

# Language Change: A Study of Northern Nigerian Sub-Regional Variety of English

Mohammed Sada Bature

Department of English and French,  
Umaru Musa Yar'adua University,  
Katsina State, Nigeria  
[sada.bature@umyu.edu.ng](mailto:sada.bature@umyu.edu.ng)

## *Abstract*

The paper examines changes in pronunciation of some English sounds by some Hausa speakers of English and of course speakers of other languages that belong to Chadic subfamily of languages found in Northern Nigeria. The aim is to show how and why educated young Hausa (L2) speakers of English pronounce some sounds of English. Previously educated Hausa (L2) speakers of English used to pronounce dental fricatives, central vowels and centring diphthongs almost close to the Received Pronunciation (RP). Even the less educated substitute the voiceless dental fricative and voiced dental fricative with /s/ and /z/ respectively, whereas speakers of other languages in Nigeria, which mostly belong to Benue-Congo and Niger-Congo subfamilies, substitute voiceless dental fricatives and voiced dental fricatives with /t/ and /d/ respectively. The Ethnography of Communication underpins the study. The data for the work was obtained through observation and was analysed qualitatively using descriptive approach. The analysis reveals that now young educated Hausa speakers of English pronounce voiceless dental fricatives and voiced dental fricatives with /t/ and /d/ respectively. It has also been revealed that the specific factors responsible for the new pattern of pronunciation are pedagogical and sociolinguistic.

**Keywords:** Language Change, Chadic subfamily, dental fricatives, central vowels, centring diphthongs.

## **Introduction**

Mother tongue interference is one of the overt features of English as a second language in Nigeria. The interference can be observed at all linguistic levels. Phonological interference is an obvious feature of the English in Nigeria. There are some variations in phonological interference in different parts of the country as a result of multilingual nature of the country. For example, while Hausa speakers of English substitute the voiceless dental fricative and voiced dental fricative with /s/ and /z/ respectively, speakers of other languages in Nigeria, which mostly belong to Benue-Congo and Niger-Congo phylums, substitute voiceless dental fricatives and voiced dental fricatives with /t/ and /d/ respectively. This work sets out to describe the observed changes in the pattern young educated Hausa speakers of English pronounce dental fricatives, central vowels and centring diphthongs as a result of pedagogical and sociolinguistic factors.

Akujobi and Umoh (2022) study the different varieties of the Nigerian English and their sociolinguistic implications on communication. The research is purely quantitative as questionnaires

were administered to collect data. The data were analysed using the Statistical package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data analysis. Following the analyses, they concluded by recommending retaining the standard variety as the medium of instruction in schools to enhance students' competence and performance in the language. The paper focuses on the existing varieties of the English Language in Nigeria while the current research aims to show the convergence of the varieties in northern Nigeria using qualitative approach.

Olaniyi (2014) examines the various classifications of varieties of English spoken in Nigeria on the basis of ethnicity and dialects. The author pays attention to the sociolinguistic perspective of phonological features of the Nigerian English and also considers multilingual and ethnic influences on English language in different parts of Nigeria. Findings of the research indicated that phonologically there are points of convergence and divergence in spoken English of speakers from different regions and ethnic groups of Nigeria. He points out that the affected sounds are plosives, fricatives, affricates, continuants and central vowels. That is to say the deviation in the articulation of these sounds is similar among the participants' articulation of some sounds while ethnic peculiarities manifest in articulation of other sounds. The research counts as a basis for the current work. This because the divergence in the deviations in pronunciation of English sounds is now fading as a result of multiethnic influences in some parts of northern Nigeria as the pattern of deviation tends to be changing now.

### **Methodology**

The work is qualitative in nature, hence descriptive approach was used to analyse the data. Being the work qualitative, observation method was employed to obtain data from day-to-day speeches of young Hausa speakers of English through purposive sampling. The data include pronunciation patterns of dental fricatives, central vowels and centring diphthongs. The trend was followed for over twenty years. However, the data was taken in twelve months – from January 2019 to December, 2019.

