. (2009). *The Vowels of South African English*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, North-West University, Potchefstroom. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/26989755_The_vowels_of_South_African_English_Ian_Bekker

Beinhoff, B. (2013*). Perceiving Identity through Accent: Attitudes towards Non-native Speakers and Their Accents in English*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang.

Bell, A., & Holmes, J. (1992). H-Droppin': Two Sociolinguistic Variables in New Zealand English. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 12(2), 223 – 248.

Bennett, J. (2012). 'And What Comes out May Be a Kind of Screeching': The Stylisation of Chavspeak in Contemporary Britain. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 16(1), 5 - 27.

Bishop, H., Coupland, N., & Garrett, P. (2005). Conceptual Accent Evaluation: 30 Years of Accent Prejudice in the UK. *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia: International Journal of Linguistics*, 37(1), 131 – 154.

Blench, R., & Dendo, M. (2005). *A Dictionary of Nigerian English*. [Online]. Retrieved from http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/English/Nigerian%20English%20Dictionary.pdf

Bobda, A. (2003). The Formation of Regional and National Features in African English Pronunciation: An Exploration of Some Non-Interference Factors. *English Worldwide*, 24 (1), 17 - 42.

Bobda, A. (2007). Some Segmental Rules of Nigerian English Phonology. *English Worldwide*, 28(3), 279 – 310.

Bobda, A. (2010). Comparing Some Phonological Features across African Accents of English. *English Studies*, 3, 249 – 266.

Bok, L. (2004). *The Little Book of Chav Speak*. Surrey: Crombie Jardine Publishing Limited.

Brann, C. (1991). Language and Ethnicity in Nigeria. *International Review of Sociology*, 2(1) 122 - 144.

Brato, T. (2012). *A Sociophonetic Study of Aberdeen English: Innovation and Conservatism*. PhD Thesis, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen. Retrieved from https://d-nb.info/1064023126/34

Brato, T. (2015). A Pilot of Acoustic Features of Word-Final Affricated /t/ and /ts/ in Educated Ghanaian English. In R. Calbrese, J. Chambers & G. Leitner (Eds.), *Variation and Change in Postcolonial Contexts* (pp. 61 – 77). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Brato, T. (2020). English in Ghana: Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces in a Developmental Perspective. In S. Buschfeld & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach to Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Varieties* (pp. 371 - 396). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Britain, D. (2002). Space and Spatial Diffusion. In J. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (pp. 603 - 637). Oxford: Blackwell.

Britishcouncil.org. (2014). *Girls' Education in Nigeria: Issues, Influencers and Actions*. Retrieved from https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/british-council-girls-education-nigeria-report.pdf

Brosnahan, L. (1958). English in Southern Nigeria. *English Studies*. 39(1-6), 97 – 110.

Buschfeld, S., & Kautzsch, A. (2017). Towards an Integrated Approach to Postcolonial and Non-postcolonial Englishes. *World Englishes*, 36(1), 104 – 126.

Buschfeld, S., Kautzsch, A., & Schneider, E. (2018). From Colonial Dynamism to Current Transnationalism: A Unified View on Postcolonial and Non-postcolonial Englishes. In S. Deshors (Ed.), *Modelling World Englishes* (pp. 15 – 44), Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Buschfeld, S., & Kautzsch, A. (Eds.). *Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach to Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Varieties*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bybee, J. (2002). Word Frequency and Context of Use in the Lexical Diffusion of Phonetically Conditioned Sound Change. *Language Variation and Change*, 14, 261 - 290.

Byorna, I. (2016, July 29). *How to Get Rid of H-factor* [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oKcd4RENLQc

Canci, H. & Odukoya, O. (2016). Ethnic and Religious Crises in Nigeria: A Specific Analysis of Identities (1999 – 2013). *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 16(1), 87 – 110.

Cassidy, F., & LePage, R. (1980). *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chambers, J., & Trudgill, P. (1998). *Dialectology* (2nd Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chav. (2015). In *OED*. Retrieved from http://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/11125

Cheshire, J., Fox, S., Kerswill, P., & Torgesen, E. (2008). Ethnicity, Friendship Network and Social Practices as the Motor of Dialect Change: Linguistic Innovation in London. In U. Ammon & K. Mattheier (Eds.), *Sociolinguistica: International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics*, 22(1), 1 – 23.

Cheshire, J., Fox, S., Kerswill, P., & Torgesen, E. (2013). Language Contact and Language Change in the Multicultural Metropolis. *Revue Francaise de Linguistique Appliquee*, 2(18), 63 – 76.

Childs, B., Reaser, J., & Wolfram, W. (2003). Defining Ethnic Varieties in the Bahamas: Phonological Accommodation in Black and White Enclave Communities. In M. Aceto & J. Williams (Eds.), *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean* (pp. 19 – 59). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Childs, B., & Wolfram, W. (2008). Bahamian English: Phonology. In E. Schneider (Ed.), *Varieties of English 2: The Americans and the Caribbean* (pp. 239 – 255). Berlin/New York: Mouton.

Chiluwa, I. (2008). Religious Vehicles Stickers in Nigeria: A Discourse of Identity, Faith and Social Vision. *Discourse and Communication,* 2(4), 371 – 387.

Chikuta, P. (2017). *An Investigation of Phonological Variations in the English Spoken by Indigenous Zambians as Used in the Media*. Unpublished Master's Dissertation, The University of Zambia. Retrieved from http://dspace.unza.zm/handle/123456789/5549

Choon, A., Fuchs, R., Gut, U., Ifukor, P., & Soneye, T. (2012). H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian English. *International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English (ICAME 33)*, Leuven, Belgium. Retrieved from http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.be/icame33/_pdf/icame33abstracts.pdf

Coetzee, A. (2009). An Integrated Grammatical/Non-grammatical Model of Phonological Variation. In K.Young-Se, Y. Jong-Yurl, Y. Hyunkyung, T. Sze-Wing, K. Yong-Soon, J.

Youngjun, K. Chul, K. Kyoung-Ae, & K. Hye-Kyung (Eds), *Current Issues in Linguistic Interfaces*, Volume 2 (pp. 267 – 294). Seoul: Hankookmunhwasa.

Cohen, J. (1960). A Coefficient of Agreement for Nominal Scales. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 20, 37 - 46.

Columnists (2015, April 26). Common Mistakes [Newspaper Article]. The Nation. Retrieved from https://thenationonlineng.net/common-mistakes/

Creissels, D. (1989). *Apercu sur les Structures Phonoloqyes des Langues Negro-Africaines*. Grenoble: Ellug.

Crowder, M. (1962). *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Faber and Faber.

Crowder, M., & Ikime, O. (1970). Introduction. In M. Crowder & O. Ikime (Eds.), *West African Chiefs: Their Changing Status under Colonial Rule and Independence* (pp. vii–xxviii). New York: African Publishing Corporation.

Dada, S. (2007). Language Contact and Language Conflict: The Case of Yoruba-English Bilinguals. *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*, 29, 85 – 113.

Danladi, S. (2013). Language Policy: Nigerian and the Role of English Language in the 21st Century. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(17), 1 – 21.

Davis, M. (1973). Negotiating about Biafran Oil. *Issue: A Journal of Opinion,* 3, 23 – 32.

Davis, T., & Kalu-Nwiwu, A. (2001). Education, Ethnicity and National Integration in the History of Nigeria: Continuing Problems of Africa's Colonial Legacy. *The Journal of Negro History*, 86(1): 1 – 11.

Deterding, D., & Poedjosoedarmo, G. (2000). To What Extent Can the Ethnic Group of young Singaporeans Be Identified from Their Speech? In A. Brown, D. Deterding, & E. Low (Eds.), *The English Language in Singapore: Research on Pronunciation,* (pp. 1 - 9). Singapore: SAAL.

Devonish, H., & Seiler, W. (1991). *A Reanalysis of the Phonological System of Jamaican Creole*. Society for Caribbean Linguistics Occasional Papers 24.

Dong, J. (2010). The Enregisterment of Putonghua in Practice. *Language and Communication: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 265-274.

Dubois, S., & Horvath, B. (1998). Let's Tink about Dat: Interdental Fricatives in Cajun English. *Language Variation and Change*, 10, 245 -261.

Dyrenko, N., & Fuchs, N. (2018). The Diphthongs of Formal Nigerian English: A Preliminary Acoustic Analysis. *Proceedings of Interspeech*, 2563 – 2567.

Eberhard, D., Simons, G., & Fennig, C. (Eds.) (2019). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 22nd Ed. Texas: SIL International.

Ejembi, C., Alti-Muazu, M., Chirdan, O., Ezeh, H., Sheidu, S., & Dahiru, T. (2004). Utilization of Maternal Health Services by Rural Hausa Women in Zaria Environs, Northern Nigeria: Has Primary Health Care Made a Difference? *Journal of Community Medicine and Primary Health Care*, 16(2), 47 – 54.

Eka, D. (1985). *Phonological Study of Standard Nigerian English*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria.

Ekechi, F. (1972). *Missionar*y *Enterprise and Rivalry in Igboland*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited.

Ekeh, P. (1975). Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17(1), 91 – 112.

Ekong, P. (1982). On the Use of an Indigenous Model for Teaching English in Nigeria. *World Englishes*, 87 – 92.

Ekpe, M. (2011). Nigerian English in the Determinant Triangle. *Studies in Literature and Language***,** 2(2), 93 - 99

Ellis, A. (1889). *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects, Compared with That of West Saxon Speech*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Ellis, A. (1890). *English Dialects, Their Sounds and Homes: Being an Abridgment of the Author's Existing Phonology of English Dialects*. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

Eme, C., & Uba, E. (2016). A Contrastive Study of the Phonology of Igbo and Yoruba. *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 17(1), 65 – 84.

Emenanjo, E. (1976). *Aspects of the Phonology and Morphophonemics of Onicha (A Dialect of Igbo*). Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria.

Enwerem, I. (1995). *A Dangerous Awakening: The Politicization of Religion in Nigeria*. Ibadan: IFRA.

Erhime, A. (2014, May 23). Accents: Yoruba Versus British [Blog Post]. *Erimzy*. Retrieved from https://erimzy.wordpress.com/2014/05/23/accents-yoruba-versus-british/

Evans, B. (2005). **"**The Grand Daddy of English": US, UK, New Zealand and Australian Students' Attitudes toward Varieties of English. In N. Langer, & W. Davies (Eds.), *Linguistic Purism in the Germanic Languages*, (pp. 240 – 251), Berlin: De Gruyter.

Evans, S. (2009). The Evolution of the English-Language Speech Community in Hong Kong. *English World-Wide,* 30(3), 278 – 301.

Eyisi, J. (2015). *Accuracy in the Use of English*. National Open University of Nigeria 9th Inaugural Lecture.

Ezema, P. (2012). The English Language, Politics and the Issues of Multi-Ethnicity in Nigeria. *International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences*, 4, 25 – 31.

Fafunwa, A. (1974). *History of Education in Nigeria*. London: Macmillian Publishers.

