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Plagiatserklärung

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Abstract

While research on World Englishes continues to be thought-provoking from debates on ideologies, research tools and case studies of individual English varieties, very few studies have focused on attitudes towards language variation in the Nigerian context. Although previous studies on language attitudes have demonstrated that Inner Circle English varieties tend to be positively valued in terms of status and Non-inner Circle English varieties rated higher in terms of solidarity, there is a lack of information about the attitudes of Nigerians towards different accents of English.

The aim of this study is to investigate the attitudes of 209 Nigerian students towards five English accents (American English, British English, Ghanaian English, Jamaican English and Nigerian English). The study employed a range of direct (direct questionnaire and interviews) and indirect (the verbal-guise test) approaches of attitude measurement in order to elicit detailed information on the perceptions of Nigerian respondents.

The results demonstrated that the Nigerian respondents largely favoured the Inner Circle English accents over the Non-inner Circle English accents both in terms of status and in terms of solidarity. However, Nigerian English was rated relatively high, especially for solidarity, suggesting that there is a potential for it to play a role in the linguistic identity of Nigerians. The finding that British English received higher ratings than American English for status and solidarity showed that the report that British English is gradually being dropped in favour of American English is not the case in Nigeria. While respondents were able to identify the English accents, in particular, whether an English accent was from the Inner Circle or Non-inner Circle, their recognition ability had no significant effect on their evaluation of the English accents for solidarity dimension; however, in terms of status, significant effects of recognition were evident on the ratings of two English accents (Ghanaian English and Nigerian English). While the recognition of the nationalities resulted significantly in more favourable evaluations of Nigerian English, it resulted in less favourable evaluations of Ghanaian English. In addition, the study found that differences in the Nigerian respondents' regional background and level of exposure to English accents

had significant effects on the evaluation of English accents, but gender was not found to be significant in determining their attitudes towards English accents.

The thesis concludes with a discussion of the major findings of the study in terms of the pedagogical implications they have for the choice of a linguistic model in the Nigerian classroom and with regard to their implications in relation to World Englishes model.

For

Charis,

Jacynth,

Gift

Acknowledgements

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List of Abbreviations

AmE	American English
BrE	British English
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
EC	Expanding Circle
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIF	Extra- and Intra- Territorial Forces
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
GAE	General American English
GhE	Ghanaian English
IC	Inner Circle
JmE	Jamaican English
MANOVA	Multivariate Analysis of Variance
MGT	Matched-Guise Test
NgE	Nigerian English
NIC	Non-inner Circle
NigP	Nigerian Pidgin
NNS	Non-native Speaker
Non-PCEs	Non-postcolonial Englishes
NS	Native Speaker
OC	Outer Circle
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
PCEs	Postcolonial Englishes
RP	Received Pronunciation
SBE	Standard British English

SD	Standard Deviation
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
TOEFL	The Test of English as a Foreign Language
VGT	Verbal-Guise Test

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1.   Background of the Study

English is widely used and learned around the world. It has become so prevalent in almost every country in the world that the number of English speakers has risen to about two billion since the beginning of the 21st century (Crystal 2008, Jenkins 2009: 2). According to Graddol (2006:5), around 380 million people speak English as their native language, while estimates that include second language speakers vary greatly from 470 million to more than 1 billion (Crystal 2008, Schneider 2013). It is estimated that almost one-third of the world's population currently speaks English (Schneider 2013). This significant increase in the number of English users has led to many varieties of English, often referred to as 'World Englishes', as formally coined by Kachru (1985, 1992). This thesis will contribute to the exploration of the current status as well as the future development of English in Nigeria in the context of World Englishes by examining the attitudes of Nigerians towards English accents.

According to Kachru (1985), Nigeria is part of the Outer Circle as an 'English as a Second Language' (ESL) country within the influential World Englishes model. There is an official role for the English language in Nigeria. English has a significant role in almost every sector of the Nigerian society. It is used as a medium of instruction in the classroom and has gained wide-ranging respect, as it has a high profile in the country's education, social and political systems.

Apart from Nigerian English, which is the nativised version of English in Nigeria, English language learners in Nigeria are also exposed to two major varieties of English, British English and American English, and therefore can form specific language attitudes towards them. However, when students come to the university setting, being involved in a

multicultural learning environment, and becoming consciously aware of other native and non-native English varieties, such as Ghanaian English (via Nollywood/Ghallywood movies), which are seldom or never reckoned with in their secondary education classes before they move to the university, they may form certain attitudes towards the varieties less familiar to them than the other varieties they were originally accustomed to; and these varying attitudes can influence their choice of linguistic norms.

According to Bamgbose (1982), Nigeria is expected to continue to play a key role in the further development process of English as a world language, as the number of English speakers in Nigeria continues to rise (see Chapter 2, section 2.1.3). Therefore, for a better understanding of English as a global language, it is necessary to conduct research on the attitudes of Nigerians towards English accents, hence the current study.

Attitude is connected to the values and beliefs of people and either encourages or discourages their decisions in all aspects of human endeavour, be it formal or informal. The concept has been of great interest to scholars in the field of sociolinguistics since Labov's (1966) renowned study on the social stratification of speech communities. According to Gardner and Lambert (1972), an attitude has cognitive, affective and conative components and consists of underlying psychological tendencies to act or behave in a certain way. Such behaviours can be towards a group of people, cultures, or even languages. Crystal (1992) explains language attitude as the perception of people about their own language or other people's languages. Studying language attitudes is essential since attitude has a substantial influence on speakers/listeners of a particular language, it also has a strong influence on the development of languages. Language attitudes have a great influence on the growth, decay, restoration or destruction of any language (Li 2005), such that a positive attitude towards a specific language/variety can contribute to the acceptance or growth of the language/variety in a

speech community (Crismore 1996). This means that the willingness to acquire and/or use a particular language can be influenced by the attitudes of the learners to the language.

There has been a lot of research on the attitudes of native and non-native English speakers towards varieties of English, such as American English (Alford 1990, Alford & Strother 1990, Cargile 1998, Alftberg 2009, Widney 2015, Serrarens 2017), British English (Hiraga 2005, Alftberg 2009, Molthof 2016, Serrarens 2017), Hong Kong English (Forde 1995, Zhang 2010, Edwards 2016, Fang 2016), Jamaican English (Wassink 1999, Sand 2011, Westphal 2015), Japanese English (Matsuura, Chiba & Yamamoto 1994, Benson 1991, Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto 1995), Ghanaian English (Dako & Quarcoo 2017), New Zealand English (Starks & Paltridge 1996, Bayard, Gallois, Weatherall & Pittam 2001) and Australian English (Bradley & Bradley 2001). In general, the research on attitudes towards English accents has shown that the informants, especially when they are non-native English speakers, tend to have a more positive attitude towards standard English varieties in terms of status, while non-standard varieties are usually rated higher in terms of solidarity. Many of these studies have shown that participants' regard for indigenous languages has an impact on their attitudes towards non-native English varieties and that their familiarity with English varieties influences their attitudes towards the varieties of English. Friedrich (2000), in his study of Brazilian learners of English, notes that English learners have a stereotypical opinion towards English and learning. According to him, when people learn a language, they are responding to feelings, expectations, and stereotypes.

It remains unknown whether this is applicable to the linguistic situation in Nigeria, whether Nigerian speakers of English tend to have more positive attitudes towards English accents from the Inner Circle than those from the Non-inner Circle, especially given that Nigerian English seems to be the most popular among the speakers of English in the country. Therefore,

it is important to study the attitudes of Nigerians towards native and non-native accents of English in the country.

Although attitudinal factors in the fields of sociolinguistics have attracted much attention, and a number of studies, in different contexts, have been conducted on attitudes towards different languages, there are very limited studies on language attitudes within the Nigerian context (Chimezie 1973, Obanya et al. 1979, Ekong 1980, Williams 1983, Adedun & Shodipe 2011). Studies on language attitudes in relation to the English language in Nigeria fall into three categories. The first category is to examine the attitudes of Nigerian learners towards English language learning, to be more specific, about how Nigerian English learners perceive the status, function, spread, impact and significance of the English language in Nigeria, and the influence these have on their performance in the language learning process (e.g., Adegbite 2003, Abdulahi-Idiagbon 2005). The second category of language attitude studies deals with the investigation of attitudes towards the English language; most studies compare attitudes between English and other local languages (e.g., Chimezie 1973, Adedun & Shodipe 2011). The third category of language attitude studies examines the attitudes of Nigerians towards available English accents in the country (e.g., Obanya *et al*. 1979, Williams 1983) (see details in section 3.5).

Few studies have been conducted on language attitudes towards English accents in Nigeria in recent decades. The present study will, therefore, fill the gap by investigating the attitudes of Nigerian students towards accents of English from both the Inner Circle and the Non-inner Circle. The study will provide explanations for the underlying motivations for linguistic variations and changes in postcolonial countries such as Nigeria, where English plays a significant role in virtually every sector in the country and where there is a recurrent issue of competing English norms among the speakers of English (Adetugbo & Awonusi 1982,

Bamgbose 1982, Awonusi 1994, 2004, Kperogi 2015).

Although some of these earlier studies have shown that Nigerian speakers of English tend to have a more positive attitude towards English varieties from the Inner Circle than those from the Non-inner Circles (Chimezie 1973, Adegbite 2003, Abdulahi-Idiagbon 2005), further investigation of their perceptions is required. In particular, there is a gap in conventional evidence regarding the attitudes of Nigerians to their own accent, a Non-inner Circle accent vis-à-vis the accents of English from the Inner Circle. There is a need to investigate which accent of English is most likely to act as a marker of linguistic identity in Nigeria. It is also not clear whether Nigerians are able to successfully differentiate between dialectal varieties of Inner Circle English (Jowitt 2019:33). Therefore, in order to investigate the perceptions of Nigerians towards various English accents, this study used students from selected Nigerian universities to measure the attitudes of the Nigerian population towards various English accents (see Chapter 4, section 4.5). The main aim of this study is to measure, by both direct and indirect methods, the attitudes of Nigerian students towards accents of English. The structure of the thesis reflects this aim.

1.2.   The Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter begins with a description of the language situation in Nigeria. It provides an overview of the English language in Nigeria, focusing on the advent and promotion of the English language in the country, the functions of the English language and the sociolinguistic consequences of English in Nigeria. It continues with a chronological review of selected World Englishes models, with a special focus on the Concentric Circle model of Kachru (1992), Schneider's (2007) Dynamic model and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces model, because of the role

they play in the present study. Finally, the chapter discusses the varieties of English in Nigeria and then examines the segmental and suprasegmental phonology of Nigerian English.

The third chapter gives a general overview of language attitude studies. It outlines the specific theoretical foundations for this present study through a critical examination of the main topics in attitude measurement and a historical summary of the relevant language attitude research. It begins with a discussion of the nature of attitudes in general and continues with a description of behaviourist and mentalist theories of attitudes. Subsequently, the importance of language attitudes in sociolinguistics is discussed. The chapter continues with a brief summary of key research findings on attitudes of English speakers towards English varieties in general and then details important studies, where the focus has been on the language attitudes of both native and non-native English speakers. It then focuses more specifically on the language situation in Nigeria and gives an overview of research into the attitudes of Nigerians towards both English in general and the different varieties of English. A critical review of previous studies on language attitudes, with a focus on Nigeria, is provided, pointing out that further studies on language attitudes must be undertaken concentrating on Nigerian people's perception of English accents.

Chapter four contains a detailed description of the research design of the present study. It begins with a discussion of the specific research focus and questions of the study. In addition to the phonological descriptions and background information on the individual speakers, a description and justification for the selected English varieties are provided. The chapter then discusses the choice of background variables and gives an overview of the sample used in the study. The chapter also contains a description and justification for each of the research instruments used and discusses the significance of the pilot study conducted. Finally, an

overview of the data collection process for the main study is given and the statistical techniques used in data analysis are briefly discussed.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the study. The chapter first presents the results of the verbal-guise part of the study. It continues with the results of the conceptual stimuli test in order to give a comprehensive picture of the attitudes of Nigerian students towards the various accents of English. The chapter also presents the results of the main effects of various independent variables on the evaluation of English accents and the analysis of the accent recognition test plus the interaction effects of accent recognition on the evaluations. For each phase of the analysis, some preliminary, very general comments are made on the findings.

In Chapter six, a more detailed discussion of the results as well as a cross-examination of the individual sections of the research instrument is offered in relation to the research questions presented earlier in the dissertation. The discussion summarises all the findings of the study in order to provide an overview of the results of the study and then compare them with previous research. Finally, the chapter concludes with the major implications of the findings, highlighting their pedagogical value for language attitudes among users of English, especially with regard to the choice of a language model in the Nigerian context and other postcolonial communities, and its significance to World Englishes model theorising. Finally, the limitations of the research and outlook for future research are outlined.

CHAPTER TWO

ENGLISH IN NIGERIA AND MODELS OF WORLD ENGLISHES

This chapter begins with an overview of how the English language was introduced in Nigeria, the situations that led to the emergence of the English language in the country, the different stages of its penetration into Nigeria, how it penetrated the various regions in the country and the sociolinguistic consequences of English in Nigeria. It also discusses the concept of 'World Englishes', with a major focus on the models of World Englishes and their relevance for this study. Finally, the chapter provides an overview of the Nigerian English phonology.

2.1. The English Language in Nigeria

2.1.1. The Advent of the English Language in Nigeria

The exact date that the use of English started in Nigeria is not certain. It is generally believed that the first appearance of the British in Nigeria was in the southern and south-western parts of the country beginning perhaps from the fifteenth century (Jowitt 2019:7). That must have been sometime before the start of the slave trade on the coast. It is documented that when English men started visiting the Nigerian coast, particularly the ports of ancient Benin and old Calabar, the mode of communication that developed between the English men and Nigerians was a simplified form of English communication called Pidgin. This form of English developed and stabilised in the period between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century (Gut 2008:36). Portuguese was probably the earliest European language used in Nigeria, even before English. According to Adetugbo (1984:8), a certain Oba in Benin is said to have spoken Portuguese. The language was used for commercial purposes and diplomatic negotiations in the ancient kingdom of Benin. History records that Portuguese sea traders and pirates made their trade expedition to the West African coast in the 14th century (Crowther

1962:57, Ekpe 2010:14). The unrestricted monopoly enjoyed by Portugal on the West African coast was soon challenged by other European countries such as Great Britain (Spencer 1971:10). In the following years, there was a boom in trade activities between the Europeans and the West African countries, as the trans-Atlantic slave trade began.

In the period between the fifteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, the major European countries were trading heavily in the slave trade on the African continent. During this time, many Nigerians had started learning English and some were trained as interpreters and employees in European companies in Nigeria. In 1842 and 1846, the first mission stations were built in Badagry (near Lagos) and in Calabar (south-south). The missionaries were mainly interested in the spread of Christianity. In order to reach the population easily, the language of instruction was usually the native language of the aborigines. English began to be formally taught in Nigeria from the middle of the nineteenth century. The missionaries in their effort to reach out to people founded schools where children were educated, and the basic subject was English. Adetugbo (1979:77) reports that the English language dominated the curriculum under various sub-areas such as reading, writing, dictation, composition, and grammar. In the nineteenth century, the slave trade was abolished because of a number of factors such as the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act, which made the purchase or ownership of slaves illegal within the British Empire. The slave trade was replaced by 'legitimate' trade (Jowitt 2019:8) and Christianity and Western education began to thrive in Nigeria. With the abolition of the slave trade, many Nigerians taken away on slavery to America, Europe and other parts of the world returned to Nigeria and other West African sub-regions, mostly Sierra Leone and Liberia. Awonusi (2004:53) reports that some of these Nigerians returned and used the English accent they had acquired freely in their new settlements.

Western Nigeria was receptive to the missionaries and colonisers, except in a few cases such as in places like Lagos and Ijebuland, where the colonial rulers from Britain had to use force to conquer the territories. Missionary activity boomed in eastern Nigeria. In the north, colonial activities were slow due to the monolithic feudal structure there. Even the Hausas, who were taken into slavery after the abolition of the slave trade, could not penetrate the ruling class to teach them English, as southerners and westerners did when they returned to their respective territories. Also, the British did not use much force in the north as they did in the western and southern Nigeria, rather they compromised their position by discouraging missionary education in the north. Lord Lugard, for instance, is said to have promised the Sultan of Sokoto in 1903 that his administration would not interfere with the Muslim religion and would also stop missionaries who might want to do so (Ekpe 2010:18). The only school set up in the north (Bida) in 1903 was only allowed on the condition that the English language would not be taught until the children had mastered their mother tongue.

In 1861, Lagos became a British Crown Colony, and in 1900, the area controlled by the British Niger company was proclaimed a British Protectorate (Gut 2008:36). The amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914 marked the beginning of the colonial interest in standard education in Nigeria. The colonial administration was so dissatisfied with the education system in Nigeria that they began to establish state schools. The education policy in this period witnessed the development and promotion of indigenous languages, as many books were published in the local languages and the schools also taught indigenous languages. However, the use of indigenous languages for educational purposes was restricted to primary and secondary schools. In the 1946 constitution, English was recommended as the official language in the west and the east, but Hausa remained the official language in the north until 1967. During this time, two model schools were founded: Barewa College in the north and King's College in Lagos, where English was the language of instruction and

interaction. It was used to determine the suitability of candidates for employment and promotion in the public service and a condition for admission to higher education. It was allocated roles in the legislature, as the language of the National Assembly and the regional legislature.

As the nation struggled for independence, many schools were established, and it was necessary to train and employ more indigenous teachers. This encouraged English with a Nigerian accent in the south, as they used the services of Nigerian teachers in their schools, while the north shifted towards RP, as they retained many native English teachers (Ekpe 2010:19). The use of English as a language of instruction, employment, law, media and admission to schools has resulted in the infiltration of English and European literature into the Nigerian intelligentsia. This later impacted the British government when Nigerians became familiar with Western ideas, culture, values, and ideals such as democracy, freedom, enlightenment, fundamental rights, self-determination and independence. The result was the establishment of political parties and the persistent demand for self-government. Nigeria gained independence from the British in 1960 and declared itself a republic in 1963.

English continues to play a key role in Nigerian education. The education system in Nigeria is structured in the 6-3-3-4 model with 6 years of primary education, 3 years of junior secondary education, 3 years of senior secondary education and an average of 4 years of university education. Received pronunciation has long been the model and standard for exams in most Nigerian schools. The majority of Britons who lived in Nigeria until 1960, when Nigeria became an independent nation, strengthened the dominance and reputation of RP in Nigeria. These people were highly regarded by many Nigerians for their skin colour and respect for the government offices they occupied from early 1900 until their official departure in 1960. After independence, Nigerians took over the government positions; however, the prestigious

standard variety was retained for some time. This is because many of the elites, politicians, academics, journalists, etc., had a positive attitude towards the standard variety, especially those who had close ties with the British. More recently, American English has gained almost equal status, with more and more Nigerians returning from long trips to the United States of America. Contact between the English language and the native Nigerian languages has also produced a Nigerianised version of the English language, or what Adegbija (2004:20) calls the 'domestication' of the English language in Nigeria, a linguistic situation in which people began to express the English language in a way that reflects their socio-cultural norms. The process of nativising English in Nigeria did not cease when Nigeria became independent, it is an ongoing process as new words are created daily to adapt to the local context and world view.

2.1.2. Promotion of the English Language in Nigeria

The spread of English and its promotion in Nigeria could be attributed to several factors such as the multilingual nature of the Nigerian society, language policies adopted by the government, the status of the English language as a lingua franca and as an official language, the attitude of Nigerians towards the English language, the state of Nigeria's indigenous languages, English as a means of securing lucrative jobs, a ticket for gaining admission to schools in Nigeria and the prestige accorded English and its speakers.

Nigeria is a linguistically diverse region with diverse ethnic groups. Several scholars have estimated the number of indigenous languages in Nigeria at 250 to over 500 (Coleman 1958, Hansford et al. 1976, Crozier & Blench 1992, Eberhard et al. 2019). Most of these languages are not mutually intelligible. With these diverse languages, the only language that is easily understood by almost every Nigerian is the English language, which is spoken in different

forms (Broken English, Standard English). This is one of the enhancing factors for the wide dissemination and promotion of the English language in Nigeria.

Another factor that has led to the promotion of the English language in Nigeria is the language policy introduced by the colonial administration, which Nigeria adopted after gaining political independence in 1960. The colonial administration ensured that their language policy in all colonies benefited the English language. Most of the countries that made up the Commonwealth of Nations including Nigeria were at one time in history under British control and these countries continue to be linguistically controlled indirectly by the use of English as an official language. Even the language policy adopted and still practised by these countries is still in favour of the English language, as their education policy shows, where English is still the main language of instruction in schools and the language of evaluation.

Also, English has been the official and widely accepted language in the Nigerian society. It is the only language that has effortlessly broken all ethnic, social and linguistic barriers. In Nigeria, there is hardly any place where you will not meet people who speak English, even if it is the Broken English variant. English is not restricted to any particular ethnic group, society or cultural affiliation; it is the language for almost everybody. This has expedited its spread and promotion in the Nigerian society.

The status of English as an official language in Nigeria amidst the numerous indigenous languages available has also helped to promote the language in the country. English as an official language has been assigned important functions as the language of the media, education, politics, legislation, and banking.

Owing to the seemingly indispensable roles English plays in practically all sectors of the country, the general disposition towards the language in Nigeria is advantageous to its spread

and growth. In today's Nigerian society, literacy is credited to be the ability to speak and write English. Anyone who cannot read and write is called an illiterate. Today, many parents do not allow their children and their wards to speak their indigenous languages, it is English. Most private and public schools do not allow their students to speak their native languages during school hours, and teachers are also prohibited from speaking indigenous languages during school hours. The penalty ranges from payment of mulct to suspension or heavy work. Everyone wants to communicate with others in English, regardless of their proficiency level in the language.