### **Introduction of the English in Nigeria**

Contact between Nigerian and Britain, according to Awonusi (2004 b, p. 46), started in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Since then it has been gradually taking over some functions of the indigenous languages. However, according to Taiwo (2009) British merchants and Christian missionaries came to Badagry, near Lagos and Calabar in late 16<sup>th</sup> century. That time the English men found it necessary to impose and teach the natives the English language in order to train clerks, interpreters, stewards, messengers and servants to help the English men in administrative activities, business transaction, missionary activities and domestic activities (Idiagbon 2005, p. 417). It was also noted that when the freed slaves returned to Nigeria after abolishing slave trade, they worked as translators or interpreters for the Christian missionaries (Taiwo, 2009).

The English language was made the language of administration following the establishment of colonial rule in the territory. Initially, English was learnt informally before the introduction of school system because the interaction in the language was only between the colonial masters and their servants and those who had business with them. Later English became more popular with the establishment of schools across the territory. According to Jibril (2000, p. 411) “English began to be formally learnt in Nigeria in the 19<sup>th</sup> century” when the colonial administration made English a school subject as well as the language of teaching and learning in schools. This was however resisted in western Nigeria on the ground that English was being given undue preference over indigenous

languages. To show the level of the resistance, Awonusi (2004 b) observes that the reason for the resistance is that some ex-slaves and converts, who were educated in England, on coming back to Nigeria, pretended that they did not understand the vernacular and could only speak through interpreters.

The existence of English language in southern Nigeria predates its existence in the north because colonial and evangelical activities by the English people began in the south before it started in the North. Initially, English was used in the north only for the purpose of educating the children of the Emirs and Chief. Thus, English was not made available to the common man because “English usage was restricted to educating the children of the Hausa/Fulani feudal class” (Taiwo, 2009, p.4). After the 1914 amalgamation of north and south still English had more functions in the south than in the north because the colonial administration did make it open to the public. Even the constitution of 1954 recommended the use of English language in the national assembly and the regional assemblies of the West and East but recommended use of Hausa language in the northern house of assembly. This is in consideration of the differences in attitudes to English language usage in the north and south. After the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Protectorates, the usage of the language took a new dimension because even in the north it became accessible to anybody who was enrolled in the western school system. It thus, became a language of those who obtained western education. According to (Jowitt 1991) in Bature 2015 the presence of the British promoted the 'Standard British English combined with Received Pronunciation' which was retained by the first generation of the Nigerians who occupied posts in the government, the politicians and the elite in general because of the prestige attached to it.

All the same, according to Odumuh et al. (1987) many people in Nigeria speak substandard variety of Nigerian English because they are barely educated in the language and have had a minimum exposure to it. Their speech is full of interference from their first language. They add that both in the north and in the south there are “ethnolinguistic influences on the English language usage of Nigerian” (p. 19). They cited /f/, /θ/ and /ð/ being absent in Hausa and consequently substituted with /Φ/, /s/ and /z/ respectively. Another reason is presented by Taiwo (2013) where he writes that spoken English everywhere including Nigeria has not been accorded due consideration in the field of teaching and learning. He further notes that in Nigeria students do not want to speak English at school in order to avoid being humiliated for committing pronunciation or grammatical error. Students in northern Nigeria are more prone to this challenge of intimidation due cultural issues.

The other reason behind this, according to Jowitt (1991), is exposure of Nigerians to many different varieties of English right from the beginning. There were speakers of non – standard accents such as the varieties spoken in Cockney, Yorkshire and Birmingham in various trade business sectors. There were also Irish and Scottish missionaries in different parts of the country. The sophisticated (or near native) was the variety spoken by people who are highly educated in the language and specifically have received special training in spoken English. These speakers are those who have had a reasonably long exposure to the Standard English and have been influenced by English native speakers. Most of them even at a particular point in time attended courses in the United Kingdom (Odumuh et al. 1987, p. 29 in Bature, 2005).