Fagyal, Z. (2006). *French: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fakeye, D., & Ogunsiji, Y. (2009). English Language Proficiency as a Predictor of Academic Achievement among EFL Students in Nigeria. *European Journal of Scientific Research*, 3, 490 – 495.

Faleye, J. (2014). Variant Word Stress Patterns in the Spoken English of Selected Nigerian Teachers. *Covenant Journal of Language Studies (CJLS)*, 2(1), 46 – 66.

Falola, T. (2004). Ethnicity & Nigerian Politics: The Past in the Yoruba Present. In B. Berman, W. Kymlicka, & D. Eyoh (Eds.), *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa* (pp. 148 – 166). Suffolk: James Currey Ltd.

Famakin, O. (2014, April 27). Ope's Opinions: The H Factor. *Welcome to My Mind*. [Blog Post] Retrieved from. http://opeyemifamakin.blogspot.com/2014/05/the-h-factor.html.

Faraclas, N. 1996. *Nigerian Pidgin*. London: Routledge.

Faraclas, N. (2004). Nigerian Pidgin English: Morphology and Syntax. In: B. Kortmann, K. Burridge, R. Mesthrie, E. Schneider, & C. Upton (Eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English: 2*, (pp. 828 – 853). New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fasan, R. (2015). 'Wetin dey Happen?': Wazobia, Popular Arts, and Nationhood. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 1(27), 7 – 19.

Features Editor. (2013, August 27). Opinion: Wizkid, Broke People, and the H Factor. *The Herald.* Retrieved from https://www.herald.ng/opinion-wizkid-broke-people-and-the-h-factor/

Ferguson, C. (1983). Sports Announcer Talk: Syntactic Aspects of Register Variation. *Language in Society*, 12, 153 – 172.

Fleiss, J. (1971). Measuring Nominal Scale Agreement among Many Raters. *Psychological Bulletin*, 76(5), 378 - 382.

Fleiss, J., Levin, B., & Paik, M. (2003). *Statistical Methods for Rates and Proportions*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Fowler, H. (2009). *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage: The Classic First Edition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fox, S. (2017). Cockney. In A. Bergs & L. Brinton (Eds.), *The History of English* (pp. 187 – 209). Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.

Furedi, F. (1990). Britain's Colonial Wars: Playing the Ethnic Card. *The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics,* 28(1), 70 – 89.

Furnival, F. (1882). *The Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate London: A.D. 1387 – 1439; With a Priest's of 1454*. London/New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Garcia-Castro, L. (2020). Finite and Non-finite Complement Clauses in Postcolonial Englishes. *World Englishes*. 39(3), 411 - 426.

Gbagaun-Free Grammar. (2011, October 14). The Hirony of the 'H' Factor [Blog Post]. *Better Grammar*. Retrieved from http://bettergrammar.blogspot.co.uk/2011/10/hirony-of-h-factor.html

Giles, H. (1971). Patterns of Evaluation to RP, South Welsh and Somerset Accented Speech. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 10(3), 280 – 281.

Gordon, E., Campbell, L., Hay, J., Maclagan, M., Sudbury, A., & Trudgill, P. (2004). *New Zealand English: Its Origins and Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gordon, E. (2012). Standard New Zealand English. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *Standards of English: Codified Varieties around the World* (pp. 318 - 335). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Graham, M., Milan, A., & Miller, J. (2012). Measuring and Promoting Inter-Rater Agreement of Teacher and Principal Performance Ratings. *Center for Educator Compensation Reform*. Retrieved from cecr.ed.gov/pdfs/Inter_Rater.pdf

Greenbaum, S. (1988). A Proposal for an International Computerized Corpus of English. *World Englishes*, 7(3), 237 – 363.

Greenbaum, S., & Nelson, G. (1996). The International Corpus of English (ICE) Project. *World Englishes*, 15(1), 3 – 15.

Grimson, A. (1975). *A Practical Course of English Pronunciation*. London: Edward Arnold.

Gut, U. (2004). Nigerian English: Phonology. In B Kortmann, E. Schneider, K. Burridge, R. Mesthrie, & C. Upton (Eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English* (pp. 813 – 840). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gut, U. (2005). Nigerian English Prosody. *English World-Wide*, 26(2), 153 – 177.

Gut, U. (2014). *ICE Nigeria: Manual*. Retrieved from https://sourceforge.net/projects/ICE-NGeria/files/ICE-NGeria-txt-and-xml-files_version_Nov_03_2015.zip/download

Gut, U., & Fuchs, R. (2017). Exploring Speaker Fluency with Phonologically Annotated ICE Corpora. *World Englishes*, 36(3), 387 – 403.

Gwet, K. (2014). *Handbook of Inter-rater Reliability* 4th Edition. Gaithersburg, MD: Advanced Analytics, LLC.

Gyasi, I. (1991). Aspects of English in Ghana. *English Today*, 7(2), 26 – 31.

H. In *OED*. Retrieved from http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/82936

Hacker, M. (1998). Why Is there No /h/-Dropping in Scots? Loss and Insertion of /h/ as a Contact Phenomenon in British English Dialects. In J Strassler (Ed.), *Tendenzen Europaischer Linguistik* (pp. 71 – 75). Germany: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Hacker, M. (2002). Intrusive [h] in Present-day English Accents and <h>-insertion in Medieval Manuscripts: Hypercorrection or Functionally-Motivated Language Use? In C. Kay, C. Hough, & I. Wotherspoon (Eds.), *New Perspectives on English Historical Linguistics: Selected Papers from 12 ICEHL, Glasgow, 21-26 August 2002* (pp. 109 – 124). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hacker, M. (2005). Linking [ɦ] and the Variation between Linking /r/ and Glottal Onsets in South African English. In D. Spurr & C. Tschichold (Eds.), *The Space of English* (pp. 207 – 226). Germany: Gunter Narr Verlag Tubingen.

Halliday, M. (1978). *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hayes, A., & Krippendorff, K. (2007). Answering the Call for a Standard Reliability Measure for Coding Data. *Communication Methods and Measures*, 1, 77 - 89.

Herskovits, J. (1973). One Nigeria. *Foreign Affairs*, 51(2), 392 – 407.

Hickey, R. (2014). Retention and Innovation in Settler Englishes. In M. Filppula, D. Sharma & J. Klemola (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* (pp. 657 - 675). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hiskett, M. (1965). The Historical Background to the Naturalisation of Arabic Loan-Words in Hausa. *African Language Studies*, 6, 18 – 26.

Holm, J. (1988). *Pidgins and Creoles: Volume 1, Theory and Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Home, R. (1983). Town-Planning, Segregation and Indirect Rule in Colonial Nigeria. *Third World Planning Review*, 5(2), 165 – 176.

Holmes, J. (2001). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* Harlow: Pearson Education.

Honda, K., & Maeda, S. (2009). Glottal-opening and Airflow Pattern during Production of Voiceless Fricatives: A New Non-invasive Instrumentation. *J. Acoust. Soc. Am*, 123(5), 37 - 38.

Horvath, B. (1985). *Variation in Australian English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Horvath, B. (2008). Australian English: Phonology. In K. Burridge & B. Kortmann (Eds.), *Varieties of English 3: The Pacific and Australasia* (pp. 89 – 110). Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Huang, R. (1981). *Mandarin Pronunciation Explained with Diagrams.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Huber, M. (2008). Ghanaian English: Phonology. In R. Mesthrie (Ed.), *Varieties of English: Africa, South and Southeast Asia*, (pp. 67 - 92). Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Huber, M. (2014). Stylistic and Sociolinguistic Variation in Schneider's Nativization Phase: T-affrication and Relativization in Ghanainan English. In S. Buschfeld, T. Hoffman, M. Huber, & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *The Evolution of Englishes: The Dynamic Model and Beyond*, (pp. 86 – 106). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Hughes, A., Trudgill, P., & Watt, D. (1987). *English Accents and Dialects: An Introduction to Social and Regional Varieties of British English*. London: Edward Arnold.

Ibrahim, J. (1991). Religion and Political Turbulence in Nigeria. *Journal of Modern African Studies,* 29(1), 115 – 136.

Idowu, O. (1999). Regional Variations in English in Nigeria and the Implications for Its Teaching as a Second Language. *Ilorin Journal of Education*, 19 (no page number). Retrieved from: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1fad/fbd076b2b432f85bd615f3dc4e8b1de6398b.pdf

Ifeka, C. (2000). Ethnic 'Nationalities', God & the State: Whither the Federal Republic of Nigeria? *Review of African Political Economy*, 27, 450 – 459.

Igboanusi, H. (2001). Varieties of Nigerian English: Igbo English in Nigerian Literature. *Multilingua*, 20(4), 361 – 378.

Igboanusi, H. (2002). *A Dictionary of Nigerian English Usage*. Ibadan: Enicrownfit Publishers.

Igboanusi, H. (2004). *Is Igbo an Endangered Language?* Paper Presented at the 24th West African Languages Congress, University of Ibadan, Ibadan.

Igboanusi, H. (2006). A Comparative Study of the Pronunciation Features of Igbo English and Yoruba English Speakers of Nigeria. *English Studies*, 87(4), 490 – 497.

Igboin, B. (2017). Religious Referent Power and Ethnic Militias in Nigeria: The Imperative for Pax Nigeriana. In U. Usuanlele & B. Ibhawoh (Eds), *Minority Rights and the National Question in Nigeria* (pp. 227 – 246). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ihenacho, D. (2004). *African Christianity Rises Volume One: A Critical Study of the Catholicism of the Igbo People of Nigeria*. New York: iUniverse

Ihemere, K. (2006). A Basic Description and Analytic Treatment of Noun Clauses in Nigerian Pidgin. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 15, 296 – 313.

Ike, S. & D'Angelo, J. (2020). English in Japan: The Applicability of the EIF Model. In S. Buschfeld & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach to Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Varieties* (pp. 179 - 201). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Imam, H. (2012). Educational Policy in Nigeria from the Colonial Era to the Post-Independence Period. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1, 121 – 204.

International Corpus of English (ICE). (2016, February 9). *International Corpus of English (ICE) Homepage*. Retrieved from http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.html

Internetworldstats.com. (2019). *Nigeria: Internet usage and Telecommunications Reports*. Retrieved from https://www.internetworldstats.com/africa.htm#ng & https://www.internetworldstats.com/af/ng.htm.

Irvine, A. (2008). Contrast and Convergence in Standard Jamaican English: The Phonological Architecture of the Standard in an Ideologically Bidialectal Community. *World Englishes*, 27(1), 9 – 25.

Israel, P. (2020). Exploring Grammatical Errors in Teaching Materials. *Open Journal of Modern Linguistics*, 10, 620 - 633.

Iyamu, E., & Ogiegbaen, S. (2008). Parents and Teachers' Perceptions of Mother-Tongue Medium of Instructiong Policy in Nigerian Primary Schools. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 20(2), 97 - 108.