Another factor that has facilitated the promotion of the English language in Nigeria is the state of Nigeria's indigenous languages. Of the 525 indigenous languages in Nigeria (Eberhard et al. 2019), only 19 are institutional (developed to the point that they are used and sustained by institutions beyond the home-community), 76 are still developing (they are well used, though not yet widespread or sustainable), and the rest are either in trouble (intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken but with hope of revitalisation) or dying (the only fluent users are older than child-bearing age, revitalisation is difficult). In most Nigerian languages, standard orthography, the modernisation of the numbering system and the production of literary material are lacking. This has undoubtedly promoted the use of the English language in Nigeria, pushing most of the Nigerian languages to the background.

The ability to speak English well increases the chance of securing good jobs in Nigeria. Job interviews are conducted in English, regardless of the type of work. This began during the colonial administration in Nigeria and has continued to this day. As a means to safeguard employment, everyone learns and speaks English. This enhances and promotes the English language in Nigeria.

The English language serves as an entry filter into a tertiary institution in Nigeria. For a person to gain admission into any school in Nigeria, at least a credit pass (50%) in English is required. There are too many people who want to attend tertiary schools, so schools need to filter or search for eligible candidates through the effective use of English, as this is the dominant language of instruction in schools. With this constraint, aspiring candidates have to learn and be proficient in spoken and written English. This promotes the spread and growth of English in Nigeria.

Also, proficiency in the use of English attracts much admiration and respect from the society. Good English skills are seen as a sign of good education in society, and those who do not speak the language are not respected because they are considered to be uneducated. Good English language skills can lead to an upward shift in the status of the user. The values associated with the ability to speak English cause many people to learn and speak English and this translates into its being widespread throughout Nigeria.

2.1.3. The Functions of the English Language in Nigeria

The English language is functional in almost every sphere of the country e.g. education, politics, commerce and industry, national and international communication. The first of these functions is the role of English in the education sector. English is widely used in Nigerian education, and it is used in all areas of education. This appears to be the most salient function of English in the society. This has been supported by the Nigerian Education Policy (1977, revised in 1981 and 2004), which makes it compulsory for the English language to be the major language of instruction in Nigerian schools particularly at the secondary and tertiary levels. The policy spells out the role of English as a school subject in the first three years of primary education and as the language of instruction from the fourth year in primary school. The indigenous languages are used usually at the primary level of education, though

infrequently because most schools consider English as the only appropriate language for teaching and learning. English is the language of educational instruction and evaluation in Nigeria. This applies to all levels of educational institutions in Nigeria. In the primary schools, the English language is used for conducting examinations and the First School Leaving Certificates (F.S.L.S.). In the secondary schools, it is used in testing the students' proficiency in the use of English in the Junior Secondary School Examinations (J.S.S.E.) and the Senior Secondary School Examinations (S.S.S.E.). English is also used in evaluating students' communication ability in the Unified Tertiary Matriculation Examinations (UTME) and the Monotechnics, Polytechnics, and Colleges of Education Examinations (MPCE) before they are offered admission into these institutions (Ekpe 2010:31).

English is also the most important language for creative writing in Nigeria. English is the main language in which writers express their thoughts in the country. As stated by Taiwo (2009), the function of using the English language to express the unique Nigerian socio-cultural experience in oral and written literature is not limited to those who are very proficient in the language. Even people with limited competence have been able to write literary works in English.

The English language is the language of governance in Nigeria and almost all activities in government offices are conducted in English. All official correspondences e.g. memoranda, minutes, circulars, instructions, and directives are issued in English. Proceedings of meetings in public offices are conducted and documented in English. The use of English in government ministries, parastatals and corporations can be traced to the imprints of colonial administration in Nigeria. During the colonial era in Nigeria, English was the dominant language of communication between the colonial officials and Nigerians. In 1922, the constitution made the English language the official language in Nigeria and the language of the colonial administration. The 1979 constitution went on to confirm the use of English at national and

state assemblies next to one of the three main Nigerian languages: Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba or the language of the respective community. While the use of the English language was unconditional, the use of indigenous languages was conditional upon 'only' and 'when' necessary arrangements have been made. Almost all the houses of assembly still conduct the affairs of the houses in English (Ekpe 2010:32). Also, English has dominated Nigeria's political domain; it is used for political campaigns and propaganda. This is because the Nigerian society is multilingual and for a politician to communicate effectively with a population of different languages, English is the only language that can serve that purpose.

English is also the main medium for business, especially in the metropolises. Transactions in commerce, banking and industry are mainly conducted in English. English is the only language used during boardroom meetings. Inter- and intra- trades are conducted in English. Bank transactions are conducted in English. Trading on the stock exchange also takes place in English. The language choice in the commercial transactions depends mainly on the business environment and the category of people in the area. In megacities such as PortHarcourt, Kano, Abuja and Lagos, where people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds live, English is usually the prevalent language of business transactions, whereas in small settlements where the settlers are likely to belong to the same ethnic group and language group, business transactions are likely carried out in local languages, Pidgin or Broken English. If Nigerians want to conduct international business or transactions of any kind with people outside the geographical boundaries of Nigeria, English becomes an easily available language that can be used either in the country or outside the country. The dissemination of information at airports is in English.

The English language is the most widely used language in the Nigerian media. The print media began in Lagos as far back as the 19th century. *The Lagos Standard* and *The Weekly Records* were among the first print media to be circulated in Nigeria. These papers were

published in the English language. There were other publications like *Irohin* in Abeokuta published in the Yoruba language at about the same time. In post-independence Nigeria, the role of English as a tool for disseminating news has taken on a new dimension. The majority of daily newspapers (such as *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Vanguard*, *The Punch*, *The Sun*, *This Day*, and *The Independent*) also publish their news in English with only a few using local languages. Apart from the newspapers, weekly magazines such as *This Week Magazine* and *News Watch Magazine* also publish their publications in English. In the electronic media, English is still the most widely used language for news programmes, advertising, reporting, talk shows, and documentaries. Nigerian Pidgin is increasingly being used in the media to bridge the communications gap between Nigerians. Many of the advertisements are now being created in Nigerian Pidgin. This is intended to help them reach a larger Nigerian audience.

Also, almost all legal and constitutional books are written in English. All volumes of the Nigerian Constitution are written in English. All law books used in the Nigerian courts, such as the High Court, the Court of Appeals, the Supreme Courts, the District Courts, and their proceedings, are kept in English, whereas in some customary courts, their procedures are conducted in English and in the major local languages. In the Sharia court, proceedings are done both in Hausa and Arabic languages. All decrees and bills are documented in English. Oaths and affidavits supporting applications and lost documents are filed in English in the court. Even the procedures and teachings in Nigerian legal education are held exclusively in English.

As in all other areas, the language used in the domain of science and technology in Nigeria is English. Many of the names of chemicals and scientific formulas are documented in English. English is equally the language of information and technology (ICT). Since science and

technology are dominantly invented abroad, their terminologies are therefore transferred to Nigerians in the language of the country of origin, which is obviously more of English.

Lastly, English remains an important tool for social interaction and national unity. One can then predict that English will continue to be the most widely used language in Nigeria.

2.1.4. The Sociolinguistic Consequences of English in Nigeria

The presence of English in Nigeria and the prestige accorded it has not only made Nigerians users of English but also made some Nigerians speak English as their first language, mostly in families of professional and middle-class parents. This is also applicable to homes where couples are from different ethnic backgrounds. In some houses, children learn English and their mother tongues at the same time. Udofot (2007:36) affirms that in homes where this occurs, English soon gains dominance over the other languages. Most parents are of the opinion that because English is the language of instruction in Nigeria, it has a high reputation and that it is better for their children to be equipped with the English language. This clearly shows that English is not only a language used in official contexts in Nigeria, it is also the first language of some Nigerians and therefore a language of informal communication among family members.

The emergence of code-mixing is another consequence of the English language in Nigeria. Code-mixing refers to instances where Nigerian speakers of English as a second language switch or mix codes within discourse. Different terms such as interlarding (Agheyesi 1977), code-switching, borrowings, and loans have been used. Regardless of the terms used, code-mixing is a situation in which a multilingual uses two languages in communication, that is, he or she uses both languages interchangeably, sometimes switching from one language to

another or substituting words in one language for another. Various explanations have been provided for this phenomenon (Rowlands 1963, Ansre 1971, Salami 1972, Agheyesi 1977). One of the explanations is that code-mixing is adopted to simplify articulation and facilitate understanding, mostly when speakers have word loss or the indigenous language of the speaker does not have an exact word that matches the context (Rowlands 1963). Salami (1972) thinks that is not necessarily the case for all situations. According to Salami (1972:167), there are situations in which a bilingual speaker has no choice than to use the words 'with which, it seems he or she is more familiar'. Akere (1981:296) claims it would be 'linguistically naive' to think that a language is inadequate for the communicative needs of its speakers but it is possible for a bilingual speaker to find himself or herself in a situation when certain ideas can only or better be expressed in one of his or her languages and not in the other.

One other consequence of English in Nigeria is that it promotes and effects the process of Americanisation of Nigerian English. Americanisation is the integration of American features into Nigerian English. Nigerian English, which used to be modelled after British English, has acquired a number of Americanisms, especially at the phonological and lexical levels (Awonusi 1994:1, Igboanusi 2003:601). The influence of American English is so widespread in Nigeria that it has become the second most important feature of Nigerian English apart from nativisation (Bamgbose 1995, Igboanusi 2002, 2003). This could be attributed to the current status of the United States of America in terms of the technological, political, social and economic affairs of the world, as many Nigerians want to identify with anything American (Awonusi 1994:76, Igboanusi 2003:601). Awonusi (1994:81) remarks that Nigerians are now confronted with the problem of multiple communicative competence: the awareness and recognition of multiple standard varieties (British English and American English) and the expectation for them to be proficient in the varieties. This seems to make the communicative competence of educated Nigerian speakers of English rather complex.

Also, the language use of individuals often determines and is determined by the social class of the speaker, the geographical location of the speaker, the vocation of the speaker, and the gender and age differences of the speakers. Even though English is a second language to many Nigerians, the variety of English a Nigerian speaker uses is determined by the social class to which the speaker belongs. A speaker's social class is often a major determinant of the patterns of linguistic variation. In Nigeria, the social stratification is fluid and unstable as there is no definable class system similar to what is found in the Western world (Jibril 1986). However, the quality or the accent of English of a speaker can portray one as either educated or uneducated. The uneducated speakers are often identified with the non-standard English variety while the educated speakers are identified with the standard English variety. In other words, in Nigeria, it is believed that the higher your level of education, the more sophisticated your use of English will be (see more details in section 2.3).

Another sociolinguistic consequence of the English language in Nigeria is the emergence of an English-based Pidgin spoken as a lingua franca across Nigeria. Nigerian Pidgin (NigP) is related to English but it is not a variety of Nigerian English (Banjo 1996, Jowitt 2019:29). NigP is believed to be mostly used by the less educated class to interact with other people, mostly in a multilingual environment. This group of people are unable to use Standard English. However, NigP has found a broader currency, even among the well-educated people. This English-based Pidgin has permeated the media in both the electronic and the printed areas. It is also commonly used in announcements and advertising (Deuber 2002, 2005). At the moment there is a radio station in Lagos, Nigeria, called 'Wazobia FM', which plays its entire programme in Pidgin English. In 2017, the BBC launched a Pidgin news service for West Africa through its World Service office in Nigeria. As part of this effort, the BBC has decided to develop a guide to a standardised written form of Pidgin in West Africa (see Oyebola & Abidoye 2018, Oyebola, Ugwuanyi & Adepoju 2019). Because of its wider use

and simplicity, many Nigerians have opined that Nigerian Pidgin should be adopted as the nation's national language (see Adegbija 1994).

Another pattern has to do with variation in pronunciation according to gender. Previous research has shown that female speakers tend to use more prestigious forms than male speakers with the same general background. (Ekpe 2010, Oyebola, Ho & Li 2019). Ekpe (2010:45) reports that most female students pronounce the word /gə:l/ with the insertion of [r] colouration before the lateral /l/ as [gə:(r)l], car /ka:/ as [ka:(r)] (American English pronunciation), whereas the males use the forms [gə:l] and [ka:] . It is when the male students want to show some sophistication and a sense of identification that they tend to pronounce as the female students. Oyebola, Ho and Li (2019) investigate the realisation of the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ and its variations (TH variation) by educated Nigerian speakers of English. They report that TH variations in Nigeria English are sometimes affected by the sociological factor gender. Their results report that female speakers favour [θ] significantly more than [t], while male speakers use more [t] than females. They conclude that educated Nigerian women tend to use the target-like variety more than educated men.

Other sociolinguistic patterns include variations according to ethnic affiliations and regional groups. Since there are diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria, with different languages, it is expected that Nigerians will have various English patterns. On the ethnic parameter, sub-varieties have been proposed to account for the variations across the ethnic groups. Examples include 'Hausa English', 'Igbo English' and 'Yoruba English' (e.g., Jibril 1982, 1986, Jowitt 1991, Udofot 2004).

2.2. Nigeria and World Englishes Models

The growing awareness of the evolving global varieties of English gave rise to the notion of New Englishes, a concept reserved for young, stabilising English varieties of Asia and Africa, excluding the older English varieties of the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, Australia and so on (Pride 1982, Platt, Weber & Ho 1984, Schneider 2013). Various labels have been coined to describe English varieties worldwide, including 'World Englishes' (Kachru 1985) and 'Postcolonial Englishes' (Schneider 2007). Many of such labels have been associated with various models proposed to capture the spread of English and categorise speakers of English. Examples include the classic Tripartite model by Strang (1970), Kachru's (1985, 1992) Three Circles model, McArthur's (1987) Hub and Wheel model, Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic model, Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes model, and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces model.

Strang (1970) was the first to introduce a threefold distinction between speakers of English. In addition to native speakers (the UK, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, etc.), she recognised the growing importance of millions of second-language speakers of English living in communities where English has a special status and where speakers learn it in early childhood, and also the users of English as a foreign language. These categories were later taken up and referred to as 'English as a native language' (ENL), 'English as a second language' (ESL) and 'English as a foreign language' (EFL) (Quirk et al. 1972).

Kachru's (1985, 1992) Three Circles model categorises varieties of English into the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. The grouping of countries into a particular circle is determined by a number of factors such as the pattern of acquisition, sources of norms, the status of English as a native, second or foreign language, functional allocation and history of colonisation (Bruthiaux 2003:168-171). Kachru rejected the idea that a superior

status should be assigned to ENL countries and emphasised that the English language belongs to every user of English and that the most vigorous expansions and developments of the language can be observed in Outer and Expanding Circle countries, therefore norms and standards should no longer be determined by Inner Circle/ENL contexts. Because of the relevance of this model for the present study, it is further discussed in section 2.2.1.

McArthur's (1987) model proposes visualisations of the relationship between standards and varieties of World Englishes with the aid of a hub-and-wheel design. The model shows a global standard form of the language in the middle while more regionalised and dialectal variants are arranged in concentric circles with the varieties from the same region lying in the same circle sectors. It is centred around 'World Standard English' and is surrounded by regional standards (Standard British and Irish English, Standard Caribbean English, West, East and South(ern) African standard(ising) English, etc.), extending toward national varieties in the third circle (such as Ugandan English, Guyanese, BBC English, Tok Pisin).

Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic model describes a somewhat idealised sociolinguistic process of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes. The process involves a sequence of five stages; at each of these stages, manifestations of four core parameters occur. The observation of such parameters is fundamental to describing the characteristic phenomena of each stage and the causal relationship between them. These stages and different parameters are discussed in section 2.2.2.

Mair's (2013) World System of Englishes model, applying de Swaan's (2002) model of World Language System to World Englishes, proposes a hierarchy among varieties of English. He argues that American English is now the 'hub' and 'hyper-central' variety, being the most important and globally influential form of English, while other varieties (standard and non-standard) rank as 'super-central', 'central' or peripheral'. The (American) hub is surrounded

by a number of super-central varieties of English, which in turn are complemented by a somewhat larger group of central varieties and, ultimately, by an extremely large group of peripheral varieties (Mair 2013:261). Most important among the super-central standards is Standard British English (SBE). Other super-central standards include Australian English, (as an L1 variety), and Nigerian English (as an L2 variety). He categorises varieties with lesser transnational impact, such as New Zealand English, Canadian English, Sri Lankan English and Ghanaian English as central varieties. The model also considers the non-standard varieties of English, many of which are counted among the peripheral ones. As relevant and important this classification may be, it seems to disregard the potential for status changes or developments (see Buschfeld et al. 2018).

Among the most influential models are Kachru's (1985) Three Circles model and Schneider's (2007) Dynamic model. These two models and a more recent model, Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces model, will be discussed in detail, given the important role they play in this research.

2.2.1. Kachru's Three Circles Model

Kachru (1985, 1992) has provided an important and one of the most influential models of World Englishes. The Three Circles model is comprised of three concentric circles of English usage: Inner Circle, Outer Circle, and Expanding Circle (see Figure 2.1). Each of the three circles represents varying forms of spread, manners of acquisition and functions of English in various cultural contexts. The Inner Circle consists of countries where English is spoken as a native language by a substantial majority of the population, such as the UK, the USA, Australia, and Canada. The English spoken in the Inner Circle communities is multifunctional and used in all spheres. Inner Circle English varieties are norm-providing. In contrast, the

Outer Circle consists of postcolonial countries such as Nigeria, India, the Philippines, Ghana, and Singapore, where English is spoken as a second language, and is used for a variety of educational and administrative purposes. The varieties of English spoken in the Outer Circle are often described as 'norm-developing' (Kachru 1985:17) in that they are in the process of developing their own standards. However, 'these Englishes continue to be affected by the conflict between linguistic norms and linguistic behaviour, with widespread perceptions among users that Anglo-American norms are somehow superior and that their own varieties are therefore deficient' (Bruthiaux 2003:160). The colonial history in the Outer Circle territories encouraged the spread of English in the communities. English continues to enjoy a high reputation in most ESL countries and performs a number of official functions, being used for educational and administrative purposes. The geographical region of Nigeria, which is the focus of this study, is a former British colony that continues to use English as its official language. At present, the varieties of English spoken in some countries in the Outer Circle are shifting from exonormative to endonormative (Jenkins 2009:18) leading to a situation that can be called 'norm evolution'. In other words, the norms of language correctness and appropriateness are being formed within the speech communities themselves.

The Expanding Circle includes countries where English is learned as a foreign language and is used mainly for international communication, such as in commerce, diplomatic negotiations and tourism. Given the prevalence of English usage throughout the world in the twenty-first century, the Expanding Circle is likely to include any nation that is not included in the Inner or Outer circle, e.g. China, Japan, Egypt, Korea, Indonesia, and Saudi Arabia. The varieties of English spoken in these countries are often exonormative or 'norm-dependent'; that is, the speakers, educators, and policymakers have traditionally been looking to the Inner Circle countries (mainly from the UK and the US) for linguistic norms and in most cases continue to

do so. Therefore, the English language standards of such speech communities are dependent on native speakers of the Inner Circle (Jenkins 2009:18).

Expanding Circle
e.g. China, Russia, Korea

Outer Circle
e.g. Nigeria, India,

Inner Circle
e.g. UK, USA, Australia
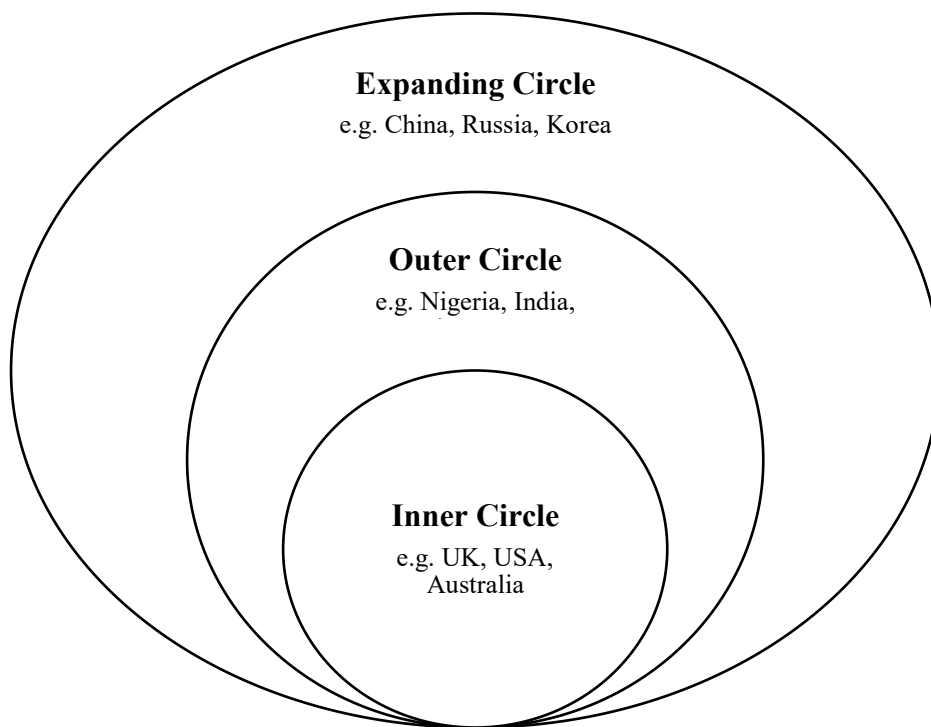
Figure 2.1 Kachru's Three Circles model (adapted from Kachru 1992:356)

Kachru's model provides a broad profile of the English language as currently used around the world and has, therefore, had a major impact on research into World Englishes (Tripathi 1998, Yano 2001, Graddol 2006, Kirkpatrick 2007, Mesthrie 2008). Kachru was mainly interested in the second-language varieties of the Outer Circle, and also in the Expanding Circle, but less so in the Inner Circle. His goal was essentially a political one, namely to promote the independence of Non-inner Circle varieties. With the growing number of speakers of varieties of English and the expansion of English culture throughout the world, Kachru's model broke the previously undisputed 'duopoly of American and British English' (Mesthrie 2008:160) by introducing a pluricentric approach to World Englishes in which there are several global centres (Jenkins 2003:64). In this way it has helped to change some of the negative perceptions of some varieties of English and to strengthen the linguistic self-confidence in

them (Bruthiaux 2003:172), which as a result has contributed to 'the increasing number of recommendations that the teaching of English be made to reflect local identities and incorporate local as well as worldwide norms' (Bruthiaux 2003:161). Therefore, the concept of 'functional nativeness' of ESL speakers in the Outer Circle is introduced and set on a par with the 'genetic nativeness' of the Inner Circle. This applies both to language teaching, which is an important issue in this context, and to cultural orientation. This model is used as a starting point of reference in this thesis. However, despite its clear merits and strong influence, the model is not without its shortcomings (Bruthiaux 2003, Jenkins 2009, Schneider 2013). The following paragraphs briefly describe the limitations of this model.