Similarly, Adetugbo (1993) points out that the problem of interference of the speakers' mother tongue sound system on their spoken English coupled with the problem of teaching and learning English and

the problem of English orthographic system are the causes of mispronunciation of English as a second language. Again in some parts of Nigeria especially in the North, students' point of contact with English is mainly in the classroom and in written texts. They rarely interact in English outside their classrooms and the writing system of English does not guarantee pronouncing a word as it is written. There is no match between written English words and their pronunciation. Words are spelt with letters that are either pronounced differently or even not pronounced at all. That is to say English spelling and orthography contributes to pronunciation problem of Nigerian speakers of English. In other words orthography of English is one of the causes of mispronunciation of English by Nigerians. Furthermore, in English there are only five vowel letters (a, e, i, o and u) which are used in writing. In pronunciation however, there are 12 monophthongs and 8 diphthongs and also five triphthongs. Probably no Nigerian language has as many vowels as English especially the diphthongs and triphthongs.

In southern Nigeria however, English is spoken everywhere in the streets, markets worshipping places, motor parks etc. Even if one does not attend any formal school system, he will acquire English in public places like the ones mentioned above. English is spoken with all interferences amidst Pidgin and other languages in these places. In the process of acquisition, one will just assimilate whatever is spoken in his environment without due consideration of grammatical and pronunciation correctness. For example the English central vowels and centring diphthongs are rarely pronounced correctly because they are not common in Nigerian languages and lack of correspondence between spellings of most English words and their respective pronunciation.

### **Reasons for Varied English Pronunciation in Nigeria**

A striking and significant thing about language is that it exists in varieties in different regions, contexts and situations. "Even within a geographical region or a community, the individuals vary in their speech patterns" (Akujobi and Umoh 2022, p.88). They explain that "There are no two geographical regions or communities which speak a particular language in exactly the same way at all times" (p.88) and that even an individual speaks variously in different times.

This is consistent with language dynamism. English language as a language that spreads across the globe and come into contact with different languages is prone to variation in different places. Among these, there is Nigerian English. According to Oguji and Onuoha (2022, p. 218)

Nigerian English is that variety of English used by Nigerians to communicate across socio-cultural boundaries. It is different from the native speaker's variety in terms of its use of some culture-specification as well as its non-observance of certain global and surface structure constraints.

Thus it needs not be gainsaid that different varieties of English that are somehow different from British Standard English are spoken by Nigerian English speakers. Several factors are responsible for varied pronunciation of English by different ethnic groups in Nigeria. According to Bobda (1995), this can be attributed to two factors which are geographical and historical. He considers the large population of Nigeria and its large size of 923,766 km<sup>2</sup> as the geographical factor and as the main cause of the difference in pronunciation. The geographical factor led to differences in colonial and education system employed by Britain in different parts of the country which is the historical factor. In other words the British colonial masters administered the different parts of Nigeria differently due to its size and diverse ethnolinguistic and religious backgrounds for the convenience of the colonial masters. Similarly, different systems of education were given for the same reason. Hence, teachers of different backgrounds who were brought from different parts of Britain served as

teachers in different parts of Nigeria as a British colony. Wherefore, one of the reasons for the diversity in pronunciation among Nigerians is differences in the linguistic and social backgrounds of the native speakers of English that colonised and served as teachers in the different regions of Nigeria. These effects still manifest in the pronunciation of the Nigerian people as Bobda (1995) reports that there are still manifestations of some Scottish accent in Igbo English as /ε or ε:/ are still pronounced in words like learn, modern etc whereas [a] is pronounced by Yoruba in the same words. He adds that the presence of the RP [ʌ] for 'cut in the north, unlike Yoruba and Igbo [ɔ] is attributable to the quality of the English accent of the early teachers who were from the RP background.

In the same vein, (Jibril 2000, p. 415) writes that English teaching in the north assumed a completely different form from that of the south right from the start. The colonial administration discouraged missionary education in the muslim area and shouldered the responsibility of providing teachers in the government schools. According to Jibril (2000, p. 416), "The teachers that were appointed were mostly products of the English public schools, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge who were well-tutored in the art of speaking English with a Received Pronunciation accent". He further explains that "the colonial administration established Katsina College in 1921 to train teachers for the provincial schools in the North". He adds that "the College is famous for the spoken English of its products". He reports Galadanci (1966), Hogben (1966) and Bello (1962) maintaining that "care was taken to teach phonetics of English and that the students were thoroughly drilled in the pronunciation of difficult English sounds". He also quotes Onabamiro (1979) as saying that "Gerald Power and Charles Whitting were responsible for the perfection of the teaching of English at the Katsina Training College...Power was a product of an English public school prior to going to Oxford". Most of the teachers at the College were British who were trained at Oxford and Cambridge and were well trained in teaching spoken English with a Received Pronunciation.