Iwara, A. (2019). Language and the National Question. *The Nigerian Festchrift Series*, 2, 17 – 37.

Iwuchukwu, M. (2013). *Muslim-Christian Dialogue in Post-Colonial Northern Nigeria. Palgrave Macmillan's Christianities of the World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jaggar, P. (2001). *Hausa*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin.

Janda, R., & Auger, J. (1992). Quantitative Evidence, Qualitative Hypercorrection, Sociolinguistic Variables - and French Speakers' 'eadhaches with English h/Ø. *Language and Communication,* 12, 195 - 236.

John, P., & Cardoso, W. (2009). Francophone ESL Learners' Difficulties with English /h/. *New Sounds 2007: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium on the Acquisition of Second Language Speech,*1, 259 - 273.

Johnstone, B. (2009). Pittsburghese Shirts: Commodification and the Enregisterment of an Urban Dialect. *American Speech*, 84, 157 - 175

Johnstone, B. (2011). Making Pittsburghese: Communication technology, expertise, and the discursive construction of a regional dialect. *Language sciences*, 31, 3 - 15.

Johnstone, B., & Baumgardt, D. (2004). 'Pittsburghese' Online: vernacular Norming in Conversation. *American Speech*, 79(2), 115 – 145.

Johnstone, B., Andrus, J., & Danielson, A. (2006). Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of "Pittsburghese". *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34(2), 77 - 104.

Jones, E. (1971). Krio: An English-based Language of Sierra Leone. In: J. Spencer (Ed.), *The English Language in West Africa* (pp. 66 – 94). London: Longman.

Josiah, U., & Babatunde, S. (2011). Standard Nigerian English Phonemes: The Crisis of Modelling and Harmonization. *World English*, 30(4), 533 – 550.

Josiah, U., Bodunde, H., & Robert, E. (2012). Patterns of English Pronunciation among Nigerian University Undergraduates: Challenges and Prospects. *International Journal of Business, Humanities and Technology*, 2(6), 109-117.

Jowitt, D. (1991). *Nigerian English Usage: An Introduction*. Ikeja: Longman Nigeria Plc.

Jowitt, D. (2019). *Nigerian English*. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Kamiyama, T., Kühnert, B., & Vaissière, J. (2011). Do French-speaking Learners Simply Omit the English /h/? In: *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 1010 - 1013. Retrieved from http://www.icphs2011.hk/resources/OnlineProceedings/RegularSession/Kamiyama/Kamiyama.pdf

Kamson, I. (2011, November 26). The 'H' Factor [Blog Post]. *Secret Lilies*. Retrieved from http://secretlilies.blogspot.co.uk/2011/11/h-factor.html.

Kapoor, N. (2013). The Advancement of Racial Neoliberalism in Britain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 36(6), 1028 – 1046.

Kehoe, A., & Gee, M. (2012). Reader Comments as an Aboutness Indicator in Online Texts: Introducing the Birmingham Blog Corpus. In S. Oksefjell, J. Ebeling & H. Hasselgård (Eds.), *Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English Volume 12: Aspects of Corpus Linguistics: Compilation, Annotation, Analysis, University of Helsinki*. Retrieved from http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/12/kehoe_gee

Kennedy, G. (2004). *An Introduction to Corpus Linguistics*. London, New York: Routledge.

Kenstowicz, M. (2006). Tone Loans: The Adaptation of English Loanwords into Yoruba. In J. Mugane, J. Hutchinson & D. Worman (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (pp. 136 – 146). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Kerswill, P., & Williams, A. (2000). Creating a New Town Koine: Children and Language Change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society,* 29, 65 – 115.

Kerswill, P. (2010). Contact and New Varieties. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *Handbook of Language Contact* (230 – 251). Oxford: Blackwell.

Kirk, J., & Nelson, G. (2018). The International Corpus of English Project: A Progress Report. *World Englishes*, 37(4), 697 – 716.

Kitause, R., & Achunike, H. (2013). Religion in Nigeria from 1900 – 2013. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3(18), 45 – 56.

Klein, H. (2004). *A Population History of the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knowles, G. (1978). The Nature of Phonological Variables in Scouse. In P. Trudgill (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English* (pp. 80 – 90). London: Edward Arnold.

Kraft, C., & Kraft, M. (1973). *Introductory Hausa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Krippendorff, K. (2004a). *Content Analysis, an Introduction to Its Methodology* 2nd Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Krippendorff, K. (2004b). Reliability in Content Analysis: Some Common Misconceptions and Recommendations. *Human Communication Research*, 30(3), 411 - 433.

Kuno, S. (1958). Phonemic Structures of Colloquial Tamil. *IIJ*, 5(1), 52 – 64.

Labade, S., Lange, C., & Leuckert, S. (2020). English in India: Global Aspirations, Local Identities at the Grassroots. In S. Buschfeld & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach to Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Varieties* (pp. 85 - 111). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Labov, W. (1966). Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a Factor in Linguistic Change. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964* (pp. 84 – 113). The Hague: Mouton.

Labov, W. (1972). Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1979). Locating the Frontier Between Social and Psychological Factors in Linguistic Variation. In C. Fillmore, D. Kempler, & W. Wang, (Eds.), *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*, (pp. 327 – 340). New York: Academic Press Inc.

Labov, W. (1984). Field Methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation. In: J. Baugh & J. Sherzer (Eds.), *Language in Use* (pp. 29 – 52). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Labov, W. (1990). The intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change. Language Variation and Change, 2, 205 - 254.

Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change: Social Factors.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Ladefoged, P. (2000). *Vowels and Consonants: An Introduction to the Sounds of Language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lambo, E. (1992). Historical Antecedents to the Integrated English Curriculum at the Junior Secondary School Level in Nigeria. Retrieved from https://www.unilorin.edu.ng/journals/education/nijef/march_1992.

Lamidi, M. (2007). The Noun Phrase Structure in Nigerian English. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 43, 237 – 250.

Landis, J., & Koch, G. (1977). The Measurement of Observer Agreement for Categorical Data. *Biometrics*, 33, 159 – 174.

Lanham, L., & Macdonald, C. (1979). *The Standard in South African English and Its Social History*. Heidelburg: Julius Groos Verlag.

Lass, R. (1996). Glottal stop and Linking [h] in South African English. In J. Klemola, M. Kytö & M Rissanen (Eds.), *Speech Past and Present: Studies in English Dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen* (pp. 130 – 151), Frankfurt am Main: Lang.

Lass, R. (2009). South African English. In R. Mensthrie (Ed.), *Language in South Africa* (pp. 104 - 126). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leech, G. (2004a). *Meaning and the English Verb*: *3rd Edition*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

Leech, G. (2004b). Recent Grammatical Change in English: Data, Description, Theory. In K. Aijmerand & B. Altenberg (Eds.), *Advances in Corpus Linguistics: Papers from the Twenty-Third International Conference on English Language Research on Computerized Corpora (ICAME 23)* (pp. 61 – 81). Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Levshina, N. (2015). How to Do Linguistics with R: Data Exploration and Statistical Analysis. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Lewis, M., Gary F., & Charles, D. (Eds.) (2015). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Eighteenth Edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.

Liddicoat, A. (2011). *An Introduction to Conversation Analysis 2nd Edition*. London/New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Lim, L. (1996). *Prosodic Patterns Characterising Chinese, Indian, and Malay Singapore English*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Reading, Reading.

Lopez, I. (2007). The Social Status of /h/ in English. *Revista Alicanta de Estudios Ingleses*, 20, 157 – 166.

Lubliner, C. (2008). *The Story of H*. Retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20141014234828/http://www.ce.berkeley.edu/~coby/essays/h.htm

Lukac, M. (2018**).** Grassroots Prescriptivism: An Analysis of Individual Speakers' Efforts at Maintaining the Standard Language Ideology. *English Today*, 34(4), 1 – 8.

Luick, K. (1964). *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*. Stuttgart: Tauchnitz.

Macafee, C. (1994). *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World: A Glasgow Case Study*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Macafee, C. (2003). Studying Scots Vocabulary. In J. Corbett, J. McClure, & J. Stuart-Smith (Eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (pp. 50 – 71), Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 50–71.

Mackenzie*,* L. (2013). Variation in English Auxiliary Realization: A New Take on Contraction. *Language Variation and Change*, 25(1), 17 - 41.

Mackenzie, L., & Yang, C. (2013). English Auxiliary Realization and Independence of Morphology and Phonetics*. U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*, 19(2), 121 – 129.

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. (2016). *Second Language Research: Methodology and Design 2nd Edition*. New York and London: Routledge.

Mair, C. (2013). The World System of Englishes: Accounting for the Transnational Importance of Mobile and Mediated Vernaculars. *English World-wide*, 34, 3, 253 - 278.

Makinde, D. (2016). Dynamics of Language: The Yoruba Example. In O. Ndimele (Ed), *Nigerian Languages, Literature, Culture and Reforms: Festschrift for Ayo Bamgbose* (pp. 311 – 318). Port Harcourt: M and J Orbit Communications Ltd.

Malah, Z., & Rashid, S. (2015). Contrastive Analysis of the Segmental Phonemes of English and Hausa Languages. *International Journal of Languages, Literature and Linguistics*, 1(2), 106 – 112.

Mann, C. (1996). Anglo-Nigerian Pidgin in Nigerian Education: A Survey of Policy, Practices and Attitudes. In T. Hickey & J. Williams (Eds), *Language, Education and Society in a Changing World,* (pp. 93 – 106), Clevedon, Avon: IRAAL/Multilingual Matters.

McEnery, T., & Hardie, A. (2012). Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McKinnon, M., Bradley, B., & Kirkpatrick, R. (1997). *New Zealand Historical Atlas/Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*. Auckland: David Bateman.

Meagher, K. (2009). The Informalization of Belonging: Igbo Informal Enterprise and National Cohesion from Below. *Africa Development*, 34(1), 31 - 46.

Menner, R. (1937). Hypercorrect Forms in American English. *American Speech*, 12, 67 – 78.

Mesthrie, R. (2004). Introduction. In R. Mesthrie, J. Swann, A. Deumert & W. Leap (Eds.), *Introducing Sociolinguistics* (pp. 1 – 43). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mesthrie, R. (2017). Class, Gender, and Substrate Erasure in Sociolinguistic Change: A Sociophonetic Study of Schwa in Deracializing South African English. *Language,* 93(2), 314 – 346.

Mesthrie, R., & Bhatt, R. (2008). *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge: CUP.

Meyerhoff, M. (2009). Sociolinguistic Variation and Change. In V. Muhvic-Dimanovski & L. Socanac (Eds.), *Linguistics Volume I,* (pp. 202 – 223). Oxford: Eolss Publishers/UNESCO.

Mielke, J. (2002). Turkish /h/ Deletion: Evidence for the Interplay of Speech Perception and Phonology. *North Eastern Linguistic Society*, 32, 383 - 402.

Miles, W. (1987). Partitioned Royalty: The Evolution of Hausa Chiefs in Nigeria and Niger. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 25(2), 233 – 258.