The Three Circles model categorises countries as monolithic entities, ignoring their internal heterogeneity and variability. It is a broad nation-based model which only categorises varieties according to large geographical areas, making it impossible to account for non-standard varieties within them (Bruthiaux 2003; Jenkins 2009; McKenzie 2006, Schneider 2013). By elevating American English or British English to norm-providing status, the model takes into account only the standard norms of the Inner Circle varieties and ignores dialectal variations within the spoken varieties. For example, not every American speaks Standard English; a dialect like the African American Vernacular English has very different spoken norms than the Standard General American (Bruthiaux 2003, Schneider 2013). In the UK, the model maintains the notion that RP, which is only spoken by a small minority of users, is the preferred model for speakers in the UK. This does not exactly correspond to the linguistic context in the British Isles in the twenty-first century. For example, the classification of Great Britain or New Zealand as Inner Circle varieties does not take into account the language experience of descendants from other countries (e.g. the Caribbean and Indian immigrants). This makes a model that focuses on speech communities rather than nation-states preferable.

Kachru's model is based on a separation between native English speakers (i.e., from the Inner Circle) and non-native speakers of English (i.e., from the Outer and Expanding Circles). Problems arise, however, when trying to use the terms 'native speakers' and 'non-native speakers' to distinguish different groups of people (Gupta 1994, Singh et al 1995, Tripathi 1998, Yano 2001, Jenkins 2009, Mesthrie 2008). The speakers of Nigerian English are an excellent example of this. According to Kachru's classification, Nigeria is part of the Outer Circle, as the majority of speakers use English outside the home. The Nigerian speakers are consequently classified as non-native speakers of English, meaning, English is not their mother tongue. However, there are a number of speakers who speak Nigerian English also at home instead of merely acquiring it at school and using it for official purposes (Udofot 2003, Gut 2008, Jowitt 2019). Yet Kachru's model provides for only state-based monolithic categories, which means that a number of native speakers in Nigeria are falsely referred to as 'non-native speakers'.

Similar cases can be found in other multilingual regions, such as Quebec or India, where it is difficult to determine whether speakers use English as their first language or second language (Schneider 2003:243, Jenkins 2009:20, McKenzie 2006). In such multilingual communities, it is likely that many speakers acquire different languages up to similar levels of proficiency (Mesthrie 2008:32). For multilingual English users, the dilemma is to prioritise one of their languages. Researchers are often faced with the question of whether or not to classify these individuals as native speakers of English. English speakers of this type are likely to be classified as non-native speakers solely because they live in an area designated as a nation of non-native speakers. Conversely, the classification of multilingual countries such as the United States, Australia or New Zealand into the Inner Circle ignores the minority groups, such as native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and aboriginals (Tripathi 1998:56, Schneider 2003:243, Yano 2001:122). Another example is Canada, which is listed among the Inner

Circle territories. The classification does not recognise the co-official status of French. South Africa also has English as an official language, but there are also ten other languages with this status. It then becomes quite difficult to convincingly classify South Africa as ENL or ESL (see Schneider 2007:173-197).

Another problem with Kachru's model is that it attempts to account for speaker groups that are not strictly comparable (Bruthiaux 2003:172). All Outer Circle countries or speech communities are grouped together for their common colonial history. The unique history and ethnic composition of these communities and the fundamental differences between highly multi-ethnic and highly monolingual ones are overlooked (Bruthiaux 2003:164). Zhang (2010) provides an illustration of Hong Kong. Although Hong Kong came under British administration at the end of the 18th century and English is still widely used in various areas, it differs from multilingual regions such as Nigeria or India, since Hong Kong is mainly a mono-ethnic territory and English is not used for inter- and intra-ethnic communication. Now that Hong Kong has returned to China and has become a special administrative region of the state, Hong Kong is obviously not a post-colonial territory. Under these circumstances, problems not only occur when trying to group Hong Kong with other post-colonial countries but it also becomes more difficult for language teachers or language policymakers to position Hong Kong linguistically compared to other Outer Circle countries. In other words, a pedagogical practice or language policy successfully applied in other post-colonial countries such as Nigeria and Ghana may not be suitable for Hong Kong because of its unique situation.

Another limitation is the categorisation of the English varieties according to language standards. Schneider (2013) points out that recent changes and developments in World Englishes are not sufficiently taken into account. Even Kachru (1985:13-14) acknowledges that the Outer and Expanding Circles may not be viewed as completely distinct from each

other; they share several common characteristics, and the status of English in the language policies of these countries changes from time to time. What is an ESL region at one time can become an EFL region at a different time or vice versa. Likewise, in many countries perceived as part of the Outer Circle, there are now a large number of indigenous native speakers growing up there. This applies to Nigeria.

Another limitation of the model is that it over-abstracts too many aspects of the sociolinguistic reality of many English-speaking nations. In many English-speaking countries (e.g. Nigeria, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Hong Kong) the highly regional varieties are not included. It also leaves no room for discussions about pidgins and creoles, which are widespread in African and Caribbean countries.

Despite the limitations of the model described above, Kachru's model has been used in many recent studies (e. g., Ladegaard 1998; Bayard et al. 2001; McKenzie 2006; Cavallaro & Chin 2009, Zhang 2010), mainly because it categorises English varieties with similar socio-historical backgrounds and provides a theoretical framework that can be used to study sociolinguistic circumstances (Bruthiaux 2003:160). Therefore, in the course of the present study and in spite of the limitations described above, in order to address the problem of ESL/EFL categorisation, the terms native/non-native and Inner/Non-inner Circles are used in the description of the accents of English that were recorded for evaluation. This is because the categories ESL and EFL are not as discrete as traditionally assumed but rather located on a continuum (Buschfeld 2013, Edward 2016, Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017:104). The boundaries between ESL and EFL, which a few decades ago were established convincingly, are increasingly getting blurred, as demonstrated for English in Cyprus (Buschfeld 2013) and English in the Netherlands (Edwards 2016).

For the purposes of the present study, a native speaker of a language is considered an individual who is from any of the countries (e.g. the UK, the US) with historic possession of English and has acquired the language in early childhood (Richards et al. 1992:241, Gupta 2001:366), where general attitudes, habits and practices of such language are regular without being co-ordinated or governed by an explicit rule. A non-native speaker can thus be defined as a person who learns the language as a second or foreign language after early childhood (Singh et al. 1995:286). For the purposes of this study, the Inner Circle speaker is defined as a speaker of English from countries (e.g. the UK, the United States, and Australia) that have access to English on historical, sociolinguistic and functional bases and has acquired English as a first language. The Non-inner Circle speaker refers to the speaker of English from countries (e.g. Nigeria. Ghana, Jamaica, Japan, and Malaysia) that have claims to English only on a sociolinguistic and/or functional basis. Of course, it should be kept in mind that the use of such a classification system is not without its problems. For instance, it is possible to find users of English in Nigeria who speak only English.

Although Kachru's model has been very influential and useful, it needs to be supplemented with an alternative model that illustrates the complexity of the current settings and varieties of World Englishes more comprehensively (Schneider 2013). The Dynamic model of Schneider (2007), which will be used in this study as a supplement to Kachru's model, is discussed in the next section.

2.2.2. Schneider's Dynamic Model

Schneider's Dynamic model focuses on the status of Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs) as offspring of British or American colonisation and describes in detail how they can or have developed into autonomous varieties. His model operates within the confines of recent

language contact theories as developed by, for example, Thomason (2001) and Mufwene (2001, 2005). It is the core of the model that:

> despite all obvious dissimilarities, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory, and therefore it is possible to present the individual histories of PCEs as instantiations of the same underlying process (Schneider 2007:5).

The model is centred on the conceptualisation and realignments of identity constructions and 'their symbolic linguistic expressions' (Schneider 2007:28) in the settler (STL) and indigenous (IDG) strands in a colonised territory. Through various stages, the experiences of these two groups increasingly converge, involving a gradual assimilation of identity constructions and linguistic accommodation, and a single speech community with many shared linguistic features and norms emerges (Schneider 2007:32). In the early phases of colonial expansion, settlers consider themselves outpost representatives of a distant homeland, and the burden of linguistic adaptation and, sometimes, language shift rests largely upon the indigenous population. After a while, this process entails structural nativisation (the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns). In the course of this process, new identities are formed, based upon permanently shared territory, and in the end, the two groups emerge as a new nation with hybrid roots and new linguistic norms (Schneider 2007:5).

The Dynamic model consists of five stages which evolving World Englishes typically proceed through, namely, Foundation, Exonormative Stabilisation, Nativisation, Endonormative Stabilisation and Differentiation. To some extent, these stages and their defining criteria may overlap (Schneider 2014:11). In each stage, four parameters influence the development process of the English language: (1) Extralinguistic factors (the historical and political

conditions in the territory) shape new (2) characteristic identity constructions on the sides of the parties involved; these manifest themselves in (3) sociolinguistic determinants of the contact setting (conditions of the language contact, language use, as well as on language attitudes) and ultimately lead to (4) structural effects (the emergence of lexical, phonological, and grammatical features) (Schneider 2007: 30-35).

The entire development process of Schneider's model begins with the Foundation phase (Schneider 2003, 2007), where English is brought to a new territory (e.g. for commercial or missionary activities). Apart from the native English speakers, only a few locals who attended schools set up by English-speaking missionaries or the colonial government speak English in the community. Since there is limited contact between English and the local language, the English used in the community does not have much impact on the local language. The earliest linguistic impact of indigenous languages on English is usually borrowing of common names (place, food items, etc.). In Nigeria, this phase began with the expansion of trading activities and the advent of missionaries in the nineteenth century. Both processes brought in government officials and other colonial personnel. Thus, English was brought to the region about the second half of the nineteenth century (Schneider 2007:200).

The second phase is Exonormative Stabilisation, where the external native norm is accepted as the linguistic standard. At this stage, English is adopted in the community for official functions such as administration, education and law (Groves 2009, Schneider 2013). As the locals consider English as an asset and believe that speaking English equips people to become elites in the community, they develop a positive attitude towards English. Leading figures among the indigenous population are often admitted to English educational institutions to be trained, after which they are to serve the interests of the empire (Schneider 2013). Furthermore, the local English speakers, usually the educated members of the community,

accept the standard variety of English as the norm without hesitation. While the standard variety is being looked up to, a hybrid type of English also begins to develop. Lexical borrowing from indigenous languages into the English language takes place regularly. This phase began in Nigeria when English became established as the language of administration, education, commerce and the law, shortly after the introduction of the 'indirect rule' policy by Lord Lugard, who was the governor of the British colony of Nigeria in 1914. This policy enabled him to govern the country through an indigenous power structure, whose members had to be educated (Schneider 2007:201). Also, the amalgamation of the heterogeneous regions into one country increased inter-ethnic contacts. These people with different cultural and language backgrounds had to depend on English in order to productively interact. This strengthened the use of English in the country. The African leaders realised the importance of getting along with the white rulers, they saw the use of English as a means of becoming elites in the society. The majority of British residents in Nigeria during this period were speakers of RP (Gut 2008:37). The accent of these British residents became a model for a minority of the indigenous population (especially Nigerian leaders). This exonormative orientation was upheld for a long time after independence and perhaps remains the same to the present day (Schneider 2007:202, Gut 2008:38).

The next and the most vibrant of all phases of the Dynamic model is Nativisation, which mostly influences the 'restructuring' of the English language (Schneider 2003:248). The local variety of English has become more widespread and has developed noticeable linguistic features in vocabulary, accent, and grammar, which are idiosyncratic to the local community (Schneider 2003, 2007, Groves 2009). Speakers in the settler group are regularly confronted with this emerging new dialect, and there is typically a sociolinguistic cleavage between those who associate more strongly with the locals and possibly adopt some of these innovative forms and conservative gatekeepers, often of higher social standing, who resent innovations

and 'deviations', uphold the external norm and complain about the declining standards of usage (Schneider 2013:50). While innovative users continue to use the local variety, conservative users stigmatise local language features as an indication of the deteriorating language standard of the community, strongly supporting compliance with the external standard. Over time, however, discussions about the use of English in the community reinforce the willingness of the public to accept the local variety, which brings the variety into the phase of nativisation. The characteristics of the emerging dialect are increasingly evolving and becoming more habitual in use. This includes strong lexical borrowing from indigenous languages, phonological transfer, the emergence of new grammatical conventions, and the mixing of code between English and local languages becomes common. Schneider claims that Nigerian English has clearly reached this stage and is still gaining ground rapidly (Schneider 2007:210).

With independence in 1960, official posts formerly held by Europeans now became available to Nigerians. Of course, a command of English was a condition for assuming them (Schneider 2007:204) and the affairs of the country continued to be conducted in English. Shortly after, efforts to expand access to education (in which English was core), especially in the rural areas, greatly increased. Thus, a strong presence of English became established in the Nigerian society. The number of English users in Nigeria has since been on the rise. This is reflected in the nativisation of English and the attitudes towards this variety in Nigerian society. Attitudes towards Nigerian English vary widely. There are educated conservatives who would deny the existence of Nigerian English. Jowitt (2013) calls this group of people 'the rejecters' while those who welcome and promote the variety 'the accepters' (see Jowitt 2019:24-25).

In the phase of Endonormative Stabilisation, a new nation emerges that is not only politically independent but also proceeds towards cultural self-reliance. Inhabitants in this phase adopt

and accept the local variety of English as the norm. They develop a territorial and increasingly pan-ethnic identity as members of a young nation. Although there are still traces of a conservative attitude from the previous phase, these opinions are in the minority. The majority of the community understands that the local variety is to be different from the native variety. Not only have the local features lost their stigma, but they are also valued positively and even accepted for formal use. Inspired by such a process of nation-building, the local variety is increasingly being accepted as an element of the nation's distinctive traits coupled with a positive attitude towards it. This self-confidence in the local variety also shows that the community is ready for a new, independent identity. A good example is Singaporean English, which now experiences Endonormative Stabilisation (Schneider 2007). Schneider doubts if Nigerian English has convincingly reached this stage (Schneider 2007:210).

The fifth and last phase of the Dynamic model is Differentiation. After internal national stabilisation, this final stage may include progression towards internal differentiation. In addition to gaining an independent identity, there is an internal diversification (Groves 2009). This is when sub-varieties begin to develop, representing new social or regional identities within this new variety. Local varieties, such as Australian English and New Zealand English, have completed their development as new varieties and gained autonomy from the standard variety (Schneider 2007).

Despite the comprehensiveness of this model, Schneider (2003:272) states that not all conditions need to apply in reality. He points out that the individual phases in the model are not 'necessary and sufficient' conditions for the development of a variety, but only 'characteristic properties of prototypical' phases. Therefore, the elements in the five phases may evolve differently.

The Dynamic model is well established and fairly robust, and it is based on a detailed examination of a wide range of countries. It has been used in many recent studies e.g. on Indian English (Mukherjee 2007), Hong Kong English (Evans 2009, Zhang 2010), South African English (Bekker 2009, Van Rooy & Terblanche 2010), Philippine English (Borlongan 2011), Japanese English (Ike 2012), and Ghanaian English (Huber 2012). Despite suggestions for minor modifications (see Mukherjee 2007, Evans 2009, 2014, Buschfeld 2013, 2014, Huber 2014, Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017) and some fundamental criticisms as regards the inclusion of ENLs and ESLs (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, Ike 2012), the linear progression from phase to phase (Udorji 2015), an underrepresentation of class or status in identity formation, or its strong focus on identity constructions (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008:35), the Dynamic model has established itself as an additional, and perhaps, currently the leading and most widely discussed and applied standard model in the field of World Englishes. The application of this model in this study will better enable us to examine the language situation in Nigeria, with an eye on the current development stage of Nigerian English, by investigating the attitudes of Nigerians to different accents of English.

2.2.3. Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces Model

The Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces Model (EIF Model) is a supplementary model of World Englishes relevant in this study. The model was introduced in order to handle some of the shortcomings of the Dynamic model by accounting for both Postcolonial Englishes and Non-Postcolonial Englishes (Non-PCEs). It was built on Schneider's (2014) and Edwards' (2016) concepts of 'Transnational Attraction' and 'foundation-through-globalisation' respectively. Schneider (2014) questions whether and to what extent his Dynamic model can account for non-postcolonial settings. He tries to do so by applying a modified version of the four core parameters of his model to various non-postcolonial contexts. He suggests skipping the

foundation phase (often by colonisation). In order to solve the problem of missing transportation, he introduces the notion of 'Transnational Attraction', a term which aims to capture 'the appropriation of (components of) English(es) for whatever communicative purposes at hand, unbounded by distinctions of norms, nations or varieties' (Schneider 2014:28). In this process, English is mainly seen from a utilitarian perspective, that is, as a symbol of modernity and a stepping stone toward prosperity (Schneider 2014:28).

Edwards (2016), in an attempt to apply Schneider's Dynamic model to a European non-PCE, addresses the question of whether English, as used in the Netherlands, can be considered a second-language variety, despite the missing postcolonial background, or whether it should simply be regarded as learner English. In her analysis of functions and roles of English and attitudes towards English in the Netherlands, she detects several parallels between the roles and functions of PCEs and English in the Netherlands. She concludes that English in the Netherlands cannot be said convincingly to be either a second language or a learner variety (Edwards 2016:193). Instead of skipping the foundation phase, Edwards suggests reconceptualising the phase by introducing the notion of 'foundation-through-globalisation', which accounts for the realities of today's globalised world.

While such a reconceptualisation may be able to account for the foundation phase, it remains clear that the Dynamic model may not be able to adequately account for non-PCEs without being subjected to modifications (Edwards 2016:159). To this end, the notion of extra- and intra-territorial forces was introduced. This notion focuses on both PCEs and non-PCEs and therefore helps to explain their development in an integrated way without neglecting the differences between them (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017). The EIF Model assumes that various extra- and intra- territorial forces operate on the development of different forms of English from their very initial stages down to their current status. The general assumption is that such forces operate both on the national level, on the different groups of speakers within and across

particular countries, stratified by any secondary variable such as proficiency level, ethnicity or age. The model also accounts for the heterogeneity found in many linguistic contexts (postcolonial and non-postcolonial), which is ignored by older models of World Englishes. While the group of extra-territorial forces includes any factor entering the country from the outside, the intra-territorial forces are such that mainly operate from within (national or regional level).

Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) suggest five major subcategories of both extra- and intra-territorial forces, namely, colonisation (extra)/attitudes towards colonisation (intra), language policies (both extra and intra), globalisation (extra)/acceptance of globalisation (intra), foreign policies (both extra and intra), and sociodemographic background of a country (both extra and intra). Colonisation as an extra-territorial force works the same way as explicitly addressed in the Dynamic model. 'Attitudes towards colonisation' as the intra-territorial side entails aspects such as national pride, resistance against foreign rule, acceptance of foreign rule, the resulting differences in interaction and assimilation of the parties involved.

Regarding the language policies, external forces might come from institutions like the British Council or the implementation of English proficiency tests like TOEFL or any other external factor influencing linguistic choices. Such factors turn into internal forces when it comes to how a country either accepts or rejects them. The intra-territorial side includes factors such as decisions on how to deal with those extra-territorial influences. Such decisions may be the introduction of bilingual school programmes or the introduction of English as a medium of instruction.

Regarding globalisation, the extra-territorial side is expressed in linguistic and cultural influences coming from the Internet, social media, commerce, international relations, sports etc. With or without any historical presence, the ever-growing influence of US culture through

Hollywood films, pop music, and television series has made American English very popular in many countries around the world. This applies to Nigeria (Awonusi 1994, 2004, Igboanusi 2002, 2003, Mair 2013). However, this also has an intra-territorial side since territories differ with respect to whether and to what extent they allow the influence of globalisation. The strict control of Internet access in countries such as North Korea, China, Ethiopia and Eritrea is an example of how this intra-territorial force could implicitly curb external influence. Other examples are Tanzania and Malaysia, where English has recently been downgraded. Tanzania dumped English as its official language of instruction in schools and chose Kiswahili in 2015, thus becoming the first sub-Saharan African country to use an African language as its medium of instruction throughout the schooling years. One other potential force influencing the development of English is foreign policies. Such decisions influence cultural and linguistic affinities and consequently the popularity of a particular culture or language in a country.

The last set of factors that can influence the spread and use of English in a country are of sociodemographic nature. These include the demographic developments in a country (population, ethnic distribution of both aborigines and immigrants, age distribution, etc), For example, it is likely that the younger speakers are most ready to adopt the English language and for different reasons make it part of their linguistic repertoires. The multicultural and multilingual nature of the Nigerian society, for instance, has encouraged the uninterrupted influence of the English language in the country.