The College was famous for the spoken English of its products. The students were well drilled. One of them is quoted by Jibril (2000, p. 416) as saying "we had to go on saying the offending word until we got it perfectly then we never forgot it". The success of Katsina College in passing on the R.P to its products is attested by Jibril (2000, p. 417) "relics of the R.P influence could only be picked up in schools where the teachers were Katsina trained". According to Jibril (2000:417) the speech of the products of the famous Katsina College who taught in the native authority schools in the Northern Nigeria, was very close to the Received Pronunciation.

Idiagbon (2005) views the cause of the variation in English pronunciation from a different perspective. He sees the phenomenon as something deliberate in addition to being phonologically induced. He is of the view that "every bit of ethnic manifestation is done sometimes deliberately and with pride". To strengthen his point He (p. 418) quoted Ofuoku (1990) as saying "it is expected that members of an ethnic group seeking social and psycholinguistic distinctiveness will invariably accentuate the ethnic markers in their speech by exhibiting remarkable speech divergence instead of convergence". Idiagbon (2005, P. 418) therefore, concludes that "since rivalry persists in Nigerian context, many ethnic groups think it is by speaking English marked by ethnosyncracies that their social identity can be safeguarded". Idiagbon (2005, p.419) also maintains that "the user's communicative competence also has role to play and that the low level of education, exposure and inter-ethnic interaction also promote the lackadaisical attitude of Nigerians towards attaining a standard form of Nigerian English". He also observes that the natives often reluctantly use the standard form of English because it is perceived as being too formal and totally foreign to Nigerian.



The natives therefore create what he calls “dialectal English” to establish a form of informal conversational context. Idiagbon (2005, p. 419) however puts it that the English language remains the only strong code that binds Nigerians together irrespective of the country's multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic differences.

Idiagbon (2005, p. 418) however is of the opinion that “of all the three major tribes in Nigeria, Hausa seems to be the least that attaches great importance or exerts pressure in speaking British Standard English”. He adds that “the Hausa people do not only regard their language as 'Primus interferes' among the Nigerian languages but also see the English language as language of Christianity and as language of foreigners who have come to subdue our cultural and religious institutions“. He further explains that the Hausa people, being the tribe that produced most of the political leaders in the country, their “dialectal English” is often more recognised by many Hausa top government officials and some of the Hausa academics and that acquiring the R.P is not an issue to them. Idiagbon is therefore viewing the Hausa variety of the Nigerian English as the most favoured in the country.

Oshodi and Owolewa , (2020 p. 37) opinion is that despite the fact that the educated variety of Nigerian English is close to the British standard English, there are “some lexical, tonal, structural and semantic differences” which characterise the educated variety in different ways. To him inadequate exposure to British Standard English and interference of indigenous languages produce what is termed Nigerian English. They further argue that each sub-variety of spoken English in Nigeria is characterized by regional and tribal tone which results in structural differences. He adds that these are induced “by features of the L1 of the Nigerian speaker combined with inadequate knowledge of the L2 (English) which previous scholars adduced to differences in academic qualifications and competence in English”. The issue of Standard English comes in because earlier literature considers it as basis of classification. In this sense apart from the educated variety (so-called standard) which is spoken by educated Nigerians, there are the regional sub-varieties. Moreover, despite these differences between different ethnic groups, educated Nigerian English is similar across the country and it differs from that of speakers who are lowly educated even from the same tribe. To support this assertion Oshodi and Owolewa, (2020 p. 37) cite Jowitt (1991), Akere (2004) and Egbe (2004) are all of the view that level of “educational attainment” is the determining factor for categorisation of English in Nigeria. So a person either speaks educated variety or other varieties depending on his level of education.