Milroy, L. (1983). On the Sociolinguistic History of /h/ Dropping in English. In M. Davenport, E. Hansen, & H. Nielson (Eds.), *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics* (pp. 37 – 53). Odense: University of Odense Press.

Milroy, L. (1997). Internal vs External Motivations for Linguistic Change. *Multilingua*, 16(4), 311 - 323.

Milroy, L. (2004). Language Ideologies and Linguistic Change. In C. Fought (Ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflection,* (pp. 161 – 177). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Milroy, L., & Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Moisset, C. (1996). The Status of h aspire in French Today. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics,* 3(1), 223 – 236.

Mordi, C., Simpson, R., Singh, S., & Okafor, C. (2010). The Role of Cultural Values in Understanding the Challenges Faced by Female Entrepreneurs in Nigeria. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 25(1), 5 – 21.

Mrabure, K. (2015). The Right to Self-Determination under International Law: The Current Biafra Struggle. *Nnamdi Azikwe University Journal of International Law and Jurisprudence,* 6, 66 – 74.

Mugglestone, L. (2007). *Talking Proper: The Rise of Accent as Social Symbol*. Oxford: OUP.

Mustapha, A. (2006). Ethnic Structure, Inequality and Governance of the Public Sector in Nigeria. *UNRISD Programme Papers on Democracy, Governance and Human Rights*, 24, 1 – 46.

Naijalike Naijalike. (2015, February 23). Haccenttt. [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lvqw9gslA5g

Nairaland.com. (2015). *Opinion: Personalities of an Hausa/Igbo.Yoruba Man (the Good and Bad Sides) by Wisdomguy4u*. Retrieved from https://www.nairaland.com/2271043/opinion-personalities-hausa-igbo-yoruba

National Population Commission (NPC). (2009). *Nigeria: Demographic and Health Survey 2008.* Abuja, Nigeria*:* NPC and ICF Macro.

National Population Commission (NPC). (2013). *Nigeria: Demographic and Health Survey 2013.* Abuja, Nigeria*:* NPC and ICF Macro.

Nduka, O. (1964). *Western Education and the Nigerian Cultural Background*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Newman, P. (2000). *The Hausa Language: An Encyclopaedic Reference Grammar*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Newman, P., & Salim, B. (1981). Hausa Diphthongs. *Lingua*, 55, 101 – 121.

Nicholas, S., & Shergold, P. (1988). British and Irish Convicts. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People,* (pp. 23 – 31). North Ryde: Angus and Robertson.

Nirmala, M. (2000, April 30). Buck up, poor English reflects badly on us: PM. The Straits Times, p. 4. Retrieved from NewspaperSG; Speak Good English Movement. (n.d.). About Us: What We Do. Retrieved from Speak Good English Movement Website: http://www.goodenglish.org.sg/site/category/movement/about-us.html

Njeru, M. (2011). *Errors in the written English of primary school pupils in Nembure Division, Embu West, Kenya*. Unpublished Thesis, Chuka University College, Kenya.

Njeru, M. (2013). Dialect and the Learning of English as a Second language in Kenya. *English Linguistics Research*, 2(1), 128 – 133.

Nkamigbo, L. (2010). Phonology in Teacher Education in Nigeria: The Igbo Language Example. *AJOTE*, 1(1), 48 – 63.

Nkamigbo, L. (2014). Nasalization, Aspiration and Labialization in Igbo Dialect Phonology. *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics*, 11(2), 59 – 67.

Nolte, I., Jones, R., Taiyari, K., & Occhiali, G. (2016). Research Note: Exploring Survey Data for Historical and Anthropological Research: Muslim-Christian Relations in South-West Nigeria. *African Affairs*, 115(460), 541 – 561.

NUC. (2019). *Top Universities in Nigeria 2019*. Retrieved from https://www.4icu.org/ng/

Nwokah, E. (1986). Consonantal Substitution Patterns in Igbo Phonological Acquisition. *Language and Speech.* 29(2): 159 – 176.

Nwosu, N. (1993). The Dynamics of Nigeria's Decolonization Policy in Africa. *Transafrican Journal of History*. 22, 74 - 86

Nzitakera, A., Ngizwenayo, L., Niyonshuti, G., Mwubahamana, C., & Njunwa, K. (2015). Assessment of the Inter-rater Reliability of the Micoscopic Diagnosis of Malaria in the Health Centres of Kayonza District, Eastern Province, Rwanda. *Rwanda Journal*, 2(1), 42 – 46.

Obanya, P., Dada, A., & Oderinde, T. (1979). An Empirical Study of the Acceptability of Four Accents of Spoken English in Nigeria. In E. Ubahakwe (Ed.), *Varieties and Functions of English in Nigeria: Selections from the Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference of the Nigerian English Studies Association*, (pp. 242 - 256). Ibadan: African Universities Press.

Obeng, S. (2010). Speaking the Unspeakable: Discursive Strategies to Express Language Attitudes in Legon (Ghana) Graffiti. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33(3), 291 – 319.

Obi, N. (2013). Literature in Indigenous Languages as Essential Tool for Child Development and Nation Building: The Case of Igbo. *Creative Artis: A Journal of Theatre and Media Studies,* 7(2), 256 – 273.

Obi, N. (2017). Literature in Indigenous Language: Its Relevance to Human Development. *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 18(2), 297 – 309.

Obianika, E. (2020). Language as Tool of Exclusion and Dominance of Southeast Nigeria's Indigenous Peoples: A Historical Perspective. Handbook of the Changing World Language Map. S. Brunn & R. Kehrein (Eds.), *Handbook of the Changing World Language Map,* (pp. 1675 – 1693). Switzerland: Springer.

Obiegbu, I. (2018). Errors in Educated Nigerian English Usage. *Studies in the Languages of Africa*, 2(49), 107 – 127.

Odimegwu, P. (2012). *A Comparative Analysis of Jamaican Creole and Nigerian Pidgin English*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.

Odoeme, P. (2013). *Human Rights and the Mission of the Church in Nigeria*. Zurich: LIT Verlag.

Odumuh, A. (1987). *Nigerian English*. Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press.

Ogionwo, W. (1980). "We" and "They": A Study of Ethnic Stereotypes in Nigeria. *Sociologus*, 30(2), 97 – 123.

Ogunniyi, O., & Dosunmu, A. (2014). Historical Background and Impact of Women's Involvement in Formal Education in Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, 1, 188 – 192.

Ojo, A. (2020). Ìgbéláruge Èdè: Akinwumi Isola's Model for Promoting African Languages. *Yoruba Studies Review*, 5(1.2), 149 – 162.

Ojo, E. (2013). Mass Media and Ethnic Politics in Nigeria: An Overview. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism,* 13(3), 277 – 539.

Ojoye, T. (2019, January 8). One Headline, Two Grammatical Blunders [Newspaper Article]. Punch. Retrieved from https://punchng.com/one-headline-two-grammatical-blunders/

Okafor, G. (2014). The Nigerian Mass Media and Reorientation of Values: Problems and Prospects. *American Journal of Social Sciences,* 2(2), 21 – 28.

Okeke, C. & Ndiribe, M. (2015). English Language Study in Nigeria: An Assessment. *Nsukka Journal of Humanities,* 23 (1), 57 – 66.

Oko, O. (1998). Partition or Perish: Restoring Social Equilibrium in Nigeria through Reconfiguration. *Indiana International and Comparative Law Review*, 8(2), 3 – 17.

Okoro, O. (2011). *Exploring Nigerian English: A Guide to Usage 1 (A-L).* Germany: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.

Okoro, O. (2017). Nigerian English Usage and the Tyranny of Faulty Analogy III: Pronunciation. *California Linguistic Notes*, 41(1), 26 – 62.

Ola, O. (1995). Properheadedness and Binarity: Prosodic Words in Yoruba. In A. Akinlabi (Ed.), *Theoretical Approaches to African Linguistics,* (pp. 273 - 294). New Jersey: Africa World Press.

Olagbaju, O., & Akinsowon, F. (2014). The Use of Nigerian Languages in Formal Education: Challenges and Solutions. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 5(9), 123 – 127.

Olaniyi, O. (2014). The Taxonomy of Nigerian Varieties of Spoken English. *International Journal of English and Literature*, 5(9), 232 – 240.

Olaniyi, O., & Ubong, J. (2013). Nigerian Accents of English in the Context of World Englishes. *World Journal of English Language,* 3(1), 38 – 49.

Olayiwola, A. (2013). Media and Security in Nigeria. *European Journal of Business and Social Sciences,* 2(9), 20 - 28.

Oloko, P. (2008). African Literature, English Language and the Strings of Globalisation. In M. Bagwasi, M. Alimi, & P. Ebewo (Eds.), *English Language and Literature: Cross Cultural Currents*, pp. 263 – 275. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Olibie, E., Eziuzo, G., & Enueme, C. (2013). Inequalities in Nigerian Education Sector: Some Perspectives for Improvement. *IOSR Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 3, 7 – 14.

Olukoyun, A. (2004). Media Accountability and Democracy in Nigeria, 1999 – 2003. *African Studies Review,* 47(3), 69 – 90.

Omodiaogbe, S. (1997). *An Error Analysis of the English Language of Education Students in Edo and Delta States*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria.

Omenka, N. (1989). *The School in the Service of Evangelization: The Catholic Educational Impact in Eastern Nigeria, 1886 - 1950*. Leiden, New York: E.J. Brill.

Omodiaoge, S. (1992). 150 Years on English in the Nigerian School System - Past, Present and Future. *ELT Journal*, 46(1), 19 - 28

Onumajru, V. (2015). *Affixation and Auxiliaries in Igbo*. Port Harcourt: M and J Grand Orbit Communications.

Onumajuru, V. (2016). Derivations in Onicha Igbo. *AFRREV IJAH: An International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 5(2), 190 – 215.

Onuoha, F. (2012). Boko Haram: Nigeria's Extremist Islamic Sect. *Al Jazeera Centre for Studies*, 1 – 6.

Onuoha, G. (2017). Bringing 'Biafra' Back in: Narrative, Identity, and the Politics of Non-reconciliation in Nigeria. *National Identities*, 20(4), 379 – 399.

Onuoha, F., & Oyewole, S. (2018). Anatomy of Boko Haram: The Rise and Decline of a Violent Group in Nigeria*, Al Jazeera Centre for Studies*, 1 - 10.

Orton, H., & Dieth, E. (1962). *Survey of English Dialects*. Leeds: E J Arnold and Sons Limited.

Oso, L. (2011). Press Under the Military: The IBB Years. In L. Oso & U. Pate (Eds.), *Mass Media and Society in Nigeria 2nd Ed* (pp. 121 – 140). Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd.

Oxford English Dictionaries (2020). *Release Notes: Nigerian English*. Retrieved from https://public.oed.com/blog/nigerian-english-release-notes/

Oyebola, M. (2012). The Religious Divide in the Yoruba Terminology for God: A Linguistic Perspective. *Ilorin Journal of Religious Studies*, 2(2), 61 – 72.