Even though the EIF Model incorporates both Schneider's (2014) and Edwards' (2016) conceptions of 'Transnational Attraction' and 'foundation-through-globalisation', it goes beyond their suggestions in two important respects: meeting the problem of lacking a foundation phase and accounting for the missing settler strand as well as the external colonising power. The influence of the Internet or the influence of US popular culture and media might play a similar role to that of the settler strand since these factors create

sociolinguistic situations in which different languages and different varieties of English meet. The development process of English in the model clearly builds on Schneider's Dynamic model, only that it explains the five phases and the four parameters operating on them in terms of extra- and intra-territorial forces (see Figure 2.2). It also offers explanations for the development of both PCEs and non-PCEs in an integrated fashion. PCEs evolve along the developmental route and parameters proposed by the Dynamic Model. Non-PCEs follow a similar path, although the initial forces operating on their development are fundamentally different.
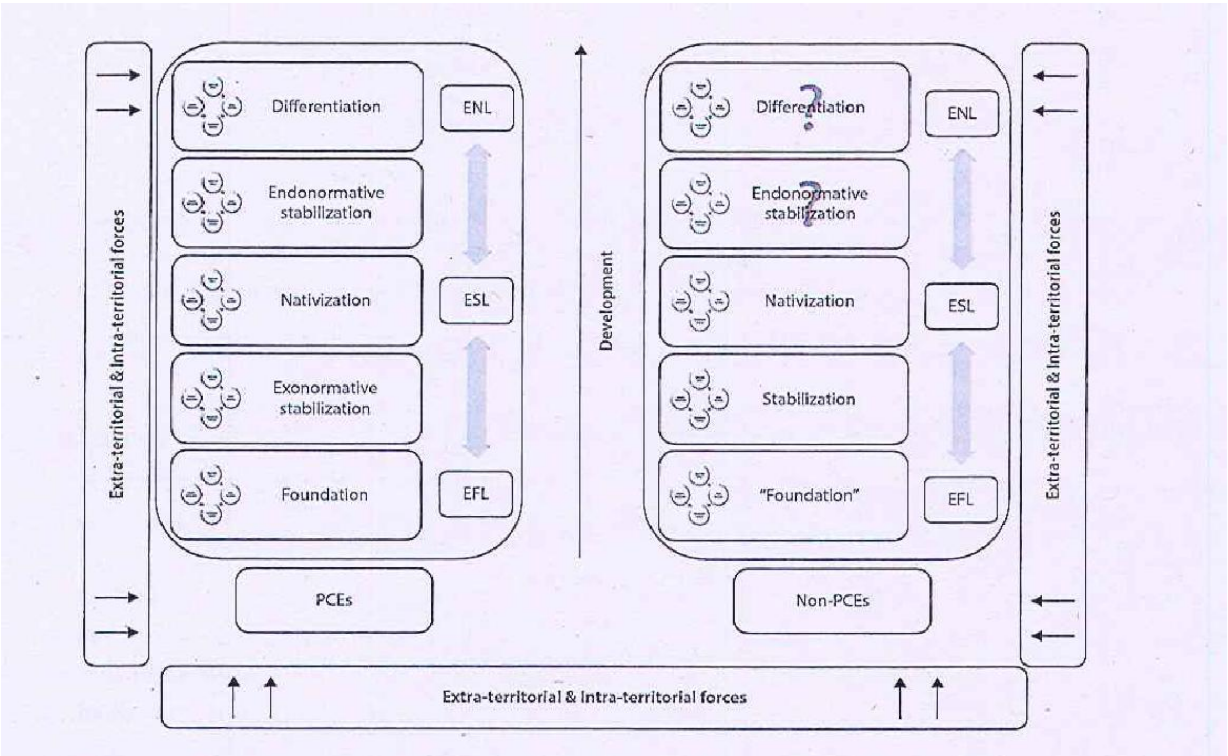
Figure 2.2. The Extra- and Intra- territorial Forces Model (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017, Buschfeld et al. 2018).

The label 'foundation' is retained for the first phase in the development of non-PCEs, after which non-PCEs undergo stabilisation, but not necessarily by external forces as is the case for PCEs. Intra-territorial forces such as internal language choices, access to English through the media and attitudes of the local population, can play an equally important role in their

development, No significant changes are required to characterise the development of non-PCEs in Phase 3. With respect to the further development of non-PCEs, it remains a speculation whether they may develop beyond the third phase.

2.3. Varieties of Nigerian English

Various approaches have been adopted by different linguists in the classification of English varieties in Nigeria. The first of these classifications is Brosnahan's (1958) classification of (Southern) Nigerian English. His typology was based on the educational background of the speakers. He identifies the varieties of English in Nigeria on four levels (Levels I-IV). Brosnahan's Level I is the variety called Pidgin English[1] and it is used by the illiterates. This variety of English is spoken by a very large number of speakers, mostly the market women, artisans, labourers. His Level II is the primary school English. It is the English as used by people with primary school education, and it has the greatest number of users. Level III is the variety of English used by secondary school graduates, and this is characterised by some degree of communicative fluency and a wide range of lexical items. Level IV is the university English. This is the English used by the university graduates, and it is characterised by linguistic features close to Standard English. Thus, Brosnahan believes this variety is closest to Standard British English (SBE); he, therefore, concludes that the fourth variety provides the model of Standard Nigerian English out of the many varieties.

Another scholar, Banjo (1971), proposes four varieties which he labels Variety I - Variety IV. His description is based on the criteria of local acceptability and international intelligibility. Banjo's Variety I is the variety of English used by people with little competence in the language. It is characterised by a huge transfer of linguistic features from the indigenous

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[1] It has been noted that even though Nigerian Pidgin is an English-based Pidgin, it is not a variety of Nigerian English (Banjo 1996, Jowitt 2019:29)

languages into English. This variety is probably picked up by Nigerians with only elementary school education. Variety II enjoys high social acceptability and moderate international intelligibility. Its syntactic features are close to those of SBE but it is remarkably different at the phonological and lexical levels. The third variety (Variety III) is both syntactically and lexically close to SBE but there is a slight difference in the phonology. It is marked by reasonable social acceptability. The fourth one (Variety IV) is the variety used by few Nigerians that have English as their first language, as a result of being brought up in the native English speakers' environment. This variety corresponds to SBE. However, it is characterised by low social acceptance and high international intelligibility.

Bamgbose's (1982) classification is rarely reckoned with; this is because his classification is based on a diachronic description of Nigerian English and therefore of little relevance to the current description of English varieties in Nigeria. He classifies Nigerian English into three varieties; Contact English (CE); Victorian English (VE) and School English (SE) (see Bamgbose 1982).

Awonusi (1987) uses the lectal pyramid to classify the varieties of English in Nigeria. He describes Nigerian English on a pyramidal continuum (see Figure 2.3), which is socially and geographically motivated. At its peak is what he calls the acrolectal Nigerian English, at its base is the basilectal English, while in between the two extremes is the mesolectal Nigerian English. According to him, Nigerian English is on a dynamic continuum; therefore, none of the lects should be regarded as distinct groups. The implication of this is that people can move up the continuum as the level of their competence improves and they can also decide to downshift for communicative and/or stylistic purposes as evident in the works of many Nigerian literary writers. From his description, the acrolectal Nigerian English is the Standard Nigerian English. This variety is close to SBE syntactically and lexically with a slight difference at the phonological level. The mesolectal Nigerian English is described as the

general Nigerian English and associated with the lower-middle class and the middle-low class. The basilectal Nigerian English is described as the variety of the uneducated Nigerians and those from the low class. It enjoys remarkable local acceptability but lacks international intelligibility.

RP

Social Placement

Acrolect

Mesolect

Basilect

Southern Nigerian English   *Northern Nigerian English*
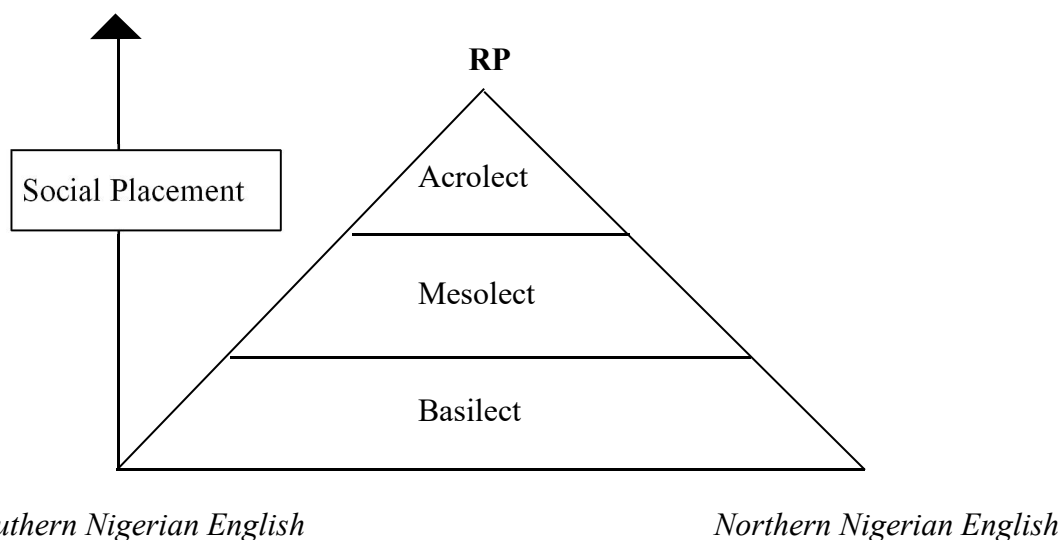
Figure 2.3. The Nigerian English Continuum (Awonusi 1987)

Yet another is Udofot's (2004) classification. Her classification is restricted to the spoken Nigerian English. She classifies the spoken Nigerian English into three varieties, also using the education criterion. She describes Variety I (which she compares to Banjo's Variety I) as the non-standard version of Nigerian English spoken by primary and secondary school leavers, undergraduates of higher institutions and primary school teachers. Variety II (Banjo's Variety II) is the standard variety spoken by final year students in the university, university graduates, lecturers and professionals. The third variety (which she compares to Banjo's Variety III and Jibril's (1986) Sophisticated Variety) is spoken by university lecturers of English and linguistics, graduates of English and those who have lived in the native speakers' environment. Udofot recommends Variety II as the standard spoken English in Nigeria.

Although there is a considerable volume of literature on Nigerian English that relies mainly on education as a yardstick for Standard Nigerian English (Adeniran 1979, Adekunle 1974,

Banjo 1971), a number of scholars (Afolayan 1984, Jibril 1986, Awonusi 1987) have opposed the use of educational attainment as the major yardstick for the description of Nigerian English. This is because it is difficult to categorise speakers of English solely by their educational qualifications, as sometimes this does not match the performance of such users of English (Ekpe 2010:52). In order to solve the controversial task of identifying the standard form of Nigerian English, Jowitt (1991) points out that education and ethnic affiliation are less reliable indicators of the proficiency of a speaker than the speaker's opportunity to use the language. More recently, Jowitt (2019:33) proposes that Nigerian English should be distinguished only between the acrolectal varieties spoken by relatively educated Nigerians and the non-acrolectal English, which is used by less educated Nigerians.

The basic assumption of the present study is that Nigerian English is a continuum of two extremes; on the one end is the educated variety (which includes all categories of educated Nigerians) and on the other end is the uneducated variety (which includes all categories of the less educated Nigerians to the uneducated ones).

Uneducated Nigerian English   Educated Nigerian English
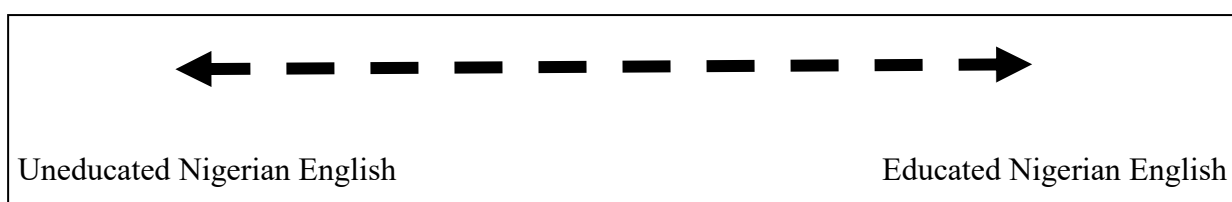
Figure 2.4. The Nigerian English Bipolar Scale

Figure 2.4 shows a bipolar continuum. By implication, people change status as the level of their competence improves, usually due to their level of education or the exposure they gather over time. Depending on the context of the conversation and those involved, the highly educated can also shift to the left for stylistic and communicative reasons. In the next section, the phonological properties of the major accents of Nigerian English are described.

2.4. The Phonology of Nigerian English

This section provides a detailed description of the phonological features of Nigerian English. Jowitt (2019:43) describes the totality of Nigerian phonological features of English as the Nigerian English accent (an expression first used by Awonusi 2004). These phonological features are what make Nigerian English different from other varieties of English. These features are recognisable at both segmental and suprasegmental levels. If there are over 500 indigenous languages in Nigeria, we may as well assume that there are over 500 different English varieties in Nigeria. For the sake of simplicity the three major varieties (Hausa English, Igbo English and Yoruba English), which have been well researched will be described.

2.4.1. Segmental Features of Nigerian English

The sound segments include the consonants and the vowels. Some of the sounds in SBE are significantly different from those of Nigerian indigenous languages. For this reason, Nigerians have some challenges in pronouncing such sounds. Such difficulties arise mainly from the interference of the sound patterns of their mother tongue in the sound system of English (Jowitt 2000, Awonusi 2004). These difficulties create deviations in Nigerian English based on the geolinguistic domain of the speaker.

2.4.1.1. Consonants

There are some consonantal sounds that exist in Standard British English that do not exist in Nigerian English (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3). SBE has the voiceless bilabial plosive /p/ in its sound inventory. While Yoruba English and Igbo English have /p/ in their inventory (sometimes realised as [kp] in Yoruba English) and produce the same variant as that of SBE speakers, there does not seem to be any consensus among scholars on the existence of this

sound in Hausa English. Although Jibril's (1986) version of the Hausa consonant chart shows the existence of /p/, San's (1989) version does not have /p/. According to Ekpe (2010:86), the voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] in the sound system of Hausa speakers is realised phonetically as an intermediate sound between the English [p] and [f] and it is articulated with the contact of the two lips as in the articulation of [p], but with a partial closure of the vocal tract, causing some friction as in the articulation of the English [f]. This special phonetic feature of the Hausa [ɸ], according to Kraft and Kirk-Greene (1973:8), seems largely responsible for confusing the phonemic status of the English [p] with that of the English [f]. However, Nutall (1965:20) and Jibril (1986:83) confirm that the two sounds [p] and [f] are frequently used in Hausa, but they are never distinctive and are completely interchangeable in most positions.

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ of SBE has the variant [p] in Hausa English. There is often a phonemic confusion between the use of the English [p] and [f] in Hausa English, which an allophonic voiceless bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is substituted for. The variants of /v/ in Nigerian English can be found in Hausa English [b] and Yoruba English [f]. The voiceless dental fricative /θ/ has the variants [t] and [s] and [t̪] in Nigerian English. The voiced counterpart [ð] has the variants [d] and [z]. The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is sometimes realised as [s] in most Nigerian languages. Jowitt (2000) confirms that this sound is absent in most Nigerian languages, so speakers usually use spelling pronunciation as the solution to the problem of correctly distinguishing voiced and unvoiced sibilants, especially in the final position. This strategy often leads to the variant [s] where SBE has the more frequent /z/ (Ekpe 2010:90). Even in cases where there is no suggested spelling of such, the voiceless substitute is still often used, as in, 'buzz' /bʌz/ SBE; Nigerian English will be [bʊs].

The English voiceless palatal alveolar fricative /ʃ/ has different variants in Nigerian English. It is often realised as [s] in Yoruba English, though more rarely in Igbo English. According to Awonusi (2004:214), "this may be accounted for by the accent-specific phonological

interference". Jowitt (2000:79) also affirms that this feature is common among the Ijaw (south-south) speakers of English. The voiced palatal alveolar counterpart /ʒ/ also has variants in Nigerian English. Adetugbo (1993:141) says, "few contrast exists between this sound and /ʃ/ and some Nigerians often realise it as [s]". Hausa speakers of English generally find the articulation of this sound extremely difficult. Nutall (1965:10) also confirms that /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ is a problem of a /p/ and /f/ kind for Hausa speakers of English.

The glottal fricative /h/ has no variants in Nigerian English. Most Nigerians have no problem with its production except some Yoruba speakers of English who either drop or insert /h/ where it does not exist. Jowitt (2000:79) notes that /h/ is rare among Yoruba speakers of English, who tend to omit it from its syllable-initial position and then sometimes insert a word-initial /h/ when it is not required. Awonusi (2004:24) identifies five types of H-phenomenon in Nigerian English as;

i.   H- Weakening: the weakening and consequent non-articulation or loss of /h/ in words as in 'his' /hiz/ realised as [ɪs] in connected speech.

ii.   H-restoration: the use of /h/ in words which are /h/ less in SBE as in hour, /aʊə/ realised as [hawa].

iii.   Categorical H-dropping: the non-articulation of /h/ in 'h-full' words like 'house' /haus/ realised as [aus]

iv.   Variable H-dropping: the dropping or retention of /h/ in words like 'hotel' /həʊtel/ realised as [hɔtel] or [ɔtel]

v.   H-insertion: the use of /h/ in normally h-less words like egg /eg/ realised as [heg].

The consonant system of Nigerian English also shows a lack of the velar nasal /ŋ/. The variants of the velar nasal produced by Nigerian speakers of English are /ŋk/ and /ŋg/ or the nasalisation of the preceding vowel as in 'sing' /sɪŋ/ realised as [sɪŋk] or [sɪ̃].

Table 2.1. Hausa realisations of consonants

Consonants	Realisations
/p/	[p], [f], [ɸ]
/f/	[f], [p], [ɸ]
/b/	[b], [v]
/v/	[v], [b]
/θ/	[θ], [s], [t]
/ð/	[ð], [d], [z]
/ʒ/	[ʒ], [s]
/z/	[z], [s]
/ŋ/	[ŋ], [ŋk], [ŋg]

Table 2.2. Igbo realisations of consonants

Consonants	Realisations
/θ/	[θ], [t], [ʈ]
/ð/	[ð], [d], [ɖ]
/ʒ/	[ʒ], [ʃ]
/z/	[z], [s]
/ŋ/	[ŋ], [ŋk], [ŋg]

Table 2.3. Yoruba realisations of consonants

Consonants	Realisations
/p/	[p], [kp]
/f/	[f], [v]
/θ/	[θ], [t], [t̪]
/ð/	[ð], [d], [d̪]
/ʒ/	[ʒ], [ʃ]
/dʒ/	[dʒ], [ʒ]
/tʃ/	[tʃ], [ʃ]
/h/	[h], h-deletion
/z/	[z], [s]
/v/	[v], [f]
/ŋ/	[ŋ], [ŋk], [ŋg]

2.4.1.2. Vowels

In comparison, Standard British English has a greater number of vowels than Nigerian English. The SBE vowels have been classified into monophthongs, diphthongs and triphthongs (Roach 1983, 1991, Skandera & Burleigh 2005). While monophthongs and diphthongs are found in Nigerian languages, there is no evidence of triphthongs. Some English central vowels are usually replaced by other vowels, and the diphthongs and triphthongs are monophthongised. These and other factors lead to fewer vowels in Nigerian English. Compared to the 23 vowels of SBE, Hausa English has 15 vowels, while Yoruba English and Igbo English have 11 vowels each (Jibril 1986). Table 2.4 lists the vowels of Educated Nigerian English as described in Jibril (1986), Awonusi (2004), Gut (2008) and Jowitt (1991, 2019). The distribution of the Nigerian English vowels, using Wells' (1982) lexical sets as a reference point, is illustrated in Table 2.5. Comparisons with RP and General

American (GA) are included in the descriptions, since very detailed descriptions of the accents are available, and because they have been the models of English in Nigeria.

Table 2.4. The vowels of Educated Nigerian English (Jibril 1986, Awonusi 1986, Jowitt 1991, 2019, Gut 2008)

	Educated Hausa English	Educated Igbo English	Educated Yoruba English
Monophthongs	/i:/, /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /e:/, /æ/, /ʊ/, /a:/, /a/, /o/, /o:/, /u:/, /ʊ:/, /ɜ:/, /ə/	/i/, /ɛ/, /e/, /a/, /ɪ/, /o/, /u/	/i/, /ɛ/, /e/, /a/, /ɪ/, /o/, /u/
Diphthongs	/ai/, /aɪ/, /oi/, / ɪə/, /ɛə/, /ʊə/	/ai/, /aɪ/, /ɔi/, /ia/, /ea/	/ai/, /aɪ/, /ɔi/, /ia/, /ea/

Table 2.5. Vowel realisations in Educated Nigerian English

	Hausa English	Igbo English	Yoruba English		Hausa English	Igbo English	Yoruba English		Hausa English	Igbo English	Yoruba English
KIT	ɪ	i	i	FLEECE	i:	i	i	NEAR	ia	ia	ia
DRESS	ə, a	ɛ, e	ɛ, e	FACE	e	a	e	SQUARE	ia, ea, ua	ia, ea, ua	ia, ea, ua
TRAP	a	a	a	PALM	a:	a	a	START	a	a	a
LOT	a	ɔ	ɔ	THOUGHT	o:	ɔ	ɔ	NORTH	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
STRUT	ɑ , ʊ	ɔ	ɔ	GOAT	o:, o	o, ɔ	o, ɔ	FORCE	o, oa	ɔ	ɔ
FOOT	ʊ	u	u	GOOSE	u:	u	u	CURE	ua	ua	ua
BATH	a:	a	a	PRICE	ai, əi	ai	ai	HappY	i	i	i
CLOTH	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	CHOICE	ɔi	ɔi	ɔi	LettER	a, ə	a	a
NURSE	a:	ɛ, ɔ, a	ɛ, a:, ɔ, a	MOUTH	au, əu	au	au	CommA	a	a	a

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KIT

The KIT vowel is a lax [ɪ] in RP and GAE. The difference between [i:] and [ɪ] is barely observed by most Nigerian speakers of English, but Jowitt (2000:72) says there is a phonemic distinction between /i:/ and /ɪ/. In Hausa English, /ɪ/ is closely approximated, whereas in Yoruba English and Igbo English it is realised as [i], which leads to a lack of distinction between word pairs like *bin* and *been*.

DRESS

The DRESS vowel realised as [ɛ] in RP and GAE. In Hausa English there is a tendency to realise this vowel as [ə] or [a], in Yoruba English and Igbo English as [ɛ] and [e].