### Central Vowels

These are vowels in whose articulation the position of the tongue is neutral in the oral cavity. They are articulated in the centre or intermediate position of the mouth. The shape of the lips is unrounded and relaxed while the tongue is positioned in the centre and mid height (Susannah, 2024). The tongue is in between the position of the back vowels and front vowels while pronouncing these vowels. In most varieties of English, central vowels are in central position and are short in their length (enwiki.org, 2024). In short the central vowels are those vowels pronounced in the centre of the oral cavity with the tongue in neutral and central position and the lips midway opened and unrounded. The three central vowels in most varieties of English are represented by these phonemic symbols: /ʌ/, /ɜ:/ and /ə/.

### Centring Diphthongs

Diphthongs are vowel that results from glide of articulators. A diphthong is a combination of vowel

sounds “which begin with a vowel sound and end with a glide” (Yule, 2003, p. 49). Diphthongs are described by Roach (2004, p. 21) as “sounds which consist of a movement or glide from one vowel to another”. Although the product of the glide is heard as a single sound, a diphthong is not identified as a single vowel due to the prominence of the glide component Clark, Yallop and Fletcher (2007). According to Roach (2004, p. 21) centring diphthongs “glide towards the /ə/ schwa vowel”. The centring diphthongs are “produced with a tongue movement from a peripheral to a central position” Clark, Yallop and Fletcher (2007, p. 35) in the oral cavity. From all this discussion it is clear that the centring diphthongs are described as such because the glide is towards the schwa which is a central vowel. Out of the eight diphthongs in the British Standard English, three are centring diphthongs. They are phonemically represented by these symbols: /ɪə/ /eə/ and /ʊə/.

### **Dental Fricatives**

These are sounds produced when the tip of the tongue is placed behind the upper and lower incisors. Their manner of articulation is blockage of the air stream and allowing the pulmonic air to escape through narrow opening with a kind of opening (Yule, 2003). According to Roach (2004, p.10) “sounds made with the tongue touching the front teeth are called dental”. While explaining the fricative manner of articulation, Roach (2004, p.48) writes that in their production, “air escapes through a small passage and makes a hissing sound”. In their bid to explain dental phonemes, Clark, Yallop and Fletcher (2007) specify that dental in this context means upper front teeth. They write that articulation of these phonemes involves tip of the tongue and back of the upper incisors. Clark, Yallop and Fletcher (2007) also explain fricative consonants as sound produced when friction or turbulence is created by organs of speech. The voiceless dental fricative and voiced dental fricative are represented by the following phonemic symbols /θ/ and /ð/ respectively.

### **Convergence of Pronunciation Patterns of the North and of the South**

The differences in pronunciation continued with later generations of different parts of Nigeria. The native Hausa speakers and of course speakers of other Chadic languages in Nigeria continued to mispronounce the central vowels as /ɑ:/. Also they articulate centring diphthongs with glide towards /ɑ:/ which is close to the schwa. Furthermore, native speakers of Hausa and other Chadic languages usually substitute voiced dental fricative /ð/ with /z/ and voiceless dental fricative /θ/ with /s/. By contrast speakers of other languages, which mostly belong to Benue-Congo and Niger-Congo families, substitute the central vowels with /D/ except where the schwa is spelt as –er as in driver and teacher. They also articulate centring diphthongs with glide towards /ɔ:/ instead of the schwa. They also substitute /ð/ and /θ/ with /d/ and /t/ respectively.

Today it appears young Nigerians below the age of 45 from all linguistic and educational attainment backgrounds in Nigeria mispronounce the sounds in the same way. The reason for this is probably the background of teachers especially at lower levels of education which is sociolinguistic factor. It is evident that since the last half of 1980s, most of the Hausa elites take their children to private primary and secondary schools due to falling standard of the quality of education in public schools in Nigeria. Most of the teachers in the private schools everywhere in Nigeria are speakers of Benue- Congo and Niger-Congo languages. It is a well-known fact that most of the private school proprietors go for cheap labour. Often importance is not attached to the quality of teachers. That is why most of the teachers (irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds) are not trained in spoken English; they therefore speak English with interference at all linguistic levels. There are a lot of phonologically induced errors in both their spoken and written English. Thus, pronunciation of these teachers serves as model

to the students. Consequently, students assimilate their teachers' pattern of pronunciation as a result of their constant interaction with them.