Oyovbaire, S. (1983). Structural Change and Political Processes in Nigeria, *African Affairs*, 82(326), 3 – 28.

Patrick, P. (1992). Creoles at the Intersection of Variable Processes: -t, d Deletion and Past-marking in the Jamaican Mesolect, *Language Variation and Change*, 3, 171 - 189

Patrick, P. (1997). Style and Register in Jamaican Patwa. In E. Schneider (Ed.), *Englishes around the World: Volume 2: Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Australasia: Studies in Honour of Manfred Gorlach* (pp. 41 – 56). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Patrick, P. (1999). *Urban Jamaican Creole: Variation in the Mesolect*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Peel, J. (2016). *Christianity, Islam, and Orisa Religion: Three Traditions in Comparison and Interaction*. Oakland: University of California Press.

Penzl, H. (1961). Old High German <r> and Its Phonetic Identification. *Language,* 37(4): 488 – 496.

Petyt, K. (1985). *Dialect and Accent in Industrial West Yorkshire.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Piotrow, P., Rimon, J., Winnard, K., Kincaid, D., Huntington, D., & Convisser, J. (1990). Mass Media Family Planning Promotion in Three Nigerian Cities. *Studies in Family Planning,* 21(5), 265 – 274.

Polkovsky, V., & Oleksiychuk, Y. (2010). Blogs as a Linguistic Phenomenon of the Modern English Language. *РОЗДІЛ V. Комунікативналінгвістика*, 7, 358 - 364.

Purnell, T., Raimy, E., & Salmons, J. (2009). Defining Dialect, Perceiving Dialect, and New Dialect Formation: Sarah Palin's Speech. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 37(4), 331 – 355.

Proshina, Z., Rivlina, A., Ter-Minasova, S., Beloglazova, E., & Kabakchi. (2016). Russian English Linguaculture. In Z. Proshina & A. Eddy (Eds.), *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features* (pp. 35 – 80). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Purvis, T. (1984). The European Ancestry of the United States Population, 1790. *William and Mary Quaterly*, 41(1), 85 – 101.

R Core Team (2017). *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. Retrieved from https://www.R-project.org/

Ramisch, H. (2010). Analysing Linguistic Atlas Data: The (Socio-) Linguistic Context of H-dropping. *Dialectologia*, Special Issue 1, 175 - 184.

Reaser, J. (2003). A Quantitative Approach to (Sub)registers: The Case of 'Sports Announcer Talk'. *Discourse Studies*, 5(3), 303 – 321.

Remlinger, K. (2009). "Everyone Up Here": Enregisterment and Identity in Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula. *American Speech*, 84(2), 118-137.

Ross, C., He, B., Chen, P., & Yeh, M. (2010). *The Routledge Course in Modern Mandarin Chinese*. New York: Routledge.

Rubdy, R. (2001). "Creative destruction: Singapore's Speak Good English movement". *World Englishes*. 20(3), 341–355

Rüdiger, S. (2020). English in South Korea: Applying the EIF Model. In S. Buschfeld & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach to Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Varieties* (pp. 154 - 178). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Rutten, G., & van der Wal, M. (2011). Local Dialects, Supralocal Writing Systems: The Degree of Orality of Dutch Private Letters from the Seventeenth Century. *Written Language and Literacy*, 14(2), 251 - 274.

Rutten, G., & van der Wal, M. (2014). *Letters as Loot: A Sociolinguistic Approach to Seventeenth-and-Eighteenth Century Dutch*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Sabiu, I. (2018). Hausa People of Northern Nigeria and their Development. 1(1),

Sacks, D. (2004). *The Alphabet*. London: Arrow.

Salami, A. (1968). Defining a Standard Nigerian English. *Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association*, 2(2), 99 – 106.

Sani, M. (2005). *An Introductory Phonology of Hausa*. Kano: Benchmark Publishers Ltd.

Schiffman, H. (1999). *A Reference Grammar of Spoken Tamil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schleef, E. (2013). Glottal Replacement of /t/ in Two British Capitals: Effects of Word Frequency and Morphological Compositionality. *Language Variation and Change*, 25 (2), 201 - 223.

Schmied, J. (2004) East African English (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania): Phonology. In B. Kortmann, et al. *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Volume 1: Phonology*, (pp. 918 – 930). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schmied, J. (2015). Internet English in Nigeria: New Data – New Discourses? In C. Haase & J. Schmied (Eds.), *Research in English Language & Linguistics*, 9, 189 - 208.

Schneider, E. (2003). The Dynamics of New Englishes: From Identity Construction to Dialect Birth. *Language,* 79(2). 233 – 281.

Schneider, E. (2007). *Postcolonial English. Varieties around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, E. (2014). New Reflections on the Evolutionary Dynamics of World Englishes. *World Englishes*, 33(1), 9 – 32.

Schreier, D. (2019). /h/ Insertion as a 'Camouflage Archaism'? Dialect Contact, Colonial Lag and the Feature Pool in South Atlantic English. *Diachronica*, 36 (1), 37 – 65.

Schuh, R. (1989). The Reality of 'Hausa Low Tone Raising': A Response to Newman and Jaggar. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 20, 253 – 262.

Scragg, D. (1970). Initial H in Old English. *Anglia - Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie*, 88, 165 - 196.

Seargeant, P. (2012). *Exploring World Englishes: Language in a Global Context*. Oxon, New York: Routledge.

Sesan, A. (2013). The Yoruba Language and Literature in the 21st Century and Beyond. *Covenant Journal of Language Studies (CJLS),* 1(2), 148 – 159.

Sezer, E. (1986). An Autosegmental Analysis of Compensatory Lengthening in Turkish. In L. Wetzels, & E. Sezer (Eds.), *Studies in Compensatory Lengthening,* (pp. 227 – 250). Dordrecht: Foris.

Siegel, J. (1985). Koines and Koineization. *Language in Society*, 14, 357 – 78.

Sim, J. (2019). "But You Don't Sound Malay!". *English World-Wide*. 40(1), 79 – 108.

Sim, J., & Wright, C. (2005). The Kappa Statistic in Reliability Studies: Use, Interpretation, and Sample Size Requirements. *Physical Therapy*. 85(3), 257–268.

Siollun, M. (2009). *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria's Military Coup Culture (1966 – 1976)*. New York: Algora Publishing.

Sipra, M. (2013). Impact of English Orthography on L2 Acquisition. *English Language Teaching*, 6(3), 116 – 124.

Siptar, P., & Szentgyörgyi, S. (2002). H as in Hungarian. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 49, 427 - 456.

Sogunro, B. (2014). Aspects of Connected Speech in the English as a Second Language Classroom. *AFRREV LALIGENS*, 3(1), 1 – 12.

Soneye, T., & Gut, U. (2012). *H-deletion and H-insertion in Nigerian Spoken English: a Corpus-based Study*. Paper presented to the 28th Annual Conference of the Nigeria English Studies Association at the University of Benin, Benin City.

Soneye, T., & Oladunjoye, F. (2015). Syllable Phonotactics in Educated Nigerian Spoken English. *Konin Language Studies,* 3 (3), 255 – 269.

Soyinka, W. (1954). Keffi's Birthday Treat. *Nigerian Radio Times* (July 1954), 15 – 16.

Soyinka, W. (1957). A Tale of Two Cities. *Gryphon* (Autumn 1957), 16 – 22.

Soyinka, W. (1957). Madame Etienne's Establishment. *Gryphon* (March 1957), 1 – 22.

Steriade, D. (2001). Directional Asymmetries in Place Assimilation: A Perceptual Account. In E. Hume & K. Johnson (Eds.), *The Role of Speech Perception in Phonology*. New York: Academic Press.

Stevens, P. (1965). Pronunciation of English in West Africa. *Papers in Language and Language Teaching.* London: Oxford University Press.

Stevenson, K. (1969). Reflections on the Teaching of Spoken English in Nigeria. *Journal of Nigeria English Studies Association,* 3(2), 227 - 235.

Stuart-Smith, J. (2004). The Phonology of Scottish English. In C. Upton (Ed.), *Varieties of English: I: Phonology*, (pp. 47 – 67). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Stuart-Smith, J., Timmins, C., & Tweedie, F. (2006). Conservation and Innovation in a Traditional Dialect: L-vocalization in Glaswegian. *English World-Wide*, 27(1), 71 – 87.

Stuart-Smith, J., & Timmins, C. (2010). The Role of the Individual in Language Change. In C. Llamas & W. Dominic (Eds.), *Language and Identities*, (pp. 39 – 54). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Suomi, K., Toivanen, J., & Ylitalo, R. (2008). *Finnish Sound Structure: Phonetics, Phonology, Phonotactics and Prosody*. Oulu: Oulu University Press.

Tagliamonte, S., & Baayen, R. (2012). Models, Forests and Trees of York English: Was/were Variation as a Case Study for Statistical Practice. *Language Variation and Change,* 24(2), 135 – 178.

Taiwo, R. (2009). The Functions of English in Nigeria from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. *English Today 98*, 25(2), 3 – 10.

Taiwo, R. (2011): Ideology and Power in News Reports on the 2007 Nigerian Presidential Elections in Some Western Online Media. In A. Alao & R. Taiwo (Eds.), *Perspectives on African Studies: Essays in Honour of Toyin Falola,* (pp. 295 – 310). Munchen: LINCOM.

Taiwo, R. (2016). Discursive Power Relations in Naijabookofjokes.com. In R. Taiwo, A. Odebunmi & A. Adetunji (Eds.). *Analyzing Language and Humor in Online Communication* (pp. 177 – 189). Hershey PA, USA: IGI Global.

Tamuno, T. (1970). Separatist Agitations in Nigeria Since 1914. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 8(4), 563 – 584.

Teilanyo, D. (2010). Lexico-Semantic Nigerianism in Nigerian Newspapers. *CASIL: Calabar Studies in Languages*, 16(1), 21 - 49.

Tent, J. (2001). Yod Deletion in Fiji English: Phonological Shibboleth or L2 English? *Language Variation and Change*, 13, 161 – 191

Thomas, A. (1994). English in Wales. In: R. Burchfield (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume 5: English in Britain and Overseas: Origins and Development*, (pp. 94 – 147). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, O., Ojukwu, C., & Nwaorgu, O. (2016). United We Fall, Divided We Stand: Resuscitation of the Biafra State Secession and the National Question Conundrum. *JORIND*. 14(1), 1 – 14.

Tiffen, B. (1974). *The Intelligibility of Nigerian English*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London.

Times Higher Education. (2019). *World University Rankings 2019*. Retrieved from https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2019/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/locations/NG/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats

Tollfree, L. (1999). South East London English: Discrete Versus Continuous Modelling of Consonantal Reduction. In P. Foulkes & G. Docherty (Eds.). *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles* (pp. 163-184) Leeds: Arnold.

Trask, R. (2002, January 30). About H and H-dropping [Online Comment]. *Linguist List*. Retrieved from http://linguistlist.org/ask-ling/message-details1.cfm?asklingid=200314121

Tripathi, P. (1990). English in Zambia. *English Today*, 6(3), 34 – 38.