TRAP

The TRAP vowel is [æ] in RP and GAE. It is realised as [a] in all varieties of Nigerian English.

LOT

It is realised as [a] in Hausa English and [ɔ] in Yoruba English and Igbo English.

STRUT

The STRUT vowel is [ʌ] in RP and GAE. It is realised as [ɔ] in Yoruba English and Igbo English and as [ʊ] in Hausa English. It is sometimes realised by Hausa speakers as /a/, an allophone close to /ʌ/. Jowitt (2000:73) opines that this realisation is mainly used by acrolectal speakers of Hausa English.

FOOT

Realised as [ʊ] in Hausa English, very similar to RP and GAE; in Yoruba English and Igbo English, it is realised as [u].

BATH

The BATH vowel is a back [a:] in RP and [æ] in GAE. Realised as [a] in Yoruba English and Igbo English. In Hausa English the vowel [a:] is produced.

CLOTH

Realised as [ɔ] in GAE and all Nigerian English varieties. It is rather more open in RP [ɒ].

NURSE

This central vowel, realised as [ɜ:] in RP and [ɜr], in GAE does not exist in Nigerian English. It is thus realised with many variants. Hausa English realises this vowel as [a:], in Igbo English the pronunciation is [ɜ] and in Yoruba English as [ɜ] and [a:]. Depending on the spelling, many variants are realised by all Nigerians: [ɔ] in *work*, [e] in *thirty*, [a] in *term*, etc.

FLEECE

The FLEECE vowel is high, tense [i:] in RP. It is realised in Hausa English as [i:], but in Yoruba English and Igbo English the vowel is shorter, realised as [i].

FACE

The FACE vowel is a centering diphthong [eɪ] in RP and GAE. In Hausa English and Yoruba English the vowel is realised as [e]; it is common for the English diphthongs to be monophthongised by Nigerian speakers of English, so that no distinction is made between *get* and *gate*. In Igbo English, however, it is usually pronounced [a].

PALM

It is realised as [a] in all Nigerian English varieties.

THOUGHT

The THOUGHT vowel is realised as [ɔ:] and [ɔ] in RP and GAE, respectively. In Yoruba English and Igbo English, this vowel is realised as [ɔ], whereas in Hausa English it tends to be realised as [o:].

GOAT

The GOAT vowel is a diphthong [əʊ] in RP and [ou] or [oʊ] in GAE (Jowitt 2019:47). Usually realised as [o:] or [o] or in Hausa English and as [o] or [ɔ] in Yoruba English and Igbo English.

GOOSE

In Hausa English it is pronounced [u:], as in RP and GAE, whereas in Yoruba English and Igbo English it is realised /u/.

PRICE

Realised as [ai] in the three Nigerian English varieties as in RP and GAE. However, the first element of the vowel is sometimes centralised in Hausa English (Gut 2008:43).

CHOICE

Realised as [ɔi] in all the varieties, as in RP and GAE.

MOUTH

Realised as [au] in the three Nigerian English varieties as in RP and GAE. However, the first element of the vowel is sometimes centralised in Hausa English.

NEAR

The NEAR vowel is realised as [ɪə] and [ɪr] in RP and GAE, respectively. It is realised as [ia] in all Nigerian varieties.

SQUARE

The vowel SQUARE, which is [ɛə] in RP and [ɛr] in GAE, is realised as [ia], [ea] or [ua] in all Nigerian varieties.

START

The START vowel [a:] in RP is realised as [a] in all Nigerian varieties.

NORTH

Realised as [ɔ] in all Nigerian varieties.

FORCE

It is realised as [ɔ] in Yoruba English and Igbo English, while Hausa English speakers pronounce it [o] or [oa].

CURE

The CURE vowel, [ʊə] in RP and [ʊr] in GAE is realised as [ua] in all Nigerian varieties.

happY

Realised as [i] in all Nigerian varieties.

lettER

This short central vowel [ə] in RP and GAE is realised as [a] in all Nigerian varieties. It is sometimes realised as [ə] in Hausa English (Jowitt 2019:50).

commA

This vowel is also realised as [a] in all Nigerian varieties.

The triphthongs do not exist in Nigerian languages, so they are monophthongised by an average Nigerian speaker of English in conformity with the rules of their indigenous languages. A few basilectal speakers realise them as separate vowels; they do this by

changing the middle vowels into corresponding semi-vowels, which Simo Bobda (1997) explains as gliding processes. Thus, words like *flower* and *fire* are realised as [flawa] and [faja].

2.4.2. Suprasegmental Features of Nigerian English

The languages of the world have traditionally been divided into stress-timed and syllable-timed (Pike 1945, Abercrombie 1967). The suprasegmentals of SBE are quite different from those of the Nigerian languages. English is a stress-timed language, in that sense, English rhythm is mainly based on stressed syllables that occur at regular intervals, regardless of how many unstressed syllables occur between them. This isochronicity in English makes it very different from Nigerian languages, which are syllable-timed; this means that they differ in terms of rhythm (see section 2.4.2.2). Intelligibility is more affected by the suprasegmentals than the sound segments, as they are mostly meaning-carriers (Tiffen 1974).

2.4.2.1. Stress and Accent

Stress in English deals with the level of distinctive pitch, with the most prominent being the primary stress. Word stress in Nigerian English in many cases differs from that in British or American English (Simo Bobda 1997, Jowitt 1991, Atoye 1991). Nigerian English has different ways of placing stress on words. This variation in stress placement is also noticeable at the intonation level.

Simo Bobda (1997) describes a general tendency for stress to be shifted to the right. This can be seen in realisations of words like *hyGIENE*, *chaLLENGE*, and *bisCUIT*. It is also common for Nigerian speakers of English to place stress on the second element in compound words, such as *boardROOM* and *headSET*. However, Atoye (1991:2) categorises stress placement on words in Nigerian English into two categories. According to him, in one category, the stress is

reassigned to an earlier syllable in the word (e.g. *estate* and *rampage* realised as *EState*, *RAMpage*) while, in the other, it is shifted to a latter syllable (e.g. *protein* and *curfew* realised as *proTEIN*, *curFEW*); the common feature is the shift of the stress from the syllable which normally bears it in SBE. He describes these two processes as regressive stress shift and progressive stress shift, respectively.

In continuous speech, the stressed syllables of words become potential places for sentence stress, i.e. accents realised by the speaker, with the number of accents being determined by the speech tempo. In each utterance or sentence, the most prominent accent is called the nucleus and tends to fall on the rightmost stressed syllable of an utterance, although pragmatic reasons such as emphasis may cause stress shifts. Sentence stress in Nigerian English is rarely used for emphasis or contrast (Jibril 1986, Jowitt 1991, Gut 2003).

In general, in Nigerian English many lexical items can receive stress that do not usually do so in British English. More stressed syllables are realised as accents in Nigerian English than in British English speech. In careful speech (reading passage style), nearly all verbs, adjectives and nouns are accented (Udofot 2003, Gut 2003). In spontaneous speech, differences between British English and Nigerian English are most pronounced with a large number of extra accented syllables in Nigerian English (Udofot 2003).

The phonetic realisation of accents in Nigerian English seems to be very different from that of native speaker varieties of English. It has been suggested that accents in Nigerian English are mainly generated by tone. Gut (2003) reports that the tone in Nigerian English is grammatically determined, with lexical words receiving a high tone on the stressed syllable and low-tone on non-lexical words. The accented syllable of lexical words is created with a high tone, which then spreads to the end of the word. All unstressed syllables preceding the accented syllable are created with a low tone.

2.4.2.2. Speech Rhythm

It has been suggested that Nigerian English has a syllable-timed rather than stress-timed rhythm (Bamgbose 1982, Udofot 1997). In syllable-timed languages such as Yoruba (Abercrombie 1967), it is assumed that syllables are equal in length. In contrast, stress-timed languages such as English have regular recurring stress beats. Since the number of syllables varies between two stress beats, their length is adjusted to fit into the stress interval and is therefore very variable in stress-driven languages.

Eka (1993) dissents from the syllable-timed notion by suggesting that the rhythm of the Nigerian languages is 'inelastic-timed' because of the tendency to have more prominent syllables than the native speaker, while Udofot (2003, 2011) and Gut (2003, 2008) report that Nigerian English is not stressed-timed, but that it is rather syllable-timed since it has more full vowels than reduced vowels. Udofot's (1997) measurement of the duration of syllables in a read sentence reports that syllables with reduced vowels in Nigerian English are on average significantly longer than in British English. For example, the duration of a single schwa in Nigerian English is almost twice as long as in British English. The implication is that Nigerian English is neither stress-timed nor syllable-timed but rather it is more or less tone-timed (Essien 2018:31). No authoritative acoustic basis for either isochrony of feet in stress-timed languages or equal length of syllables in syllable-timed languages has yet been found (Roach 1982, Dauer 1983, Gut 2008). The exact nature of the rhythm of the Nigerian accent of English, therefore, remains controversial.

2.4.2.3. Intonation

Systematic differences between Nigerian intonation patterns and British English intonation patterns have been described (Jowitt 2000, Eka 1985, Udofot 1997, Gut 2003). Jowitt (2000), for example, studied the intonation of 30 dialogues read by Nigerian final-year

undergraduates using the transcription system of O'Connor & Arnold (1973) for British English. From the findings in his study, he proposes the following characteristics of the Nigerian English intonation system:

-       falls predominate in statements, wh-questions and commands;

-       rises predominate in yes-no questions and tag questions;

-       rare usage of complex tones (although there is some use of the fall-rise in non-final subordinates and of the rise-fall for strong emphasis);

-       the 'core' pattern for lexical words is an initial high pitch followed by 'down drift' before the commencement of the nucleus;

-       it is a low-falling tone in a case where the 'core' pattern includes a falling nucleus.

Udofot's (1997) study presents similar results. She describes Nigerian English intonation with the transcription system of Pierrehumbert (1980). She reports that in both careful and spontaneous speech, the falling tones are dominant in Nigerian English, the rising tones and fall rises are rarely used, while rise-falling tones are only produced by Variety III (sophisticated) speakers. When compared to the British English control, nuclei tones (fall-rise) are produced less in Nigerian English than in British English. An acoustic analysis of the pitch movement in an utterance shows that, although Nigerian English speakers speak on a higher average pitch than the British control, the difference between pitch peaks and pitch valleys is less pronounced.

Eka's (1985) study obtains similar results. Eka's investigation of Nigerian English intonation (using Crystal's (1969) parametric-based approach) reports a distribution of 93.3% simple tones and 6.6% complex tones in the careful (read) Nigerian English speech, compared to 22% complex tones in the SBE control speaker. The pitch range is reported to be lower in the

Nigerian speakers than in the SBE speaker. His research also shows statistically that there is a high correlation (90%) of a rising tone with yes-no questions, and a falling tone with statements, wh-questions and commands. The study by Ukam, Uwen and Omale (2017) on the intonational structure of English-speakers of Erei also supports this claim. They report that the intonation patterns used by Erei speakers of English in Nigeria exhibit a different realisation from SBE.

In general, however, it must be noted that phonological patterns are not uniformly realised, and that even among educated speakers, there is considerable variation. Nigerian English has different forms in terms of segmental features and the suprasegmental features. These differences may be determined by many factors such as social status, geographical location, education, age, and gender.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

This chapter is concerned with the nature of language attitudes. It contains a discussion of what attitudes are and illustrates the difference between the meaning of the term 'attitude' and other related terms. Next, an overview of the importance of language attitudes research in sociolinguistics is given. Finally, relevant previous studies on language attitudes are discussed, with a particular focus on the research carried out in Nigeria, bearing in mind that there is a paucity of research into attitudes towards various English accents within the Nigerian context.

3.1. Attitudes

3.1.1. The Concept of Attitude

Attitudes have long been an important topic for research in the fields of social psychology (Perloff 1993:26, Garrett et al. 2003) and sociolinguistics (Labov 1966, Agheyesi & Fishman 1970, Eagly & Chaiken 1993, McKenzie 2006). In this section, definitions of what constitutes an attitude are given alongside those of a series of related concepts. Although there have been many attempts to define what constitutes an attitude, this is difficult because the meaning of the concept is evasive (Baker 1992, Garrett et al 2003, McKenzie 2006). The difficulty undoubtedly arises from the latent nature of the attitude. Attitudes exist mainly in the mind of the individual and may be difficult to observe directly. The definitions depend heavily on the discipline in which the concept is used and the orientation of the researcher. Henerson et al. (1987:13) use the word 'attitude' to describe all "the objects that people want to measure that have to do with affection, feelings, values and belief". Another widely used definition is Samoff's (1970:279), which describes an attitude as "a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects". This statement provides an overall picture of what constitutes an attitude and allows further exploration of attitudes as dispositions. This also

means that attitudes are sufficiently stable to be identified and measured as they reflect a reaction to social objects or personalities. This implication is widely acknowledged by others, who claim that an attitude is usually an evaluative response to an object (Bohner & Wanke 2002:5) and can be indirectly observed by examining responses to the attitude (Eagly & Chaiken 1993:2). In other words, an attitude is an affective, cognitive, or behavioural response to an object (see Figure 3.1). Therefore, attitudes tend to trigger three types of reactions. They are cognitive because they contain beliefs and opinions about the things around us; for example, that learning the German language will help a Nigerian student find a better job in Germany. They are affective in that they bring out feelings, emotions, and strong attachments to an object, such as enthusiasm to speak the German language by the Nigerian student. Attitude reactions may also be systematically linked to behaviour because they incite us to act in a certain way, for example, devoting so many hours daily to practice German in order to be good at it.
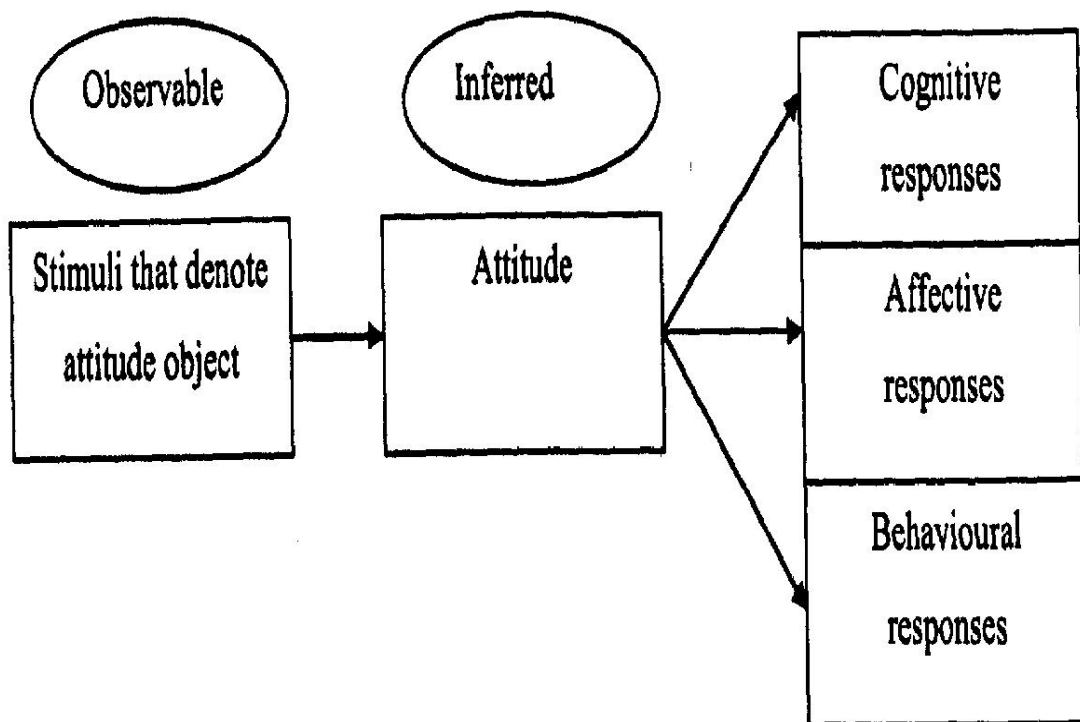
Figure 3.1. Eagly and Chaiken's (1993) Tripartite Attitude Models

However, these three response categories may overlap, leading to difficulties in separating them. As the example of the Nigerian student shows, a person who believes in something often has an emotional attachment to that belief and therefore assumes to act on it. An attitude can also consist entirely of one response category or two categories, not necessarily all the three categories (Bohner & Wanke 2002:5). Eagly and Chaiken (1993:2) remark that an attitude may be a hypothetical construct such that it is not directly observable but can be derived from observable responses (see Baker 1992:10, McKenzie 2006:23). When certain stimuli elicit responses from the object of an attitude, a certain mental state has been created. Therefore, attitudes are generally defined as "a summary evaluation of an object of thought", which may include only one answer category or a combination of two or all of the three categories (Bohner & Wanke 2002:5). This is the working definition that is preferred for the purposes of this study.

3.1.2. Attitudes and Related Terms

When examining the nature of attitudes, there may be a problem of overlapping concepts. In social psychology, terms such as 'belief', 'opinion', 'value', 'ideology', 'traits' or 'habit' are used interchangeably to refer to attitudes for different purposes, and the differences between the meaning of attitude and the meanings of these related terms may be subtle or blurred in daily use. However, it will be useful to identify and distinguish these concepts as much as possible. Shaw and Wright (1967) have shown that it is possible to distinguish between attitude and these related terms.

The term 'opinion' is usually the hardest to distinguish from the term 'attitude'. It is closely linked to attitude in common usage. As Baker (1992) has pointed out, the two terms tend to be synonymous in every day usage, and Perloff (1993) notes that many researchers even use these terms interchangeably. Scholars like Baker (1992) and Perloff (1993) distinguish them

by claiming that opinions are cognitive and do not contain affective components. Baker defines an opinion as an overt belief without an affective response, whereas attitudes are latent and contain affective content. He claims that "opinions are verbalisable, while attitudes may be latent, conveyed by non-verbal and verbal processes" (1992:14). According to him, it is only possible to express opinions verbally, but attitudes may be conveyed through both verbal and non-verbal processes. In the words of Garrett et al. (2003:10), an opinion is "a more discursive entity" which represents a developed view on an object while attitudes are more difficult to formulate, and they require both direct and indirect assessments to investigate them. From this distinction, it does appear that an expressed opinion may not be a true reflection of one's attitude.

'Belief' is another concept that may be confused with an attitude. A belief is cognitive in nature, but cognitive responses may be a one-sided component. However, it is usually argued that beliefs, even if they have no affective content, may trigger and be triggered by strong affective responses (McKenzie 2006:24). If we look again at the example of the Nigerian student, the affirmative answer to the question, 'Is German important to you or not?' indicates a belief. This can trigger an affective response, for example, that the student is longing to speak German. However, belief itself does not include this affective content. Therefore, further research is needed to get a complete picture of this student's attitude towards the language. For example, the Nigerian student may believe that German is important for success in a future career in Germany (belief) but not at the same time be interested in the language (affective response).

'Value' is a more abstract concept than 'attitude'. It is usually considered to be the overarching ideal that we strive for (Garrett et al 2003:10). Values are essential elements in the system of attitudes and beliefs of a person, meaning that values are more global and

general than attitudes (Oskamp 1977). In other words, different values may underlie an attitude. Rokeach (1973) distinguishes terminal values such as freedom and equality of instrumental values, like the importance of being honest and responsible. A terminal value such as 'equality' can encompass various basic attitudes towards equal legislation opportunities, income tax, and so on.

The notion of 'ideology' has come to the fore in sociology and sociolinguistics and it is usually distinguished from attitudes. It refers to "a patterned but naturalised set of assumptions and values associated with a particular social or cultural group" (Garrett et al. 2003:11). In sociology, ideology probably suggests globalised or shared attitudes that represent "codifications of group norms and values" (Baker 1992:15). Ideology, therefore, usually refers to the broad perspectives of a society - a philosophy of life (Zhang 2010:49). We can, therefore, identify a political ideology that represents a particular cause against another that represents something else. In contrast, attitudes mostly relate to specific objects and are held by individuals.

Like attitudes, 'habits' are learned and enduring. The main difference, however, is that habits are generally considered to be behavioural routines, while attitudes determine the behaviours only (Bohner & Wanke 2002:13, Garrett et al. 2003:10). Perloff (1993:29) claims that it is possible for individuals to be less aware of their habits than their attitudes, and therefore more able to talk about their attitudes than about their habits. However, there are certainly different levels of reflective consciousness with attitudes. The main methodological challenge of language attitude research is to assess whether specific expressions or indicators for assessing language varieties or language users are reliable indicators of underlying social trends. Reflexivity allows us to empirically access attitudes, but it is also a potential source of bias in measuring attitudes.