Often, the features transcend pronunciation but also affects writing as many phonologically induced errors are found in writings of students and even some lecturers. In other words, so many spelling and other errors are made as a result of mother tongue interference. For example, the author came across the phrase: “in other words” written as “in order words” many times while marking undergraduate examinations. Indeed the same error was even seen in a peer-reviewed online published article written by PhD holder and a lecturer. Similar phonologically induced spelling errors such as meat instead of myth; noting instead of nothing; fate instead of faith; bordering instead of bothering; modern instead of more than etc are very common in written texts.

### **New Pronunciation Patterns in Northern Nigeria**

As observed most young Hausa speakers now articulate some English sound especially the dental fricatives, central vowels and centring diphthong like other Nigerians do. The following are the English sounds and the patterns in which they are noticed to be articulated by most young Hausa speakers of English.

#### **Vowels**

- i. /ʌ/ - this sound is usually pronounced as /ɔ:/ as in government and under.
- ii. /ɜ:/ - this sound is usually pronounced as /ɔ:/ as in nursing and further. In some cases, it is pronounced as /e/ as in bird
- iii. /ə/ - this sound is usually pronounced as /ɔ:/ when it is spelt “-or” as in doctor, “-our” as in honour, and “-ure” as in culture. Furthermore, it is commonly mispronounced as it appears in different spellings because it is represented in spelling by all the five vowel letters in different words. For example, about, polite, problem, activity, campus

The most commonly affected centring diphthongs are discussed as follows:

- iv. /ʊə/ - this sound is usually mispronounced as long /ʊɔ:/ which does not exist in English. For example, schwa is pronounced as /ʊɔ:/ instead of /ʊə/.
- v. /ɪə/ - this sound is usually mispronounced as /ɪɔ:/ which also does not exist in English as in /si:nɪə/ which is pronounced as /si:nɪɔ:/

#### **Consonants**

- i. /θ/ - this sound is usually mispronounced as /t/. It is observed that this sound used to be substituted with /s/ but now it is commonly pronounced by Hausa speakers of English as /t/ as speakers of other languages in Nigeria do.
- ii. /ð/ - this sound is usually mispronounced as /d/. This sound also used to be pronounced as /z/ by Hausa speakers of English but now due to factors outlined and explained earlier it is substituted with /d/ as other Nigerians do.

These new pattern of pronunciation of the English language in Northern Nigeria as pointed out is as a result of contact with speakers of other sub-variety of Nigerian English. There is an indication that despite historical and geographical differences in acquisition of the English language and also difference in linguistic and cultural backgrounds in Nigeria, the extent of differences in the sub-varieties of Nigerian English is being narrower. Thus, the study has made an important revelation



about English language in one of the most populous countries that uses English as a second language. Furthermore, observation has shown that nowadays there are even some Hausa speakers who have attained high level of education but still pronounce the sounds in question in the same way.

## Conclusion

To sum up, the paper captures historical background of the English in Nigeria. The work is based on the premise that now young educated Hausa speakers of English pronounce voiceless dental fricatives and voiced dental fricatives with /t/ and /d/ respectively just like speakers of Benue-Congo and Niger-Congo languages in Nigeria do. As pointed out, most teachers in private schools in northern Nigeria are native speakers of Benue-Congo and Niger-Congo languages. Teachers are models to their students in all respects. In language acquisition or learning as the case may be teachers' pronunciation and indeed other aspects of language serve as input to students. As identified in our discussion, most teachers at lower schools speak English with the accent of their respective native languages. Their spoken English is often characterised by interference of mother tongue despite their educational attainment. As outlined, this, coupled with the peculiarity of northern Nigeria, where English is still not very popular in day to day interactions and has limited role, is likely to affect acquisition or learning the educated Nigerian variety of English. Hence, there may be no demarcation between the varieties in Nigeria.