Trommelen, M., & Zonneveld, W. (1997). Ha! Een Analyse! *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 4, 318 - 332.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. (1999). *The Dialects of England* (2nd Ed). Oxford: Blackwell.

Trudgill, P. (2006). *New-Dialect Formation: The Inevitability of Colonial Englishes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tutuola, A. (1952). *The Palm-Wine Drinkard*. London: Faber and Faber.

Ubong, J. (2014), Multilingualism and Linguistic Hybridity: An Experiment with Educated Nigerian Spoken English. *Review of Arts and Humanities*, 3(2), 157 – 184.

Uche, C. (2008). Oil, British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War. *The Journal of African History,* 49(1), 111 – 135.

Udofot, I. (2004). Varieties of Spoken Nigerian English. In S. Awonusi, & E. Babalola (Eds.), *The Domestication of English in Nigeria: A Festschrift in Honour of Abiodun Adetugbo* (pp. 93-113). Lagos: University of Lagos Press.

Udofot, I. (2011). The English Language and Education in Nigeria. *Journal of the Nigeria English Studies Association (JNESA*), 14(2), 17 – 23.

Ufomata, T. (1986). *The English Language and West Africa (with special reference to Nigeria).* A monograph of the Inner London Education Authority.

Ufomata, T. (1992). The Englishization of Yoruba Phonology. *World Englishes*, 10(1), 33 – 51.

Unuabonah, F., & Gut, U. (2018). Commentary Pragmatic Markers in Nigerian English. *English World-Wide,* 39(2), 190 - 213

Unuabonh, F., & Oladipupo, R. (2018). "You're not Staying in Island sha o": O, sha and abi as Pragmatic Markers in Nigerian English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 135, 8 – 23.

Unubi, S. (2021). The Necessity of Effective Teaching of English at All Levels of Education in Nigeria. *Proceedings of the 5th UAD TEFL International Conference,* 1 – 9, Retrieved from http://seminar.uad.ac.id/index.php/utic/article/view/5729.

Upton, C. (2020). English in England: The Parent Perspective. In S. Buschfeld & A. Kautzsch (Eds.), *Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach to Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Varieties* (pp. 16 - 37). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Uzoigwe, G. (2016). Background to the Nigerian Civil War. In T. Falola & O. Ezekwem (Eds.), *Writing the Nigeria-Biafra War,* (pp. 17 – 39). Woodbridge: James Currey.

Van Rooy, B., & Terblanche, L. (2010). Complexity in Word-formation Processes in New Varieties of South African English. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 28(4), 357 – 374.

Vennemann, T. (1988). *Preference Laws for Syllable Structure: And the Explanation of Sound Change.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Voortman, B. (1994). *Regionale Variatie in Het Taalgebruik van Notabelen. Een Sociolinguïstisch Onderzoek in Middelburg, Roermond en Zutphen*. Universiteit van Amsterdam: IFOTT.

Wallace, M., & Spanner, C. (2004). *Chav! A User's Guide to Britain's New Ruling Class*. London: Bantam Books.

Waniko, S. (1961). *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Papers of the Secretariat, Northern Provinces*. Kaduna: National Archives.

Wells, J. (1970). Local Accents in England and Wales. *Journal of Linguistics*, 6(2), 231 – 252.

Wells, J. (1982*). Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Werner, V. (2017). The Present Perfect as a Core Feature of World Englishes: Charting Unity and Diversity. In M. Filpulla, J, Klemola, A. Maurenen & S. Vetchinnikova (Eds.), *Changing English Local and Global Perspectives*, (pp. 63 – 88). Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Williams, D. (1983). Attitudes towards Varieties of Nigerian Spoken English. *World Language Studies,* 3(1), 6 – 10.

Wilson, D., & Ogri, E. (2017). Mass Media, Indigenous Language Broadcasting and National Development: A Study of Selected Broadcasting Stations in Calabar Metropolis. *The Nigerian Journal of Communication (TNJC)*, 14(1), 79-102.

Wolf, H. (2010). East and West African Englishes: Differences and Commonalities. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes,* (pp. 197 – 211). London/NewYork: Routledge.

Worldbank.org. (2018). Nigeria. *World Bank*. Retrieved from www.worldbank.org/en/country/nigeria/overview.

Wyld, H. (1920). *A History of Modern Colloquial English*. London: Fisher Unwin.

Yao, X., An, H., & Lv, S. (2012). Study on Innovation of Mandarin Teaching in Universities. *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Green Communications and Networks 2012 (GCN 2012)*, 1, 639 – 646.

Zar, J. (1999). *Biostatistical Analysis*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Z!koko. (2016, February 18). *15 Struggles that Are Just Too Accurate for Nigerians with H-factor* [Blog Post]. Retrieved from https://www.zikoko.com/list/15-struggles-just-accurate-nigerians-h-factor/

Appendices

Appendices A: Methodologies

A1. Sample ICE-NG corpus transcript (Con_01)

Transcription 1 ermTranscription 1 I I want us to just really look atTranscription 1 our society today the youth Transcription 1 ermTranscription 1 the moralTranscription 1 decadence in our societyTranscription 1 wh- what do you people thinkTranscription 1 wha- what do you think is happeningTranscription 1 ANON what do you think Transcription 2 well ITranscription 2 I will like to say thatTranscription 2 erm the state of theTranscription 2 moral standard in this country isTranscription 2 both heart aching and mind bogglingTranscription 2 andTranscription 2 ifTranscription 1 why are you laughingTranscription 2 if concerted and ermTranscription 2 in fact let me say if pragmaticTranscription 2 remedial measuresTranscription 2 are not adhered toTranscription 2 erm I thinkTranscription 2 the youth todayTranscription 2 will be termed as endangered speciesTranscription 2 and let me use that word Transcription 2 for their future is lying on a precarious knife edgeTranscription 1 ermTranscription 1 XX I think ermTranscription 1 those words should be broken down

A2. Excel Spreadsheet showing coding of data for the study

	Order	Speaker_ID	Age	Gender	Profession	Profession_N	Word	Linguistic_	PrecConte	PrecConte	FollContex	FollContext_Narrow	Syllables	Stress	Code	Position	Type	SocContext_Broad
2	99	bdis_21	unknown	male	TV presenter	media_persor	adhere	they_adhe	V	V	e	Front	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
3	112	bdis_25	unknown	male	unknown	unknown	ahead	go_ahead	V	V	e	Front	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
4	571	btr_06_5	unknown	male	academic	academic	ahead	move_ahe	C	d	e	Front	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	business_transaction
5	219	bnew_35	unknown	male	TV presenter	media_persor	behalf	on_behalf	V	V	a:	Front	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_news
6	220	bnew_35	unknown	male	TV presenter	media_persor	behalf	on_behalf	V	V	a:	Front	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_news
7	12	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behave	should_be	V	V	ei	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
8	15	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behave	should_be	V	V	ei	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
9	13	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behave	to_behave	V	V	ei	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
10	14	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behave	you_behav	V	V	ei	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
11	16	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behaved	have_behe	V	V	ei	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
12	19	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behaviour	bad_behav	C	d	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
13	20	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behaviour	bad_behav	C	d	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
14	1	bdis_01	40	female	TV presenter	media_persor	behaviour	good_behi	C	d	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
15	2	bdis_01	40	female	TV presenter	media_persor	behaviour	good_behi	C	d	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
16	3	bdis_01	40	female	TV presenter	media_persor	behaviour	good_behi	C	d	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
17	302	btal_10	unknown	female	radio presenter	media_persor	behaviour	his_behavi	V	V	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_talk
18	114	bdis_26_5	unknown	male	unknown	unknown	behaviour	leadership	V	s	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
19	17	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behaviour	previous_t	V	V	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
20	18	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behaviour	previous_t	V	V	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
21	21	bdis_01_2	44	male	academic	academic	behaviour	their_behe	V	V	ei	Diphthong	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_discussion
22	232	bnew_36	unknown	male	TV presenter	media_persor	behind	be_behind	V	V	ai	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_news
23	1722	unsp_15	55	male	professor/rever	clergy	behind	behind	P	P	ai	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	unscripted_speeches
24	920	con_43	unknown	female	student	academic	behind	ones_behi	C	d	ai	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	conversation
25	1624	parl_17_5	49	male	politician, MP	politician	behind	principles_	V	V	ai	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	parliamentary_discussion
26	494	btal_38	unknown	male	politician	politician	behind	solidly_bel	V	V	ai	Diphthong	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	broadcast_talk
27	1505	nbtal_09	68	male	lawyer	legal_practitic	behold	should_be	V	V	o	Back	2	stressed	h	word_medial	l	non_broadcast_talk
28	890	con_34_2	26	male	unknown	unknown	beholder	the_behol	V	V	o	Back	3	stressed	h	word_medial	l	conversation

Appendices B: Tables of Results for this Study

B1. Breakdown of h-deletion linguistic constraints results for the current study

Constraints	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	Percentage (%)
Word Type		
Content words	229(3532)	6.5
Who words	6(673)	0.9
How words	50(747)	6.7
Here words	16(575)	2.8
Preceding Context (Narrow)		
Consonants	146(2574)	5.7
Vowels	124(793)	15.6
Pause	31(2160)	1.4
Preceding Context (Broad)		
Voiced Obstruents	58(801)	7.2
Voiceless Obstruents	45(899)	5.0
Liquid	7(220)	3.2
Nasal	36(654)	5.5
Pause	31(791)	3.9
Vowels	124(2963)	4.2
Following Context (Anteriority)		
Front	242(3800)	6.4
Central	8(131)	6.1
Back	51(1596)	3.2
Following Context (Height)		
High	53(1695)	3.1
Mid	100(1730)	5.8
Low	148(2102)	7.04
Primary Stress		
Stressed	192(1888)	10.2
Unstressed	73(994)	7.3
Position		
Mid word	18(138)	13
Word initial	247(2745)	9

Syllables		
Monosyllable	144(3574)	4.0
Disyllable	98(1346)	7.2
Trisyllable	51(508)	10.0
Quadrisyllable	8(82)	9.8
Pentasyllable	0(10)	0
Hexasyllable	0(6)	0
Heptasyllable	0(1)	0

B2. Breakdown of h-deletion social constraints results for the current study

Constraints	**Tokens with h-deletion (Total)**	**Percentage (%)**
Gender		
Female	170(1644)	10.3
Male	131(3883)	3.4
Social Context		
Academic Discussion	70(1286)	5.5
Business Transaction	2(11)	18.2
Conversation	64(1475)	4.3
Legal	3(306)	1
Media	80(1943)	4.1
Politics	17(120)	14.2
TV Demonstration	65(386)	16.8
Profession		
Academic	114(1654)	6.9
Civil Servant	0(71)	0
Clergy	1(110)	0.9
Construction Worker	1(10)	10
TV Demonstrator	44(252)	17.5
Footballer	0(24)	0
Legal Practitioner	3(402)	0.7
Media Personality	65(1159)	5.6
Medical Practitioner	1(19)	5.3