'Trait' is another concept that is worth discussing. Traits are more stable compared to attitudes because they can be more easily observed from behaviour because they do not involve an evaluation process; they do not focus on a particular object (Ajzen 1988:7). In contrast, attitudes are more likely to change because they evaluate particular objects. Oppenheim (1992:177) shows the relationship between attitudes and opinions, values, and personality traits on a tree model. The personality is at the deepest level at the root of the tree with values directly above it. Attitudes are at the second-highest level, while opinions are at the top level. The tree model shows the relationships between these concepts as superficial versus deep, changeable versus stable (Oppenheim 1992:176) and thus overt versus covert and specific versus general. In other words, the opinions of an individual are more open to modification than his or her personality, which tends to remain the same. The tree model can also be interpreted using a top-down approach (see Figure 3.2). The personality is on the top level of the tree and the values are directly below it. At the second-lowest level are attitudes, while opinions are at the lowest level. The top-down approach shows an alternative interpretation to Oppenheim's (1992) bottom-up approach. In other words, the opinion of an individual is often influenced by his or her attitude towards an object. Applying Oskamp's (1977) and Rokeach's (1973) definition of the concept of value as the collection of a number of different attitudes, value is placed just immediately above attitudes. At the top of the tree stands the personality, which is the combination of all the characteristics and qualities that make up the character of an individual. The personality of an individual is the totality of his or her established values, attitudes to things and opinions about specific phenomena. It is the composition of these concepts that makes humans complex beings.

personality

values

opinions
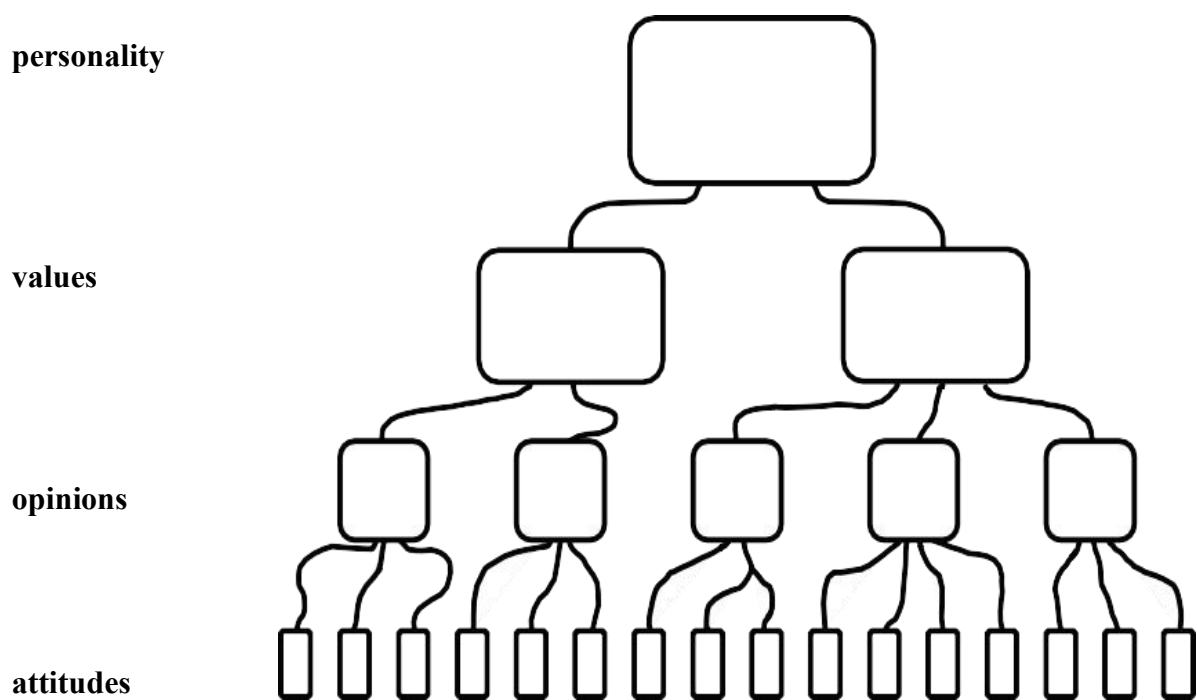
attitudes

Figure 3.2. Top-down Model of Attitude Levels (Adapted from Oppenheim's 1992:177; see also McKenzie 2006:25)

So far, the nature of attitude has been discussed in relation to six other terms that are often confused with it in order to achieve a better understanding of the term. Attitudes have been and indeed continue to be the focus of plenty of sociolinguistic research.

3.1.3. Mentalist and Behaviourist Theories of Attitudes

In general, attitudinal research has been conducted within two psychological approaches: behavioural and mentalist (cognitive). The mentalist psychology views attitudes as an internal state of inclination that cannot be directly observed, but can only be deduced from self-observation of the subject. One of the difficulties that arise is the question of what data attitudes can be derived from and how they are quantified. To behavioural psychology, attitudes are variables that can be examined by observing the noticeable behaviour of humans

in society. However, this is not without its own challenges, as it is questionable whether attitudes can be completely defined on the basis of observable data (Dittmar 1976). Both theories assume that individuals are not born with attitudes, but that they are primarily learned in the process of socialisation in childhood and adolescence. However, some researchers have argued in recent years that some attitudes might be inherited (Olson et al 2001).

Cognition reflects a set of mental processes that transpire in the mind (Hollnagel 2002), which are used in social psychology to explain attitudes (Feldman 1981, Scherr & Hammer 2009). When such cognitive determinants of attitudes are identified, researchers can better understand behavioural patterns and in turn motivate the target's behavioural intent (Ajzen 1991). Since attitudes are not directly observable but can only be deduced from the introspection of the subjects, researchers have to rely on the individuals themselves to report their perceptions. Various cognitive factors influence attitudes. Huang et al. (2015:87) postulate a range of cognitive factors that contribute to a better understanding of the determinants of attitudes: concern, outcome expectancy, and perceived value of something (see Figure 3.3).

Concern is considered as an essential cognitive factor that influences attitudes. The degree of concern about an issue is often a direct predictor of the specific attitude towards the issue. The outcome expectancy is also a cognitive factor that significantly influences human behaviour (see Bandura 1986). Ajzen (1991) argues that behavioural attitudes are governed by a cognitive structure based on accessible beliefs about the likely consequences of behaviour, which are called 'behavioural beliefs' (Ajzen 1991, Ajzen & Fishbein 1980). Huang et al. (2015) suggest that people are more likely to be concerned with an issue and have a positive attitude towards a particular behaviour that aims at solving the issue when they feel that positive outcomes result from conducting the behaviour. In other words, it is suggested that the relationship between concern and attitude is controlled by the expectation of the outcome.

The perceived value is another key cognitive factor that influences behavioural decisions and influences an individual's actions. In particular, humans are usually concerned about a problem and develop a favourable attitude towards a particular behaviour if they believe that a high value is likely to be derived from the behaviour.
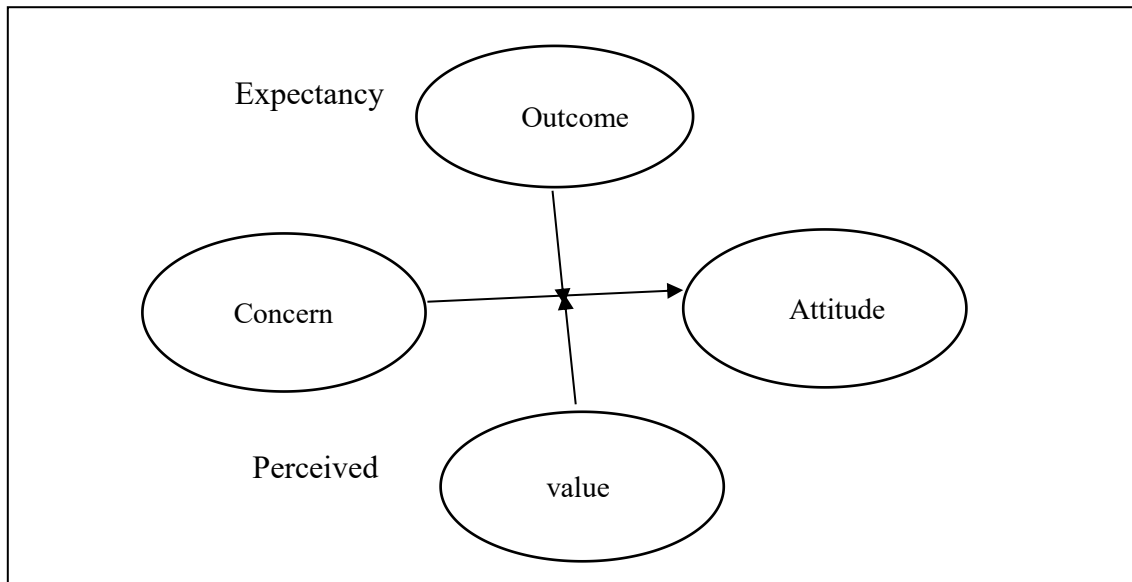
Figure 3.3. Cognitive determinants of attitudes (adapted from Huáng et al. 2015)

In the mentalist approach, attitudes involve the beliefs of a person on the world. A good example is the case of the Nigerian student who believes that learning German will increase his chances of securing a job in Germany. The presence of a cognitive component of an attitude can lead to stereotypes, which often act as a filter through which social life is interpreted (Garrett et al. 2003:3).

An attitude may also be affective, involving an emotional reaction (verbal or nonverbal) to an object. An example of a verbal affective response is an expression of annoyance. Non-verbal reactions include reactions like dilation of the pupils and changes in heart rate. It is quite difficult to measure attitudes by non-verbal responses, as it is difficult to classify whether changes in body function indicate favourable or unfavourable attitudes (Ajzen 1988:6).

The conative component of an attitude refers to the tendency of the individual to behave in a certain way, for example, the Nigerian student mentioned earlier has the tendency to attend a German language course or not. There is much controversy about the exact role of attitudes in predicting and explaining behaviours. However, social psychologists generally agree that attitudes, if properly measured, are an important determinant of behaviour (Bohner & Wanke 2002:219ff). One difficulty, however, is that external behaviour can be consciously or unconsciously designed to hide or disguise internal attitudes (Baker 1992:16). For example, the Nigerian student may appear to have a positive disposition towards taking a German language course but his or her inner attitude may be disapproving of it.

The causal link between attitudes and behaviour has led researchers to believe that attitudes can explain the direction and persistence of human behaviours (Ajzen & Fishbein 1980, Cargile et al. 1994:222). It is believed that since the behaviour of an individual may reveal his or her attitude towards an object, a change in attitude may lead to a change in the person's behaviour. On the other hand, it is sometimes possible to predict the behaviour of a person based on his or her attitude. It seems, therefore, that observing human behaviour is a useful way to study attitudes toward an object.

However, there is much evidence from attitudinal research that shows that human behaviour does not always correlate with the attitudes they express (e.g. La Piere 1934, Wicker 1969, Hanson 1980, Garrett et al. 2003). There is often a mismatch between assumptions and actual behaviour. Relying on attitudes to predict behavioural intentions and actual behaviour will continue to be a major concern of social psychology research (Ajzen 2001). Hanson (1980), for example, notes that a positive relationship between attitudes and behaviour is likely only under strictly controlled conditions. In his research, 16 out of 28 laboratory studies report a positive match between attitude and behaviour, but 16 out of 20 field studies do not show this

link. Indeed, the review by Wicker (1969) claims that attitudes account for only 10% of the variability of behaviour. The weak link also raises the question of the reliability of attitude data derived from observation of behaviour. Understanding the causal relationships and predictors between attitudes and actual behaviours in any given context is essential for making decisions.

Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) 'theory of reasoned action' emphasises the social context and the way in which an individual acts may influence the relative importance of private attitudes. According to this theory, actions, which refer to behaviour here, are probably controlled by intentions. Intentions are indications of how hard people are willing to take action. In general, the stronger the intention of an individual, the more likely he or she is to perform the action. However, not all intentions are actualised either due to personal factors (i.e. attitudes) or due to social factors (i.e. subjective norms).

In other words, an individual's intention is determined not only by his or her own positive or negative assessment of behaviour in a particular way but also by the perception of social pressure on the person to behave or not to behave in the particular way. Therefore, the theory of reasoned action assumes that those affected rationally calculate both the cost and utility of a given measure and carefully examine how others will perceive that particular behaviour (McKenzie 2006:29). This theory, therefore, emphasises the importance of the social context in which an individual operates and how this may influence the relative importance of private attitudes (Garrett et al. 2003:8). It should be noted, however, that the intention-behaviour relationship is valid only if the behaviour in question is under arbitrary control, that is, if a person can freely decide whether to perform an action. In the real world, it is possible for people to have little or no control over this relationship due to lack of resources or opportunities such as money or time, good weather, and cooperation. Following this, Ajzen's

'Theory of Planned Behaviour' (developed from the author's earlier work) describes how an individual's intention to conduct a behaviour consists of three variables (behavioural attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural controls) with an additional confounding variable (actual behavioural control).

The theory of planned behaviour further shows that the intention to behave in a certain way also depends on the perception of one's own control over that behaviour. Although the perspective no longer amounts to a simple relationship between attitude and behaviour, as shown in either the theory of reasoned behaviour or the theory of planned behaviour, both models generally point to the fact that attitudes are still partially and indirectly expressed in forms of behaviour.

Since attitudes provide the basis for cognitive, affective, and behavioural responses that are inherently difficult to measure, the current study used a methodology that focused on several survey tasks, namely the verbal-guise test, direct questionnaire, and a series of interviews. It was expected that such a combined method would improve the internal reliability and validity of measurement of attitudes.

3.1.4. Functions of Attitudes

It is important to investigate why people have the various attitudes they have. This is the concern of functional theories of attitudes. Instead of viewing attitudes as given and looking at their structure, the benefits of attitudes are at the center of functional approaches (Perloff 2003:72). Perloff (2003:74) states that attitudes help to master and overcome the difficult demands of life. Attitudes are, therefore, functionally important for various reasons. Researchers have catalogued the main functions of attitudes (Katz 1960, Maio & Olson 2000, Smith, Bruner & White 1956, Perloff 2003). These include: knowledge, utilitarian, ego-

defensive, social adjustive and identity, and value-expressive functions.

One function of attitude is to contribute to the organisation of knowledge. This knowledge function refers to the essential and possibly automatic process of categorising events in the environment. Attitudes can therefore give the individual the opportunity to impose an order on the world, to make it predictable, or to feel that they are functioning effectively (Erwin 2001:11). They help people to attribute causes to events and draw attention to different characteristics of people or to situations that may be useful in understanding them.

Attitudes can also provide a utilitarian (instrumental) function by helping people to receive rewards and avoid penalties (Perloff 2003:74). This is what Katz (1960) calls 'adaptive function'. Katz recognises this as the function by which people endeavour to maximise the reward in their external environment and to minimise the risk (1960:171).

Attitudes can play an ego-defense role. An attitude can serve the higher psychological needs of a person, it can serve as protection against unpleasant emotions that people do not want to consciously perceive. People adopt attitudes to protect them from psychologically uncomfortable truths. This can be associated with prejudiced attitudes (Zhang 2010). This kind of attitude causes a certain amount of distortion or bias in the interpretation of the world. As a result, people feel better and are protected from the harsh realities of the world. For example, if a person has prejudices against certain minority groups, these tend to increase if they have just suffered a misfortune (Erwin 2001:9).

Attitudes can also serve a social identity function in which people adopt attitudes to communicate who they are and what they want to be. The expression of an attitude can be used to affirm the core values of the individual, to support the maintenance of social relationships, to maintain self-esteem, to reduce internal fears and conflicts or to manage threats to the self. For example, the attitude of some people towards car products or mobile

phones can help to strengthen their self-image and support group affiliation with like-minded people. However, the same attitudes may also emphasise distinctness and indicate the non-membership of other groups.

Attitudes can also play value-expressive roles. An important reason why people adopt an attitude is to express basic values and beliefs about something. Some people claim that they hate the slave trade because it is inhuman. The attitude is part of what they are, and the expression of that attitude shows other important things about them.

There is, unfortunately, a dark side to attitude functions. An attitude that helps an individual to satisfy particular needs can be detrimental in other ways or to another person. Consider attitudes to specific accents; for example, the case of a Nigerian speaker of English who decides to speak the British English accent in order to attain a 'unique' self-identity. There is nothing wrong with his or her choice. However, if the Nigerian neglects his or her indigenous accent, one could say that the decision (at least to his native accent) is dysfunctional and produces a questionable communication performance within the Nigerian society.

An important feature of an attitude is its intensity. The intensity of an attitude refers to the degree of vehemence with which it is held by the individual (Oppenheim 1992:176). An attitude can be held with greater or less vigorous intensity; the vehemence of individuals' attitudes is likely to influence their judgments, behaviour, perseverance, and resistance to change (Perloff 2003:56). Therefore, during an attitudinal study, it is important that the researcher not only measures respondents' attitudes towards a particular object but also measures the intensity with which these attitudes are maintained. The verbal-guise test carried out in this present study is an effective way of measuring, not just the attitudes of Nigerians towards various English accents, but also the intensity of their evaluations.

3.2. Language Attitudes

Language attitudes are the attitudes (positive or negative) that people have towards their own language or other people's languages. These attitudes can suggest different impressions such linguistic difficulty or simplicity and social stereotypes and perceptions. Depending on the impression, one can develop a positive or negative attitude towards a particular language.

The field of language attitudes study covers a wide range of empirical emphases relating to a number of specific attitudes (Baker 1992:29, Adegbija 1994:36-41). Baker (1992:29) points out the following areas of language attitudes research over the years: (1) attitude towards language variation, (2) attitudes towards dialect and speech style, (3) attitude towards learning a new language, (4) attitude towards a specific minority language, (5) attitude towards language groups, (6) attitudes towards speech communities and minorities, (7) attitude towards language learning, (8) attitude towards the uses of a specific language, and (9) attitude towards language preference.

The aim of this study is to examine the attitudes of Nigerians towards English accents of the Inner (native) and Non-inner (non-native) Circles. For this reason, the first (attitudes to language variation, dialect and style of speech) and the fourth (attitudes towards language groups, communities and minorities) of the above categories will be the main focus of this research. It is quite difficult to separate the attitudes towards language varieties from the attitudes towards the groups or communities in which they are used. An examination of the attitudes towards the English accents with a sample of the Nigerian population will inevitably involve not only the first and the fourth categories mentioned above but also the last two categories (attitude towards the use of a particular language and attitudes towards language preference). In other words, the current study has broader implications for language preference, language policy and pedagogy.

3.2.1. Language Attitudes Research in Sociolinguistics

Although the majority of research into language attitudes has been in the field of social psychology of language, the question of how individuals evaluate language and language varieties is a central concern of sociolinguistics. Language attitudes are not only studied by interested social psychologists but also by sociolinguists who are interested in the structure of language and its relationship to social constructs and processes (Campbell-Kibler 2006:57). In fact, attitudes to language varieties may provide a basis for a very wide range of sociolinguistic and socio-psychological phenomena (Garrett et al. 2003:12). One reason for this is that the study of language attitudes is considered to be a key dimension in the construction of sociolinguistic theory, since explanations of sociolinguistic phenomena are most likely existent in socio-psychological processes (Garrett, Coupland & Williams 1999:322). The importance of studying language attitudes to explain sociolinguistic phenomena derives, in essence, from the behavioural consequences of changes in language attitudes, despite the complexity of the attitude-behaviour relationship.

Attitudes are considered an essential determinant of behaviour. The study of language attitudes allows researchers to provide explanations of the underlying motivations for language variation and change (Labov 1984:33, Garrett et al. 2003:12). Carranza (1982:63) argues that language attitudes affect language behaviour in various ways, claiming that language attitudes can contribute to sound alterations, define speech communities, reflect inter-group communication, and determine teachers' perceptions of students' abilities. Due to the influence of language attitudes on behaviour, language attitude research can provide a basis for explaining key questions in sociolinguistics, such as language variation and change (e.g. Labov 1966, 1984:33). For example, it can account for why attitudes to language varieties may influence the extent to which certain groups (e.g. speakers of regional dialects or minority languages) successfully participate in higher education or influence employment

opportunities (McKenzie 2006:46). A study on attitudes towards an accent, as in the present study, can reveal why certain speaker groups have better or worse prospects in education or professional contexts and why some speakers are considered more trustworthy in medical or legal contexts (Giles & Powesland 1975:105, Cargile 1997, Zhang 2010).

In addition, language attitudes can determine whether and to what extent languages or dialects spread or die. For an international language such as English, positive attitudes towards a particular language are certainly an important factor and perhaps even the most important determinant of their worldwide influence (McKenzie 2006:47). In fact, it is believed that language proliferation can be measured not only by the extent to which a language is used but also by examining individuals' attitudes to their language use (Fishman & Rubal-Lopez 1992:310). Attitude studies examining different varieties of English not only measure the extent to which a variety of English is likely to be accepted and used in a society but also suggest how the use of a particular variety extends and how it can spread (Crismore et al. 2007, Igboanusi 2008, He & Li 2009).

The study of language attitudes attempts to do more than simply investigate what kind of attitudes people have and what effects those attitudes can have on behavioural outcomes, it attempts to understand what incites and defines such attitudes. Understandably, certain linguistic forms have attracted much attention, especially from sociolinguists. A very good example is Labov's study. Labov's early work focuses on the evaluative meanings of certain phonological sociolinguistic variables, most notably the postvocalic (r) on the east coast of the US. Social psychologists often work on a less specific level in terms of linguistic features and sometimes work with the notion of 'a whole language'. Examples are French (Lambert et al. 1960), Classical Arabic (El Dash & Tucker 1975). They also sometimes work with a 'whole' or 'generalised' variety such as the South Wales accent of English (Giles 1970).

Language attitude research also attempts to understand how evaluations are influenced by the context in which language is used (Hymes 1972). In many situations, for example, RP speakers are associated with prestige, intelligence, smartness, and so on. However, in certain legal contexts, the same speaker group can be associated with embezzlement and fraud (Seggie 1983).

The attitudes people have towards various varieties of English are also of interest to language attitude researchers. Friedrich (2000), for instance, argues that educators and language policymakers should be aware of their students' linguistic attitudes toward different forms of English in order to fully meet their needs and to deal with the mixed feelings incited by English as an international language. Starks and Paltridge (1996:218) argue that the choice of an English model for teaching and learning influences students' attitudes towards English and that it is important to investigate which variety of English learners prefer as a model language. In general, they also stress the need for language attitude studies that include non-native speakers as respondents and the need to control the sample on a number of variables such as gender and age, which may indicate attitudinal variations among different sections of the language learning population (McKenzie 2006). Although a remarkable number of such studies have been conducted so far, research on language attitudes will be of benefit to sociolinguists who are interested in language proficiency and language spread, and others involved in language planning and language policy. It is clear that the situation in Nigeria is interesting to study from a sociolinguistic perspective.

3.2.2. Main Approaches to the Study of Language Attitudes

Since the 1960s, various methods have been used to investigate language attitudes. These methods are generally grouped into three broad approaches: the direct approach, the indirect approach, and the social treatment approach. Each of these approaches inevitably has its own strengths and weaknesses. This section gives a critical overview of these approaches and describes their strengths and weaknesses.