## References

- Adetugbo, A. (1993). *English Phonetics – A Course Text*. Department of English, University of Lagos.
- Akujobi, O.S. and Umoh, G.I. (2022) “Varieties of the English Language in Nigeria: The Socio-Linguistic Implication on Communication”. *International Journal of Arts, Languages, Linguistics and Literary Studies (JOLLS)* <http://www.jolls.com.ng>. Vol. 11 (2) March 2022 ISSN : 2636-7149-6300 (online & print)
- Awonusi, V.O, (2004 b) “Cycles of Linguistics History: The Development of English in Nigeria” in Dazie A.B. K. and Awonusi, S. (eds). *Nigerian English Influences and Characteristics*. Concept Publications.
- Bature, Mohammed Sada (2015) “Problem of Oral English in Katsina State: An Ofshoot of the Absence of Literature in Public Schools”. *Taguwa Journal of Humanities*. Vol. 5 No. 1 Page 73
- Bobda, A. S. (1995), “The Phonologies of Nigerian English and Cameroon English”. In Ayo Bamgbose, Ayo B. and Andrew T. (eds.) (1995). *New Englishes A West African Perspective*. Musoro: 248 – 268.
- Clark, John, Yallop, Collin and Fletcher Janet (2007). *An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology*. (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.) Blackwell
- Carbaugh, Donald (2008) *Ethnography of Communication*. Unpublished Lecture notes: University of Massachusetts Amherst
- enwiki.org, (2024) “Central Vowels” retrieved 07/08/2024
- Ferguson, Sherry Devereaux et al. (2014). [Communication in Everyday Life: Personal and Professional Contexts](#). retrieved 28/02/2019
- Hymes, D. (1962). The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin and W. Sturtevant (eds.), *Anthropology and human behavior*. DC: Anthropological Society of Washington, pp. 13–53.

- Idiagbon, A.M. S. (2005). Ethnolinguistic Influence on the Attitude towards the English language in Nigeria: A sociolinguistic Approach. *Journal of Language Meaning and Society*, 2(2), 417-428.
- Indabwa, S. A. (1997), "The Katsina College, Inception, Growth and Impact on Northern Nigeria". In Isma'ila A.T. and Abdalla U. A. (eds.) *Islam and History of Learning in Katsina*. Spectrum.
- Jibril, M. (2000) "Diachrony and Sociolinguistics in Nigerian English". In S. Ajulo et al. *Language in Education and Society*. Festschrift in Honour of CMB Brann. University of Maiduguri Press. 411 – 420.
- Jowitt, D. (1991) *Nigerian English Usage: An Introduction*. Lagos: Longman. Odumuh, A.E. David E. and Victor G. (1987), *Nigerian English (NIG.E.)*. Ahmadu Bello University Press.
- Ogunsiji, Ayo (2001) "Utilitarian Dimensions of Language in Nigeria". in Igboanusi, Herbert. (ed.) *Language Attitude and Language Conflict in West Africa*. Enicrowfit Publishers.
- Stubbs, M. (1989). *Discourse analysis: the sociolinguistic analysis of natural language*. Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Susannah Ewing Boelk (2024) "Central vowels" *Explorations in English Language Learning. English Explorations*. Universitat Hamburg. [susannah.ewing.boelk@uni-hamburg.de](mailto:susannah.ewing.boelk@uni-hamburg.de) retrieved 07/08/2024
- Taiwo, Famogbiyele (2013) "An appraisal of spoken English Language in Nigeria" *Academic Journals*. Education Research and Reviews Vol. 8(14), pp. 1131-1136, 23 July, 2013 DOI: 10.5897/ERR2012.214 ISSN 1990-3839 ©2013 Academic Journals <http://www.academicjournals.org/ERR>.
- Olaniyi, Oladimeji Kasim (2014). "The Taxonomy of Varieties of Nigerian Spoken English" *Academic Journals. International Journal of English and Literature*. Vol. (9), pp. 232-240 November, 2014. DOI: 10.5897/IJELL2014.0623 Article number: B500D5F47763 ISSN: 2141-2626 <http://www.academicjournals.org/IJELL>.
- Roach, Peter (2004) *English Phonetics and Phonology*. (2<sup>n</sup> ed.) *A self-contained comprehensive pronunciation course* Cambridge University Press.
- Yule, George, (2003). *The Study of Language*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Cambridge University Press.