Military	0(5)	0
Pharmacist	0(4)	0
Politician	19(450)	4.2
Real Estate Agent	0(12)	0
School Proprietor	2(11)	18.2
Singer	0(3)	0
Publisher	2(15)	13.3
Unknown	49(1326)	3.7
Ethnicity		
Hausa	14(865)	1.6
Yoruba	271(2849)	9.5
Igbo	16(1813)	0.9

B3. Breakdown of h-insertion linguistic constraints results for the current study

Constraints	**Tokens with h-insertion (Total)**	**Percentage (%)**
Preceding Context (Narrow)		
Consonants	80(60548)	0.1
Vowels	78(25063)	0.3
Pause	107(15225)	0.7
Preceding Context (Broad)		
Voiced Obstruents	31(14138)	0.2
Voiceless Obstruents	29(34643)	0.1
Liquid	1(2)	50
Nasal	19(11765)	0.1
Pause	107(15225)	0.7
Vowels	78(25063)	0.3
Following Context (Anteriority)		
Back	153(223)	68.6
Front	3(7)	42.9
Central	27(51)	52.9
Following Context (Height)		

High	3(7)	48.9
Low	27(51)	52.9
Mid	153(223)	68.6
Primary Stress		
Stressed	85(172)	49.4
Unstressed	98(109)	89.9
Position		
Mid word	3(113)	2.7
Word initial	262(100723)	0.3
Syllables		
Monosyllable	77(70951)	0.1
Disyllable	45(17250)	0.1
Trisyllable	21(7284)	0.3
Quadrisyllable	122(4169)	2.9
Pentasyllable	0(1085)	0
Hexasyllable	0(79)	0
Heptasyllable	0(16)	0
Hexasyllable	0(8)	0

B4. Breakdown of h-insertion social constraints for the current study

Constraints	**Tokens with h-insertion (Total)**	**Percentage (%)**
Gender		
Female	72(24575)	0.29
Male	193(76261)	0.25
Social Context		
Academic Discussion	32(23564)	0.14
Business Transaction	0(200)	0
Conversation	44(31655)	0.14
Legal	2(5160)	0.04
Media	50(31060)	0.16
Politics	110(4252)	2.6
TV Demonstration	27(4164)	0.6

Religious Discussion	0(367)	0
Unknown	0(223)	0
Profession		
Academic	46(30287)	0.15
Civil Servant	7(1650)	0.4
Clergy	1(1070)	0.09
TV Demonstrator	7(2220)	0.3
Footballer	0(430)	0
Legal Practitioner	3(5111)	0.06
Media Personality	22(16053)	0.14
Medical Practitioner	0(289)	0
Politician	129(9901)	1.3
Military	0(595)	0
School Proprietor	0(244)	0
Musician	0(81)	0
Real Estate Practitioner	0(119)	0
Unknown	50(32480)	0.15
Ethnicity		
Hausa	25(17034)	0.2
Yoruba	224(50525)	0.4
Igbo	16(33277)	0.1

B5. Breakdown of h-insertion linguistic constraints results for Silent-h words for the current study

Constraints	**Tokens with h-insertion (Total)**	**Percentage (%)**
Preceding Context (Narrow)		
Consonants	43(78)	55.1
Vowels	37(71)	52.1
Pause	103(132)	78.03
Preceding Context (Broad)		
Voiced Obstruents	14(22)	63.6
Voiceless Obstruents	15(28)	53.6

Liquid	1(2)	50
Nasal	13(26)	50
Pause	103(132)	78.03
Vowels	37(71)	52.1
Following Context (Anteriority)		
Back	153(223)	68.6
Front	3(7)	42.9
Central	27(51)	52.9
Following Context (Height)		
High	3(7)	48.9
Low	27(51)	52.9
Mid	153(223)	68.6
Primary Stress		
Stressed	85(172)	49.4
Unstressed	98(109)	89.9
Position		
Mid word	3(7)	42.9
Word initial	180(274)	65.7
Syllables		
Monosyllable	27(51)	52.9
Disyllable	15(32)	46.9
Trisyllable	20(34)	58.8
Quadrisyllable	121(164)	73.8
Pentasyllable	0(0)	0
Hexasyllable	0(0)	0
Heptasyllable	0(0)	0

B6. Breakdown of h-insertion linguistic constraints results for vowel-initial words for the current study

Preceding Context (Narrow)	**Tokens with h-insertion (Total)**	**Percentage**
Consonants	37(60470)	0.06
Vowels	41(24992)	0.02
Pause	4(15093)	0.03
Preceding Context (Broad)		
Voiced Obstruents	17(14116)	0.12
Voiceless Obstruents	14(34615)	0.04
Nasal	6(11739)	0.05
Pause	4(15093)	0.03
Vowels	41(24992)	0.16
Following Context		
Voiced Obstruents	7(25750)	0.03
Voiceless Obstruents	9(20221)	0.07
Liquid	21(10338)	0.04
Nasal	24(28405)	0.08
Pause	1(11549)	0.01
Vowel	20(4292)	0.5
Word Class		
Function Words	12(53092)	0.02
Content Words	70(47463)	0.15
Position		
Mid word	0(106)	0
Word initial	82(100449)	0.08
Syllables		
Monosyllable	50(70900)	0.1
Disyllable	30(17218)	0.2
Trisyllable	1(7250)	0.01
Quadrisyllable	1(4005)	0.02
Pentasyllable	0(1085)	0
Hexasyllable	0(79)	0
Heptasyllable	0(16)	0

Hexasyllable	0(8)	0

B7. Breakdown of h-insertion social constraints results for Silent-h words for the current study

Constraints	**Tokens with h-insertion (Total)**	**Percentage (%)**
Gender		
Female	16(29)	55.2
Male	167(252)	66.3
Social Context		
Academic Discussion	7(41)	17.1
Conversation	25(35)	71.4
Legal	2(7)	28.6
Media	39(65)	60
Politics	110(131)	83.97
TV Demonstration	0(2)	0
Religious Discussion	0(0)	0
Unknown	0(0)	0
Profession		
Academic	17(25)	68
Civil Servant	7(7)	100
Clergy	1(2)	50
TV Demonstrator	0(1)	0
Footballer	0(1)	0
Legal Practitioner	3(38)	7.9
Media Personality	16(33)	48.5
Medical Practitioner	0(2)	0
Politician	124(153)	81.0
Military	0(0)	0
School Proprietor	0(0)	0
Musician	0(0)	0
Real Estate Practitioner	0(0)	0
Unknown	15(19)	78.9
Ethnicity		

Hausa	25(50)	50
Yoruba	144(175)	82.3
Igbo	14(56)	25

B8. Breakdown of h-insertion social constraints results for vowel-initial words for the current study

Constraints	**Tokens with h-insertion (Total)**	**Percentage (%)**
Gender		
Female	56(24546)	0.2
Male	26(76009)	0.03
Social Context		
Academic Discussion	25(23523)	0.1
Business Transaction	0(200)	0
Conversation	19(31620)	0.06
Legal	0(5153)	0
Media	11(30995)	0.04
Politics	0(4121)	0
TV Demonstration	27(4162)	0.6
Religious Discussion	0(367)	0
Unknown	0(223)	0
Profession		
Academic	29(30262)	0.1
Civil Servant	0(1643)	0
Clergy	0(1068)	0
TV Demonstrator	7(2220)	0.3
Footballer	0(429)	0
Legal Practitioner	0(5073)	0
Media Personality	6(16002)	0.04
Medical Practitioner	0(287)	0
Politician	5(9748)	0.05
Military	0(595)	0
School Proprietor	0(244)	0

Musician	0(81)	0
Real Estate Practitioner	0(119)	0
Unknown	35(32461)	0.1
Ethnicity		
Hausa	0(16984)	0
Yoruba	80(50350)	0.2
Igbo	2(33221)	0.01

B9. Breakdown of h-deletion linguistic constraints results by ethnicity for the current study

Constraints	**Hausa**		**Yoruba**		**Igbo**	
	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	**%**	**Tokens with h-deletion (Total)**	**%**	**Tokens with h-deletion (Total)**	**%**
Word Type						
Content words	7(554)	1.3	229(3532)	6.4	11(1067)	1.1
Who words	0 (98)	0	6(673)	0.9	3(262)	1.1
How words	7(144)	4.9	50(747)	6.7	1(252)	0.4
Here words	0(69)	0	16(575)	2.8	0(232)	0
Preceding Context (Narrow)						
Consonant	6(408)	1.5	146(2574)	5.7	8(936)	0.9
Vowels	4(441)	0.9	124(793)	15.6	1(187)	0.5
Pause	4(119)	3.4	31(2160)	1.4	7(690)	1.0
Preceding Context (Broad)						
Voiced Obstruents	2(102)	1.9	58(802)	7.2	2(275)	0.7
Voiceless Obstruents	2(158)	1.3	45(899)	5.0	1(317)	0.3
Liquid	0(20)	0	7(220)	3.2	2(104)	1.9
Nasal	2(126)	1.6	36(654)	5.5	3(240)	1.3

Pause	4(115)	3.5	31(791)	3.9	1(187)	0.5
Vowels	4(343)	1.2	124(2963)	4.2	7(690)	1.0
Following Context (Anteriority)						
Front	13(629)	2.1	217(1936)	11.2	12(1235)	1.0
Central	0(14)	0	8(68)	11.7	0(49)	0
Back	1(222)	0.5	46(845)	5.4	4(529)	0.8
Following Context (Height)						
High	4(228)	1.8	42(819)	5.1	7(819)	0.9
Mid	1(250)	0.4	97(960)	10.1	2(520)	0.8
Low	9(387)	2.3	132(1070)	12.3	7(645)	1.1
Primary Stress						
Stressed	5(528)	0.9	198(1873)	10.3	11(1026)	1.1
Unstressed	9(819)	2.7	73(976)	7.5	5(787)	0.6
Position						
Mid word	3(46)	6.5	18(143)	12.6	1(58)	1.7
Word initial	11(819)	1.3	253(2706)	9.3	15(1755)	0.9
Syllables						
Monosyllable	8(554)	1.4	128(1786)	7.2	8(1234)	0.6
Disyllable	3(211)	1.4	89(746)	11.9	6(389)	1.5
Trisyllable	1(80)	1.3	49(275)	17.8	1(153)	0.7
Quadrisyllable	2(17)	11.8	5(38)	9.8	1(27)	3.7
Pentasyllable	0(1)	0	0(3)	0	0(6)	0
Hexasyllables	0(1)	0	0(1)	0	0(4)	0
Heptasyllables	0(1)	0	0(0)	0	0(0)	0

B10. Breakdown of h-deletion social constraints results by ethnicity for the current study