3.2.2.1. The Direct Approach

The direct approach is characterised by a high degree of conspicuousness as respondents are asked direct questions about their attitudes. A direct approach to examining attitudes usually involves questioning subjects about their beliefs, feelings, and knowledge about the attitudinal object. This allows researchers to study more languages (or language varieties) and attitudes than other approaches. Direct methods of measuring language attitudes are mostly based on respondents' answers to questionnaires or interviews. Henerson et al. (1987:22-24) describe this approach in detail by classifying it into research tools that require either verbal or written answers. Examples of the research tools that require verbal answers are interviews and surveys. An interview involves a personal meeting between two or more people, with respondents responding to questions directly from the interviewer. The questions can either be predetermined or spontaneous. It is common and ideal for the interviewer to take notes during the conversation, which will later be used to form a complete summary after the meeting is over. A survey refers to a highly structured interview that is not necessarily face-to-face. Surveys are often done over the phone or on the Internet. The direct approach tools that require written answers include questionnaires and attitude scales. Questionnaires are most commonly used when the researcher needs answers to a variety of questions. They are often

designed for each question to measure a discrete concern and receive a rating specific to that concern. However, they can also be designed so that answers to multiple questions give an overall score. An attitude scale is a specific type of questionnaire designed to ensure that the sum of multiple responses yields a single score that represents a general attitude (McKenzie 2006:42). An advantage of attitude scales is that they ensure consistency because inconsistent items can be discarded. Unpredictable items are the items in a questionnaire that lead to answers that do not match the informants' responses to the other items.

This approach has been used in a number of language attitude studies, such as, on Hong Kong respondents (Pierson et al. 1980, Pennington & Yue 1994, Hyland 1997), Gaelic (MacKinnon 1981) and Irish (CILAR 1975, O'Riagain 1993), Welsh and English (Jones 1949, 1950, Sharp et al. 1973, Lewis 1975, Baker 1992), Spanish and English (Ryan & Carranza 1980), American-born Chinese (Cargile 1997) and Vietnamese speakers in Australia (Pittam et al. 1991).

The direct question method has also been used in the 'perceptual dialectology' developed by Preston (1989) in the field of folk-linguistics (Preston 1989, 1993, 1999, Garrett et al. 2003:44, Campbell-Kibler 2006:59, McKenzie 2006:56), "focusing on individual speaker's beliefs about regional variation" (Campbell-Kibler 2006:59). Preston's goal was to expand the scope of language attitude research by examining individual reports on how attitudes and beliefs about language varieties evolve and persist. According to Preston, the individual's own assessment of his/her views on language varieties and their speakers provides an elaborate contextualised explanation of language attitudes. Perceptual dialectology uses a series of data acquisition tasks reviewed by Preston (1999:xxxiv) and Long and Preston (2002). Most common are tasks where informants draw lines on a blank or minimally detailed map around areas where they think the regional language varieties exist. These drawings show the views

of the informants about the location of regional linguistic zones (for detail on folk-linguistics, see Gould & White 1986, Edwards 1999, Ryan & Giles 1982).

However, the measurement of language attitudes by direct methods is subject to a number of potential pitfalls that researchers should be aware of, whether oral or written responses are used. Some of these relate to factors that linguists need to consider when preparing interview schedules and questionnaires. They are discussed below:

Highly inclined questions, which tend to urge informants to respond in a certain way. For this reason, words such as 'democratic', 'black', 'free', 'healthy', 'natural', 'regular', 'unfaithful', 'modern' (Oppenheim 1992:30) and politically inciting terms such as 'socialist' or 'democratic' (McKenzie 2006:43) should best be avoided.

Hypothetical questions, which ask how the informants behave or react to specific events. It is unlikely that such questions are good predictions for future reactions or behaviours should the action or event actually occur. La Piere's (1934) classic study found a tremendous inconsistency between the hypothetical stated responses of a number of American hotel managers towards Chinese customers and their later actual behaviour. The majority (92%) responded that they would not serve Chinese customers, while in reality the service was only turned down in one of the 251 establishments a Chinese couple visited. For this reason, using hypothetical questions is less likely to accurately predict actual behaviour.

Duplicate questions include both double negatives, where a negative answer would be ambiguous, and questions where a positive answer could relate to more than one component of the question (Oppenheim 1992:128, Garrett et al. 2003:28). For example, questionnaire items such as 'Do you own a bike or a motorcycle?' where a negative answer is likely to cause difficulties, or 'Would you rather learn German or English?' where yes/no answers can lead to confusion, are best avoided.

Acquiescence bias is a tendency for informants to agree or disagree with an item regardless of its content in order to obtain the approval of the researcher (Garrett et al. 2003:29). This bias means that the informants' answers may not reflect the actual attitude, which in turn raises concerns about the validity of the data collected. Acquiescence bias may be due to questionnaire or interview questions, although some argue that this is particularly pronounced in oral personal interviews (Gass & Seiter 1999:45).

Social-desirability bias, this is very similar to acquiescence bias. It is the tendency for people to give 'socially appropriate responses' to questions. Cook and Sellitz (1964:39), working in the United States, reported that people are often motivated to provide answers that make them appear "well-adjusted, unprejudiced, rational, open-minded, and democratic." Questions aimed at unlocking attitudes towards racial, ethnic and religious minorities are often hindered by a socially desirable tendency. Respondents who have negative views of a particular group may not want to admit to the researcher or to themselves that they have such feelings, and therefore avoid giving answers that make them look like bigots (Perloff 1993:44). One reason for ensuring the anonymity or confidentiality of the respondents is, of course, to reduce the risk that they will only give socially desirable answers, but one cannot be sure that this in itself will be fully effective. Social-desirability bias is deemed to be of greater significance in interviews than in questionnaires (Oppenheim 1992:126), and logically, in interviews with entire groups of respondents (e.g. focus group interviews), where there is no individual anonymity, one might expect the greatest risk of social desirability.

Characteristics of the researchers are another factor that can influence the validity of data on attitudes (Labov 1970:32, Chambers 2003:20, Garrett et al. 2003:29). These characteristics could be the personal attributes of the researcher, such as his or her ethnicity, gender, social

status, age, or even familiarity with informants. For example, Webster (1996) examined these issues with regard to Anglo and Hispanic males and females in the United States. She noted that better response rates were achieved when researchers and respondents had the same ethnicity (especially in the case of Anglos, and especially when questions were asked about cultural issues). Self-reported biographical data tended to be distorted when the ethnicities of the researchers and the respondents were not similar and when they were not of the same gender. Hispanic men were found to exaggerate their socioeconomic status when interviewed by either Hispanic women or Anglo men. Dunnette and Heneman (1956) examined employment attitudes and found that respondents were more open to their superiors in an interview with a university researcher than to a human resource manager. Wolfson (1976) also stressed the influence of power and solidarity attributes such as gender, age, and perceived social status on the quality of data obtained, in particular, from interviews. It is also possible for the language used by a researcher to influence informants' answers to questionnaires or interview items (Ryan et al. 1988:1073). For the data collection of the current study, the interview process was kept constant; English, the official language of the country, and Pidgin English (where respondents chose to speak Pidgin English), were used to brief and debrief the participants. They were able to understand how they could clearly fill in the questionnaire and could then raise questions or concerns. It was also hoped that the choice of these languages would avoid misunderstandings in the test, not disregarding the fact that the language used in the data collection can also have an impact on the results, especially if language is an important dimension of inter-group comparison (e.g. Price et al. 1983).

Finally, it is possible for the effects of a prior discussion to influence the results of the questionnaire. According to Giles et al. (1983), significant differences in attitudes have been found between groups of students that had previously discussed the questionnaire and groups that had not. In fact, the effects of the previous discussion may be even more significant when

'group polarisation' has taken place (Brown 1965), as the previous discussion may make informants more or less polarised in their answers. For example, Garrett et al. (2003:30) found that recruitment results on a five-point rating scale are likely to change from a moderately negative rating of 2 to an extremely negative rating of 1 or vice versa following a group discussion. However, it should be noted that these effects are less significant in interviews, which generally contain qualitative data. Since the present study consists of a quantitative section, the participants were not provided with explicit details about the nature of the research before completing the questionnaires, and also group discussion was not allowed during the course of the data collection exercise.

Despite the potential weaknesses of the direct approach described above, a large number of attitude studies have employed it, including studies focusing on language evaluation (e.g., how favourably a variety is perceived), language preference (e.g., which of two languages or varieties will be for particular purposes favoured in certain situations), desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, self-reports on language use, the desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions on adjusting or preserving language policies (Ryan & Giles 1982:7, Frank 1988, Pittam et al. 1991, Baker 1992, Boberg 2009). Overall, the direct approach is likely to be used in research that seeks to investigate people's beliefs about language or language varieties, though emotions or behaviour arising from such beliefs are sometimes included in the data collection process.

3.2.2.2. The Indirect Approach

An indirect approach to attitudes study involves more subtle measurement techniques such that the purpose of the study is less obvious to informants. This approach is particularly useful when it is considered impossible or counter-productive to question informants directly about their perception of the attitudinal object. The results based on indirect methods often differ from those based on direct methods (Garrett 2010:42-43). It is generally believed that indirect methods can penetrate deeper than direct methods, often below the level of consciousness and behind the social facade of the individual. The indirect approach is also referred to as projective techniques because it can be particularly useful for evoking and sketching stereotypes, self-images and norm concepts (Oppenheim 1992:210). The approach often involves tricking respondents into believing that the research is looking at aspects other than their attitudes to language. In this case, respondents are observed without their awareness. Ethical considerations are, therefore, likely to be a major issue for studies using the indirect approach. One way to deal with deception problems may be to debrief the participants later and to inform them as soon as possible after the completion of the data collection procedures about the purposes, procedures and scientific value of the study (Smith & Mackie 2000:52). In the current study, the informants were debriefed immediately after completing the data collection exercise.

The most commonly used indirect technique for measuring language attitudes is the matched-guise technique (MGT), which is almost synonymous with the overall indirect approach. MGT was developed in the late 1950s under Lambert and his colleagues in Canada and aimed to work out attitudes to both the different language varieties as well as to the speakers of these varieties indirectly. Lambert and his colleagues developed this technique because they suspected that the obvious public reactions evoked by direct approaches did not accord with people's latent attitudes. MGT involves asking respondents to listen to a number of individual

speakers reading the same prepared text. The texts are read out in different accents usually by the same person, which is not revealed to respondents. That is why they are called 'guise' (see details in section 3.3).

Generally, in the indirect approach, respondents are required to listen to different recordings and rate the speakers in relation to a range of personality traits, mostly on a bipolar semantic-differential scale (e.g. educated/uneducated, honest/dishonest) or on a Likert scale, where options are given based on the degree of agreement or disagreement. The personality traits used in language attitude research are often based on a number of dimensions (categories). Although these dimensions vary from study to study, they overlap more or less (Campbell-Kibler 2006:72) and can be generalised across two dominant dimensions (Ryan & Giles 1982: 8): 'status' and 'solidarity'. These two dimensions can be used to characterise the symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships between individuals' personalities (e.g. Brown 1965, Carranza & Ryan 1975, Hiraga 2005, McKenzie 2008, Cavallaro & Chin 2009, Zhang 2010). 'Status' has also been termed 'prestige' or 'competence', where traits such as intelligence, education, ambition or expertise are investigated. 'Solidarity' is often interpreted as 'affectiveness' or 'social attractiveness', and traits such as sincerity, kindness and generosity are examined (Edwards 1999, Giles & Coupland 1991, Lindemann 2003, Garrett et al. 2003).

3.2.2.3. The Societal Treatment Approach

The societal treatment or content analysis approach is little mentioned in mainstream discussions of language attitude research. Studies using this approach are generally qualitative and typically performed by participant observation, ethnographic studies, or other observational studies. It assesses attitudes through a content analysis of the 'treatment' of a language or language variety and its speakers within a society (Garrett et al. 2003:15). The approach is inconspicuous as the researchers draw the informants' attitudes from their

observed behaviour or from the analysis of document contents.

While the societal approach is often considered to be insufficiently rigorous, less formal and perhaps not precise enough due to its often small-scale ethnographic nature, it may be most appropriate to adopt a societal treatment approach to situations where access to informants is not possible under natural conditions, or where temporal and/or spatial limitations exist. In addition, this approach can be used as a preliminary study for more rigorous sociolinguistic analyses using direct or indirect data collection methods (Garrett et al. 2003:16).

3.2.2.4. The Mixed Methodological Approach

It has been mentioned that there are inherent challenges in both direct and indirect methods of studying language attitudes. Excessive reliance on a single research method may lead to distorted results and weak conclusions. Researchers, therefore, often choose to design studies that involve multiple techniques and include both indirect and direct methods of language attitude measurement. Mixed-methods research encompasses both quantitative and qualitative research techniques and provides a more comprehensive, broader, and diverse perspective on the complex reality of social environments than either quantitative or qualitative approaches (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). A mixed-methods approach may be particularly revealing at the case study level, which traditionally relied only on qualitative techniques such as observation and field notes. However, with the collection of sufficient numerical data, the quantitative analysis can be used to validate qualitative results in a linguistic case study. The aim is to find out how these methods can complement each other in order to provide more certainty for the results and to obtain more insights and context-dependent information on the language attitudes studied (Garrett et al. 2003:220). Greene et al. (1989), having reviewed a number of studies that used a mixed methods approach, noted that the combination of the two paradigms

is beneficial for generating comprehensive reports and answering a wider range of research questions.

Similarly, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) suggest that mixed methods, which often serve as synonyms for collecting different sets of data or using multiple methods for data analysis, provide opportunities to answer research questions that could not be answered in any other way. Research in sociolinguistics has shown that combined methods can shed light on "different levels of meaning" (Holmes 2007:5). For example, the work of Stubbe et al. (2003) shows the benefits of applying a wide range of analytical approaches, which traditionally have different methodological limits, to workplace discourse. At the same time, there has been a shift towards multidisciplinary research (e.g. Brannen 2005) as more researchers carry out joint projects bringing together a number of research areas and then the methodologies often associated with those areas. For example, Labov (1966:11-12) argues that direct questioning alone is of very low value and much better used in conjunction with indirect methods.

Also, El-Dash and Busnardo (2001:61-62) believe that despite the usefulness of the matched-guise method for identifying population subgroups in attitudes studies, it must be complemented by direct data collection methods, which should be either written responses or oral interviews. Ladegaard (2000:230) claims that researchers must be conversant with a variety of different methods, both direct and indirect, as the measurement of attitudes to language is so complex, especially in the study of behavioural relationships in language. Preston (1999: xxxviii) encourages the prospect of more comprehensive 'interdisciplinary poaching', including methodological aspects of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology in combination with classical methods for the study of language attitudes, such as the matched-guise technique. In particular, there are arguments for more theoretical collaboration between linguistic and sociopsychological approaches to researching language attitudes that may lead

to more linguistically conscious social psychology or more psychologically conscious sociolinguistics (Edwards 1999:108). This theoretical bridging will likely help social psychologists and linguists to identify the cultural and social forces that constitute and maintain attitudes, as well as the specific linguistic features that trigger attitudinal responses (McKenzie 2006:67).

However, it is important that mixed methods are not confused with an "anything goes disposition" (Dörnyei 2007:166) and should not be considered as an unstructured 'fusion' of quantitative and qualitative research or just as an additive to 'sum' the two paradigms. One important topic often discussed in the context of mixed-methods research is the compatibility and transferability of different paradigms and methods within and between different disciplinary and epistemological communities. While there is growing consensus that combining approaches is feasible and of great benefits (Lazaraton 2005:219) and particularly that it allows for a more rounded comparison of both direct questioning and indirect methods (Ihemere 2006:196), the question remains open as to whether there are many methods and types of research that would comfortably accommodate the same design. "The question then is not whether the two types of data and associated methods can be linked during the study design, but whether this should be done, how it should be done, and for what purposes" (Miles & Huberman 1994:41). In other words, it is important to put the relevance of using a mixed-methods approach into consideration. This factor was put into much consideration throughout the course of the current study.

3.3. The Matched-Guise Technique and Verbal-Guise Technique

One of the data collection methods for the current study is based on the verbal-guise technique (VGT). The following sections present an overview of the matched-guise technique (MGT) in terms of its historical development and its application in a series of studies on language attitudes. The benefits and limitations of the MGT are highlighted. Subsequently, the method used in the current study, the verbal-guise technique, a variant form of the MGT, is discussed along with other methodological considerations.

3.3.1. The Historical Development and the Application of the Matched-Guise Technique

The basic paradigm of the MGT consists of playing audio recordings for listeners (judges) that rate each speaker they hear on a number of personality traits. In the study by Lambert et al. (1960), where Canadians' perception of French and English was examined, the listeners were deceived to believe that the recordings they were supposed to judge were produced by different speakers. The actual speakers were bilinguals, however, who spoke both French and English. The speakers were asked to read a prose passage in both languages. Using bilingual speakers, researchers can control various paralinguistic features, so that the language in which the passages are read is the only variable that can affect the listeners' perception. Other potentially confounding variables like speech quality, speech rate and pitch remain the same. This is important since it has been shown that prosodic and paralinguistic features can influence the perceptions of the listeners (Laver & Trudgill 1979, Brown & Bradshaw 1985, Bezooijen & Boves 1986, Kerswill 2002, Laukka et al. 2008). For example, a fast speech rate may be equated to a competent speaker (Brown et al. 1985). A conscious effort is also taken to minimise differences in reading style and expressiveness, and to ensure that the recordings are perceived as authentic by the respondents. The MGT has been used in numerous language

studies due to its many advantages:

i. One of the advantages of the MGT is that the collected data is suitable for statistical analysis. A form of factor analysis (mostly principal component analysis) is often performed to reduce the number of variables in the study and to locate the major dimensions among the traits that respondents consider important.

ii. The MGT is a rigorous tool to investigate people's latent attitudes, whereas direct questions are less likely to evoke such private attitudes and more likely to result in attitudes that respondents consider socially acceptable (Giles & Coupland 1991:35).

iii. The MGT is an established technique. It has benefited from its application in a number of different linguistic contexts. The various technical challenges have facilitated its improvement in various ways since its introduction (Garrett et al. 2003:57).

iv. It uses attitude rating scales to quantify respondents' evaluations. This provides the opportunity to examine people's attitudes using scale scores, providing data that can be subjected to rigorous statistical analysis in a variety of studies.

v. The two main dimensions of personality traits — status and solidarity — are often used to categorise quantitative data and are repeatedly included and tested in other language attitude studies (Ryan et al. 1982:3-9).

vi. There has been considerable international research, particularly in bilingual/multiethnic, multilingual/multiethnic contexts, with a reasonable degree of comparability, allowing for a cumulative evolution of the theory (Garett et al. 2003:58).

After Lambert et al. (1960), researchers have used the MGT to study attitudes to different languages/language varieties in various environments: for example, to study the perception of

the use of English in a multilingual environment (Bayard et al. 2001), Cantonese and language change in Hong Kong (Lyczak et al. 1976, Gibbons 1983) or to study attitudes to French and English in Canada (Genesee & Holobow 1989). The MGT has also been used to investigate attitudes to regional or social varieties of English, such as accented Chinese (Cargile 1997, Lindemann 2003, He & Li 2009), Indian accents in England (Elwell et al. 1984), varieties of English in an Anglo-Hispanic context (Carranza & Ryan 1975, Dailey et al. 2004), and attitudes to English varieties in Japan (McKenzie 2006, 2008).

Despite the widespread use of the MGT in language attitude studies, the method has been criticised for its limitations. There are a number of criticisms regarding the way in which the MGT presents speech samples for evaluation. Garrett *et al.* (2003:57-61) summarise them:

1. *The salience problem*: the experimental practice of exposing respondents to the repeated message content of a reading passage provided by a series of voice recordings may exaggerate speech contrasts in comparison to what would otherwise be the case in normal discourse, and thus systematically create language and language variations, making such variations the focus of the listeners.

2. *The perception problem*: respondents may not properly perceive the manipulated variables. It is also possible for respondents not to identify the speakers as representative of a particular variety or speech community. One possible way to overcome this problem would be to ask informants to identify, in the course of the experiment, where they think the speaker comes from (e.g. Preston 1989).

3. *The problem of accent authenticity*: another problem is that since many of the prosodic and paralinguistic speech variations have been minimised, other characteristics that normally vary with accent varieties may also be eliminated (e.g. intonation features or features of the discourse pattern). This obviously raises the question of the authenticity of the selected

varieties.

4. *The mimicking authenticity problem*: where one speaker has to produce a large number of speech recordings of different spoken varieties, it seems unlikely that the recordings of each of these varieties will be truly accurate. Inaccurate speech samples are likely to add to problems of reliability. Preston (1996) points out some of the inaccuracies that can occur when people are asked to mimic accents (see Preston 1996:65). It may also be possible for respondents to perceive inaccurately mimicked accents as authentic, as they may not be aware of or ignore what is (not) incorporated in the speech recordings. Therefore, it may be useful to include some phonological descriptions of the speech samples in the published study in order to validate the accuracy of the speech recordings. (e.g. Thakerar et al. 1982, Garrett 1992, Levin et al. 1994, Zhang 2010). Since a very similar instrument (VGT) was used, this current study has also included some phonological descriptions of the speech samples used.

5. *The community authenticity problem*: the labels used to describe speech varieties in publications are sometimes too vague. Umbrella terms such as 'Scottish English' or 'British English' can be misleading as clearly they can contain many descriptively and perceptually differentiated varieties. In order to minimise this problem, it may be helpful to introduce more specific labels or where appropriate, localised descriptions in line with informants' usual labelling conventions. In addition, it is important to be aware of the location where the data was collected, as language attitudes are likely to differ amongst different dialect communities.