Constraints	Hausa		Yoruba		Igbo	
	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	h-%	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	h-%	Tokens with h-deletion (Total)	h-%
Gender						
Female	1(13)	7.7	166(1090)	15.2	3(534)	0.6
Male	19(851)	2.2	105(1759)	5.9	13(1279)	1.0
Social Context						
Academic Discussion	0(41)	0	66(466)	14.2	4(779)	0.5
Business Transaction	0(0)	0	2(11)	18.2	0(0)	0
Conversation	11(513)	2.1	51(551)	9.3	2(411)	0.5
Legal	0(0)	0	3(306)	1	0(0)	0
Media	0(247)	0	71(1101)	6.4	9(595)	1.5
Politics	3(64)	4.7	14(45)	31.1	0(11)	0
TV Demonstration	0(0)	0	64(369)	17.3	1(17)	5.9
Profession						
Academic	6(209)	2.9	106(805)	13.2	2(640)	0.3
Civil Servant	0(0)	0	0(45)	0	0(26)	0
TV Demonstrator	0(0)	0	44(252)	17.5	0(0)	0
Clergy	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	1(110)	0.9
Footballer	0(0)	0	0(24)	0	0(0)	0
Construction Worker	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	1(10)	10
Legal practitioner	0(0)	0	2(334)	0.6	1(68)	1.5
Media Personality	0(66)	0	63(739)	8.5	2(354)	0.6
Medical Practitioner	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	1(19)	5.3
Military	0(0)	0	0(5)	0	0(0)	0
Pharmacist	0(0)	0	0(4)	0	0(0)	0
Politician	3(258)	1.7	15(94)	16	1(98)	1.0
Publisher	0(0)	0	2(15)	13.3	2(15)	13.3
Real Estate Agent	0(0)	0	0(12)	0	0(0)	0
School Proprietor	0(0)	0	2(11)	18.2	0(0)	0
Singer	0(0)	0	0(3)	0	0(0)	0

Unknown	5(332)	1.5	39(521)	7.5	5(473)	1.1

B11. Breakdown of h-insertion linguistic constraints results for Variety V word type by ethnicity for the current study

Constraints	**Hausa**		**Yoruba**		**Igbo**	
	Tokens with h-insertion (Total) %		**Tokens with h-insertion (Total) %**		**Tokens with h-insertion (Total) %**	
Word Type						
Silent-h	25(50)	50	144(175)	82.3	14(56)	25
Preceding Context (Narrow)						
Consonant	10(22)	45.5	25(36)	69.4	8(20)	40
Vowels	8(16)	50	24(36)	66.7	5(19)	26.3
Pause	7(12)	58.3	95(103)	92.2	1(17)	5.9
Preceding Context (Broad)						
Voiced Obstruents	5(9)	55.6	7(8)	87.5	2(5)	40
Voiceless Obstruents	4(9)	44.4	7(9)	77.8	4(10)	40
Liquid	0(0)	0	0(1)	0	1(1)	100
Nasal	1(4)	25	11(18)	61.1	1(4)	25
Pause	7(12)	58.5	95(103)	92.2	1(17)	5.9
Vowels	8(16)	50	24(36)	66.7	5(19)	26.3
Following Context (Anteriority)						
Front	1(7)	14.3	22(35)	62.9	4(9)	44.4
Central	0(0)	0	3(7)	42.9	0(0)	0
Back	24(43)	55.8	119(133)	89.5	10(47)	21.3
Following Context (Height)						
High	0(0)	0	3(7)	42.9	0(0)	0
Mid	24(43)	55.8	119(133)	89.5	10(47)	21.3

Low	1(7)	14.3	22(35)	62.9	4(9)	44.4
Primary Stress						
Stressed	25(50)	50	46(66)	69.7	14(56)	25
Unstressed	0(0)	0	98(109)	89.9	0(0)	0
Position						
Mid word	0(0)	0	3(7)	42.9	0(0)	0
Word initial	25(50)	50	141(168)	83.9	14(56)	25
Syllables						
Monosyllable	1(7)	14.3	22(35)	62.9	4(9)	44.4
Disyllable	4(11)	36.4	5(10)	50	6(11)	54.5
Trisyllable	4(10)	40	16(24)	66.7	0(0)	0
Quadrisyllable	16(22)	72.3	101(106)	95.3	4(36)	11.1
Pentasyllable	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	0(0)	0
Hexasyllables	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	0(0)	0
Heptasyllables	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	0(0)	0

B12. Breakdown of h-insertion linguistic constraints for vowel-initial word type results by ethnicity for the current study

Constraints	**Hausa**		**Yoruba**		**Igbo**	
	Tokens with h-insertion (Total) %		**Tokens with h-insertion (Total) %**		**Tokens with h-insertion (Total) %**	
Word Type						
Vowel-initial	0(16984)	0	80(50350)	0.2	2(33221)	0.01
Preceding Context (Narrow)						
Consonant	0(9532)	0	35(30080)	0.12	2(20868)	0.01
Vowels	0(4269)	0	41(12411)	0.3	0(8312)	0
Pause	0(3183)	0	4(7859)	0.5	0(4051)	0
Preceding Context (Broad)						
Voiced Obstruents	0(2084)	0	17(7147)	0.2	0(4885)	0

Voiceless Obstruents	0(5445)	0	12(17175)	0.7	2(11995)	0.02
Liquid	0(0)	0	0(235)	0	0(0)	0
Nasal	0(2003)	0	6(874)	0.7	0(3978)	0
Pause	0(3183)	0	4(1130)	0.4	0(4051)	0
Vowels	0(4269)	0	41(1793)	2.3	0(8312)	0
Following Context						
Voiced Obstruents	0(4058)	0	7(12898)	0.54	0(8794)	0
Voiceless Obstruents	0(3245)	0	9(10367)	0.1	0(6609)	0
Liquid	0(1814)	0	21(5113)	0.4	0(3411)	0
Nasal	0(4936)	0	24(14094)	0.2	0(9375)	0
Pause	0(2199)	0	1(5758)	0.02	0(3592)	0
Vowels	0(732)	0	18(2120)	0.84	2(1440)	0.14
Word Class						
Function Word	0(8345)	0	12(26889)	0.04	0(17858)	0
Content Word	0(8639)	0	68(23461)	0.29	2(15363)	0.01
Position						
Mid word	0(14)	0	0(65)	0	0(27)	0
Word initial	0(16970)	0	80(50285)	0.16	2(33194)	0.01
Syllables						
Monosyllable	0(12029)	0	48(35614)	0.13	2(23257)	0.01
Disyllable	0(2780)	0	30(8510)	0.35	0(5928)	0
Trisyllable	0(1244)	0	1(3650)	0.03	0(2356)	0
Quadrisyllable	0(691)	0	1(2014)	0.05	0(1300)	0
Pentasyllable	0(222)	0	0(522)	0	0(341)	0
Hexasyllable	0(17)	0	0(33)	0	0(29)	0
Heptasyllable	0(1)	0	0(6)	0	0(9)	0
Octasyllable	0(0)	0	0(1)	0	0(1)	0

B13. Breakdown of h-insertion social constraints for Silent-h word results by ethnicity for the current study

Constraints	Hausa		Yoruba		Igbo	
	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	%	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	%	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	%
Gender						
Female	0(0)	0	13(20)	65	3(9)	33.3
Male	25(50)	50	131(155)	84.5	11(47)	5.9
Social Context						
Academic Discussion	2(2)	100	3(5)	6	2(34)	5.9
Conversation	5(11)	45.5	18(22)	81.8	2(2)	100
Legal	0(0)	0	2(7)	28.6	0(0)	0
Business Transaction	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	0(0)	0
Media	8(17)	47.1	22(36)	61.1	9(12)	75
Politics	10(20)	50	99(104)	95.2	1(7)	14.3
TV Demonstration	0(0)	0	0(1)	0	0(1)	0
Profession						
Academic	0(3)	0	14(19)	73.7	3(3)	100
Civil Servant	0(0)	0	7(7)	100	0(0)	0
Clergy	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	1(2)	50
TV Demonstrator	0(0)	0	0(1)	0	0(0)	0
Footballer	0(0)	0	0(1)	0	0(0)	0
Legal Practitioner	0(0)	0	3(9)	33.3	0(29)	0
Media Personality	0(1)	0	12(24)	50	4(8)	50
Medical Practitioner	0(0)	0	0(0)	0	0(2)	0
Politician	18(36)	50	101(106)	95.3	5(11)	45.5
Unknown	7(10)	70	7(8)	87.5	1(1)	100

B14. Breakdown of h-insertion social constraints for vowel-initial word type results by ethnicity for the current study

Constraints	Hausa		Yoruba		Igbo	
	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	%	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	%	Tokens with h-insertion (Total)	%
Gender						
Female	0(310)	0	56(15355)	0.4	0(8881)	0
Male	0(16674)	0	24(34995)	0.1	2(24340)	0.01
Social Context						
Academic Discussion	0(575)	0	25(11214)	0.2	2(12116)	0.02
Conversation	0(10017)	0	17(12356)	0.14	0(9247)	0
Legal	0 (0)	0	0(5153)	0	0(0)	0
Business Transaction	0 (0)	0	0(200)	0	0 (0)	0
Media	0(4662)	0	11(15642)	0.1	0(10691)	0
Politics	0(1730)	0	0(1928)	0	0(463)	0
TV Demonstration	0 (0)	0	27(3634)	0.7	0(528)	0
Religious Discussion	0 (0)	0	0(223)	0	0(367)	0
Profession						
Academic	0(3945)	0	29(15057)	0.2	2(11260)	100
Civil Servant	0 (0)	0	0(1037)	0	0(606)	0
Clergy	0 (0)	0	0(0)	0	0(1068)	0
TV Demonstrator	0 (0)	0	7(2061)	0.34	0(158)	0
Footballer	0 (0)	0	0(429)	0	0(0)	0
Legal Practitioner	0 (0)	0	0(4359)	0	0(714)	0
Media Personality	0(1547)	0	6(8499)	0.1	0(5956)	0
Medical Practitioner	0 (0)	0	0(96)	0	0(191)	0
Politician	0(4940)	0	5(2871)	0.2	0(1937)	0
Military	0 (0)	0	0(595)	0	0 (0)	0
School Proprietor	0 (0)	0	0(244)	0	0 (0)	0
Publisher	0 (0)	0	0 (0)	0	0(201)	0
Unknown	0 (0)	0	33(14902)	0.22	0(11007)	0

B15. Results for speakers who produced /h/ as [w] in *who* with social metadata

Speaker_ID	**Number of Tokens with [w] Realisations**	**Ethnicity**	**Gender**	**Profession**	**Social Context**
Bdis_18_2	1	Igbo	Female	Media Personality	Media
Com_36_2	1	Igbo	Female	Unknown	Media
Bnew_31_3	2	Yoruba	Female	Media Personality	Media
Btal_36	1	Yoruba	Male	Media Personality	Media
Con_32	1	Yoruba	Female	Academic	Conversation
Nbtal_02	1	Yoruba	Male	Academic	Academic Discussion
Dem_04	1	Yoruba	Female	Demonstrator	TV Demonstration