6. *The style authenticity problem*: in matched-guise studies, speakers usually need to read the same prepared text in a number of different varieties. However, reading aloud is a verbal style that is likely to produce a series of distinguishable prosodic and sequential phonological features. For this reason, the stimulus recordings of speakers reading a prepared passage are likely to differ from spontaneous speech, which calls into question the authenticity of the

collected data. There is also some doubt as to whether the use of decontextualised language to measure the attitudes of respondents leads to outcomes that can be extended to the use of natural language, where people use meaningful and functional language. In addition, it has been found that the geographical origin of the speaker is easier to identify for listeners when the speech sample is spontaneous than when the speaker reads a prescribed text. This is because speech samples of fixed text passages are likely to have only regionally influenced phonetic differences at the segmental level and less likely at the prosodic level (Van Bezooijen & Gooskens 1997:42). However, the role of prosodic features is limited because the prosody of the read speech is generally more standardised. In contrast, spontaneous speech may include a wider range of clues relating to the geographical origin of the speaker.

7. *The problem of neutrality*: the notion of neutrality of text is a controversial one. This is because the way in which both listeners and readers interact and interpret texts in accordance with individual pre-existing cognitive schemata makes it questionable whether texts can ever be objectively neutral. This was reported in a study by Giles et al. (1990), in which a cross-generational approach to RP was taken. In the study, it was impossible for them to create a text that was 'age-neutral'. It was found that respondents interpreted the same extract in different ways, i.e. through quite different frames of perception - depending on the age of the speaker. The respondents tended to perceive the same spoken texts differently in relation to the age of the speaker.

3.3.2. The Verbal-Guise Technique

Over the years in which the MGT has dominated the language attitudes research, shortcomings and criticisms of the approach have increasingly been acknowledged, some of which have been mentioned in section 3.3.1. To circumvent these shortcomings, a different form of the technique- the verbal-guise technique was developed (Giles 1970, Cooper 1975,

Gallois & Callan 1981, Callan, Gallois & Forbes 1983, Garrett et al. 2003, Dailey et al. 2004, Lam 2007, Poon 2007, McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010). For this technique, a number of different speakers are used to make the audio-recordings. In this case, different speakers represent each language/language variety because of the concern that a single individual cannot exhibit native-like control over each of the varieties in question (Cooper 1975:5). The VGT is thus able to overcome the problems associated with accent authenticity and imitation authenticity prevalent in MGT studies. However, this approach has sometimes been used for the sake of the need to study the perception of a large number of spoken varieties, which makes it impossible to find a single speaker who could convincingly produce all the language varieties required for the study (Garrett et al. 2003:53). For example, in a study by Nesdale and Rooney (1996), there was no way to locate children in Australia who could produce strong and mild Anglo, Italo- and Viet-Australian guises convincingly and with comparable fluency.

One strategy used in the VGT to overcome the style authenticity problem of MGT studies is to record the spontaneous speech of different speakers. Suitable spontaneous speech recordings may be generated by conscious control of the content of the speech event, for example by prompting the speakers to perform a task, such as instructions from a card. An interesting new proposal has been the use of commercially available DVDs that translate speech into multiple languages to carry out voice-based studies that examine the attitudes of informants to different languages (Connor 2008:106).

The VGT is increasingly being used in more language studies. However, compared to the MGT, it has unavoidable paralinguistic variables that can influence the results of the language attitude studies. For example, the speech rate, pitch and tones of the speakers, as well as the uncontrollable sounds of the recording environment may have an effect on the evaluation

exercise (Kerswill 2002, Buchstaller 2006). The use of multiple speakers will encourage multiple uncontrolled paralinguistic features in the recordings, which may make it difficult to figure out what exactly triggers the assessments of informants. The choice of multiple speakers of the English varieties nevertheless makes the study more authentic than a single speaker who disguises himself as different speakers of the varieties. Minimising all paralinguistic and prosodic differences may not be necessary for certain types of research, especially when the differences are true, naturally occurring features of a language variety (e.g. Ladegaard 2001, Garrett et al. 2003:59).

In a number of studies, the verbal-guise technique has been used successfully by employing authentic native speakers (Giles 1970, Bayard et al. 2001, Lindemann 2003, Dailey et al. 2005, McKenzie 2006, 2008, Zhang 2010). McKenzie (2008:68) mentioned the practical difficulty of finding a single speaker who could authentically produce all the English varieties considered in his study. It was also obviously difficult to find a single person who could produce all the English varieties considered in the present study, especially as two Nigerian English accents were included in the study (see section 4.5). Therefore, one speaker was selected for each of the English accents: two Inner Circle speakers and four Non-inner Circle speakers. The current research thus contributes to the growing number of studies using the verbal-guise technique to investigate accent evaluations with the most naturalistic speech varieties possible.

3.4. Previous Language Attitude Research

This section provides an overview of the relevant language attitude research conducted in the Inner Circle English speaking context (e.g. the United Kingdom and the United States), followed by an overview of the language attitude studies in the Non-inner Circle English context. The focus of this review is on the research methods used, the composition of the data

samples and the findings from such studies regarding their impact on the research methods and approach of this present study.

3.4.1. Attitudes of Inner Circle Speakers towards Varieties of English

Research into language attitudes has a long history in native English countries, such as in Australia (e.g. Gallois & Callan 1981, Ball 1983, Callan & Gallois 1987, Bayard et al. 2001, Bradley & Bradley 2001), Canada (e.g. Lambert et al. 1960, Lambert 1967, Edwards & Jacobson 1987), Scotland (McKenzie 1996), New Zealand (e.g. Wilson & Bayard 1992, Bayard 1999, Bayard et al. 2001), Wales (Garrett et al. 1999), the USA (e.g. Flores & Hopper 1975, Bradac & Wisegarver 1984, Cargile & Giles 1998, Labov 2001, Lindemann 2003, Bauman 2013) and Great Britain (e.g. Cheyne 1970, Giles 1970, Giles & Powesland 1975, Milroy & McClenaghan 1977, Garrett et al. 2003, Hiraga 2005, Coupland & Bishop 2007). Two main findings have been reported: (1) standard varieties of English are perceived as prestigious by Inner Circle English speakers, and (2) non-standard English varieties are considered to be socially attractive by Inner Circle English speakers.

The study of language attitudes has its origins in bilingual settings, where Lambert et al. (1960) studied French and English in the francophone and anglophone communities in Canada. The researchers developed the MGT specifically for the study, as it was presumed questioning the respondents would be inappropriate because the informants might be unwilling to reveal their real thoughts. As such, they conducted the first matched-guise study (see section 3.3.1) on language attitudes in Canada to examine how native listeners who are bilingual speakers of English and French responded implicitly to these two languages. Lambert et al. (1960) reported that both the English-speaking Canadians and the French-speaking Canadians were more in favour of the English guises than the French.

Tucker and Lambert (1969) also conducted one of the first studies on attitudes to English varieties, again using the MGT among a sample of students from northern white, southern white and southern blacks in the United States. They found that each group made clear distinctions in social evaluations of American dialects and rated some varieties more positively than others. This study showed for the first time that nonlinguists can distinguish speech varieties within a single language and have stereotypical attitudes towards them. In addition, it showed that factors within a population, such as race, can play a significant role in determining attitudes towards speech varieties.

Giles (1970) recruited 177 students to investigate British respondents' attitudes towards thirteen accents: RP, affected RP, North American, French, German, South Wales, Irish, Italian, Nordic English, Somerset, Cockney, Indian, and Birmingham. Respondents were asked to rate these accents on the dimensions 'aesthetics', 'communicative' and 'status'. The status results showed that RP was ranked highest, with regional accents like South Welsh in the middle while the accents of industrial cities like Birmingham were ranked lowest. Important for this study is the two-part subdivision of Giles into standard and non-standard English varieties. It was found that the standard varieties, such as RP, affected RP, or North American English, were found to be more favoured than non-standard varieties, such as Irish, South Welsh or the Northern England varieties, in terms of status traits, such as 'educated', 'rich', 'competent'. In contrast, the latter seemed to be more highly rated for solidarity features, e.g. 'friendly', 'sincere', and 'honest'.

Cheyne (1970) examined the attitudes of Scottish and English respondents to regional Scottish and English accents using the MGT. The results showed that both groups of respondents rated Scottish regional accents lower than the English regional accents in terms of status. However, respondents rated Scottish accents high on the personality traits 'friendly'

and 'warmth'. A later study by Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) supported the general pattern of standard and non-standard varieties evaluation and showed that respondents from Belfast rated RP higher in status traits. On the other hand, RP was rated lower in solidarity traits than Scottish and Ulster accents.

Preston (1999) conducted some perception tests with the aid of a mental map (drawing and rating accents on maps). Overall, there appeared to be prejudice against varieties of English from the southern states of America, which include accents from Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia, and Texas, all of which are rated low with regard to the criterion 'correct'. In contrast, the varieties spoken in the Midwestern states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota were considered 'proper' or 'correct' English (see also Fought 2002:132). However, the English varieties spoken in the South were rated higher for solidarity (e.g. 'casual', 'friendly', and 'polite') than those spoken in the North. On the other hand, the Northern English varieties were ranked higher for status than the Southern English varieties. Thus, Preston (1999:367) concluded that speakers from the North had accepted their variety as a model of standardisation, education, and generally accepted for mainstream values. On the other hand, the Southern speakers, who were aware of the prejudices of the North against their variety, used their regional language as a marker of solidarity, identity and local values. Even though these results were achieved through a more direct approach, they still confirm the finding that standard varieties are usually more preferred.

Also, it has generally been noted that minority languages of migrants tend to attract the most negative attitudes of the majority of the language communities (Garrett 2010). In contrast to Inner Circle English speakers associating standard varieties with high prestige, discriminatory attitudes towards foreign-accented speakers have been reported in native English-speaking

areas of Australia (e.g. Gallois & Callan 1981, Callan et al. 1983), USA (e.g. Ryan et al. 1977, Ryan & Sebastian 1980, Lippi-Green 2012, Cargile 1997, Cargile & Giles 1998, Lindemann 2003, Bauman 2013) and Great Britain (e.g. Giles 1970, Coupland & Bishop 2007, McKenzie 2015). For example, compared to Standard American English, the results consistently showed that native English speakers in the US frequently rate non-native varieties spoken by ethnic migrants negative in the status dimension. Examples include a Spanish English accent (e.g. Ryan et al. 1977, Ryan & Sebastian 1980), Mexican American English (e.g. Williams 1976, Bradac & Wisegarver 1984, Flores & Hopper 1975), a Chinese or Mandarin English accent (e.g. Cargile 1997, Bauman 2013), Japanese accented English (e.g. Cargile & Giles 1998) and Korean accented English (e.g. Lindemann 2003, Bauman 2013).

The Australian language attitudes research also showed that foreign-accented speech varieties such as Italian-accented English (e.g. Gallois & Callan 1981) and Greek-accented English (e.g. Callan et al. 1983) are less valued in comparison to the standard varieties of British English or Australian English. Foreign-accented speakers are often considered to be less educated than native English speakers. The more a non-native accent is perceived, the more negative is the attitude of the listeners (Callan et al. 1983). This is closely related to accent stereotyping, where listeners make discriminatory judgments when they hear unfamiliar accents that deviate from the Standard English accent, even when they are intelligible (Munro 2003).

Many studies have shown that the RP accent is highly valued in terms of status or competence (e.g. Gallois & Callan 1981, Ball 1983, Callan & Gallois 1987). According to Callan and Gallois (1987:63), the finding that Anglo-Australians prefer RP, the traditional standard of usage and pronunciation of Southern British England, over the general Australian accent shows that British culture is highly regarded in the Australian society. The Australians also considered General American English to be prestigious. An example is the VGT study by

Bayard et al. (2001), which investigated English native speakers' responses to New Zealand English, Australian English, American English and RP in New Zealand, Australia and the United States. The university students, who were native speakers of these three Inner Circle countries, strongly associated American accents with status and power. This points to the possibility of Standard American English replacing the much-appreciated speech of RP as the preferred variety. Bayard et al. (2001) postulated that the respondents' positive attitudes towards American English could be due to widespread exposure to the media such as Hollywood movies or American television programmes. The shift in attitude from Standard British English to Standard American English as a prestigious variety of the world may imply that American English is fast being recognised as an international standard by native speakers (Chien 2018).

More recently, Hiraga (2005) asked thirty-two Southern English respondents to rate six English varieties from the UK and the US, which he grouped into three groups: two varieties of Standard English, one from the US (Network American) and one from the UK (RP); two urban varieties of English, the New York and the British Birmingham accents; and two different English varieties from rural areas, the accents of Alabama and Yorkshire. These accents were to be evaluated across the dimensions of 'status' and 'solidarity'. The results show that the Birmingham accent as an urban variety was rated lowest in terms of status, while RP was rated highest and the Network American accent directly next to RP. In terms of solidarity, the Yorkshire accent was rated as the highest, while the New York accent had the lowest and the Birmingham accent had the second lowest ratings. To a certain extent, Hiraga's results correspond to those of Giles (1970), who found a general tripartite hierarchy of accent prestige among six different English varieties. Overall, RP and the Standard American English ranked first in the hierarchy, followed by regional accents in rural areas, while accents from industrial regions were generally ranked lowest. The results also confirm

the general pattern in the evaluation of standard and non-standard speakers. On the one hand, RP and Network American standards were preferred in terms of status, while the respondents rated non-standard rural varieties (the Yorkshire and Alabama accents) highest in terms of solidarity. While RP was rated higher by the respondents in terms of status than Network American, the latter was rated higher than RP on the solidarity dimension, indicating that it is not always the case that British people identify with or show loyalty towards all varieties of British English (Hiraga 2005:299).

Despite the lower ratings in terms of the status dimension, it is found that non-standard English varieties are repeatedly related to personal integrity or social attractiveness (such as in 'friendliness', 'honesty', and 'trustworthiness') by native speakers of English (e.g. Fishman 1971, Ryan 1979, Ryan & Carranza 1977, Giles et al. 1981, Preston 1999). The solidarity expressed for non-standard varieties is enhanced by identifying the identity of the community and loyalty to the language when the judges themselves are speakers of a non-standard accent (Giles & Billing 2004). In other words, the identity within the group is a substantial evaluation-oriented bias towards non-standard English varieties across solidarity traits when the listener perceives voices that are more representative of his or her own language community than other regional accents (e.g. Giles 1971, Edwards 1982).

Compared to the standard speech of the dominant group, speakers of a subordinate group or speakers of non-standard varieties often prefer their own dialect for solidarity and intimacy when ethnic pride is attached (e.g. Ryan & Carranza 1977, Preston 1999). Preston (1999:367) reported that Southerners from the US perceived their regional language as a marker of "solidarity, identity, and local values," and therefore rated the English varieties spoken in the South higher for solidarity than those spoken in the North. Likewise, it is due to group membership or association that New Zealand respondents are positive about New Zealand

English in terms of social attractiveness such as 'warmth' and 'acceptance' compared to the two traditional world standards of RP and North American English (e.g. Bayard et al. 2001).

In summary, the results of earlier language attitudes studies are relatively consistent, namely that standard varieties tend to be more favourably valued for status but the results are not particularly positive for them in the solidarity dimension. However, non-standard varieties tend to be more positively valued in the solidarity dimension, especially if the respondents are themselves speakers of such varieties.

Much of the existing language attitude research on Inner Circle English speakers has been criticised, since most studies tend to assume homogeneity of attitudes within the observed speech community (Hoare 1999:55). Such studies have not taken into account the potential distinguishing factors within a population that may determine attitudes to language varieties. Baker (1992:41) noted that there is currently no comprehensive model or list of these potential determinants. However, there is a research tradition within the scientific exploration of language attitudes that identifies the social factors in the observed population that are considered influential in attitudes. One of the earliest studies of this kind was conducted by Labov (1966), who found that the 'age', 'class', 'ethnicity' and 'sex' of the subjects influenced their perceptions towards the New York variety. In addition, recent studies on standard English varieties have shown that there may be several other factors influencing attitudes towards a language variety. These factors include: gender, education background, language skills, language background, cultural background, and exposure to English varieties (e.g. McGroarty 1996:8, Baker 1992).

3.4.2. Attitudes of Non-inner Circle Speakers towards Varieties of English

This section examines key findings on how Non-inner Circle English speakers perceive different English varieties. Researchers have most commonly found that respondents generally have a positive attitude towards the English language, although some reservations have been noted regarding the negative impact of the spread of English on indigenous languages. Studies that have focused on the attitudes of Non-inner Circle speakers towards English include attitudes towards teaching English at schools in Singapore (Kwan-Terry 1993), attitudes and race in the Netherlands (Verkuyten et al. 1994), attitudes of students and the government in China to English (Yong & Campbell 1995), attitudes towards the spread of English in Italy (Pulcini 1997), attitudes towards English and its functions in Finland (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja 1998), attitudes and motivations towards English in Albania (Dushku 1998), attitudes of English teachers in Hong Kong (Tsui & Bunton 2000), and attitudes towards the English language by Macao university students (Young 2006). Others include attitudes towards bilingualism in English and Ghanaian languages (Dako & Quarcoo 2017), Ghanaian university students' attitudes towards English (Sarfo 2012) and attitudes towards English in Tanzania (Schmied 1985).

Regarding studies on the attitudes of Non-inner Circle English speakers towards English varieties, results have suggested that, as with Inner Circle speakers, standard English varieties are usually evaluated more positively than the non-standard ones in the status dimension. In terms of prestige, standard English varieties such as General American English (Gibb 1999, Friedrich 2000, 2003, Cargile et al. 2006, Butler 2007, Cheng 2009, Liou 2010, Zhang 2010, Kobayashi 2012, Lee 2013, Yang 2013), RP (Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997, Ladegaard 1998, Jarvella et al. 2001, Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006, Kim 2007, Yook & Lindemann 2013) and Cultivated Australian English (Moloney 2009) are generally evaluated higher than the less standard varieties of African American Vernacular English (Cargile et al. 2006), British

Cockney English (Ladegaard 1998), Glasgow Vernacular (McKenzie 2006), British Tyneside English (Zhang 2010), General Australian English (Ladegaard 1998, Moloney 2009) and Broad Australian English (Moloney 2009).

The other main finding of the studies on Non-inner Circle speakers is that English varieties of the Inner Circle like General American English and Standard British English are usually preferred over Non-inner Circle English varieties. Examples of Outer Circle varieties are: Indian English (Jenkins 2007, Kim 2007, Matsuda, 2000), Hong Kong English (Forde 1995, Zhang 2010), Singaporean English (Jenkins 2007, Matsuda 2000), Philippine English (Kobayashi 2008), while Expanding Circle varieties include Austrian English (Dalton-Puffer et al. 1997), Japanese English (Chiba et al. 1995, McKenzie 2010), Korean English (Kim 2007) and Taiwanese English (Kim 2007, Cheng 2009, Lee 2013, Yang 2013). However, the Non-inner Circle speakers often consider Non-inner Circle varieties (especially their own variety) more socially attractive than standard Inner Circle varieties (Chiba et al. 1995, Ladegaard 1998, Cargile et al. 2006, Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006, McKenzie 2008, Zhang 2010). This suggests that Non-inner Circle English varieties tend to get a more positive rating across solidarity traits when considering identity within the group (Chiba et al. 1995, McKenzie 2008).

Eisenstein (1982), who examined the attitudes of 74 non-native English speakers in New York towards three different US varieties, conducted one of the earliest studies. The three US varieties are: Standard American English, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and New Yorkese (a non-standard English language spoken in the inner cities of New York). Based on a dialect discrimination task, a speaker assessment task and a personal interview, the awareness and attitudes of the 74 respondents were compared with those of a control group of 33 native speakers. The results showed that even in the early stages of language learning, adult students were able to discern dialectal differences in English speech, although the ability

to categorise these specific varieties turned out to be slower. It was also discovered that as the respondents gained proficiency in English, their attitudes became more similar to those of native speakers, i.e. high preference for the Standard American variety and less for the New York variety. Eisenstein concluded that the attitudes of non-native speakers were shaped by personal experiences, the opinions of native speakers and the general exposure to English language media. Eisenstein also discovered that learners' attitudes to language varieties influenced their intelligibility for the learners; a link was found between a negative attitude towards a particular variety and levels of comprehension.

Flaitz (1993) used a combination of quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (ethnographic interviews) methods to study the attitudes of 145 French nationals towards American and British culture, as well as American and British English. Flaitz reported that the respondents were generally favourable towards British culture, but more positive towards American culture. This was probably due to a special and genuine fascination with Americans and their culture in France. Conversely, although the respondents responded positively to both American and British English, it was found that they rated the British variety more favourably on each of the traits measured. Flaitz's findings support the traditional European notion that the British variety is a superior model for English learners.

Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997) used the verbal-guise technique to study the attitudes of 132 English university students in Austria. The informants were to rate two Austrian English accents and three English accents: RP, Near RP and General American (GA). The results showed a perceived low status of the two Austrian English varieties and a general preference for the three native accents, especially for RP. In addition, it was reported that the respondents had little difficulty in identifying the countries of origin of the speakers. The researchers concluded that the general preference of respondents for RP was due to their relative

familiarity with this variety and to the general acceptance of the variety by English teachers in Austria as a pronunciation model for English students.

Ladegaard (1998) examined the language attitudes and national stereotypes of high school and university students in Denmark using quantitative and qualitative methods. In the first section of the study, the verbal-guise technique was used to measure attitudes towards five different English language varieties: Received Pronunciation (RP), Standard American (SA), Cockney, General Australian and Scottish Standard English varieties. The results showed that RP was the overall preferred variety, best rated for all status traits. In addition, RP was considered the most appropriate pronunciation model. Surprisingly, despite the plethora of American shows in the media, the Scottish and Australian varieties were rated more positively for solidarity. The participants were also asked to identify the five language varieties. RP and Standard American were found to be the most recognised accents, while the Cockney, Scottish and Australian varieties were the least recognised. The implication of this is that familiarity with a language variety may not necessarily lead to a positive assessment of a language variety and vice versa. In the second part of the study, the informants were requested to complete an attitude questionnaire on RP and Standard American English. Again, it was found that RP was preferred to Standard American English. Ladegaard concluded that although the informants were not native English speakers, they had unconscious information about the language varieties acquired through stereotypes transmitted in the media. Ladegaard claimed that these stereotypes are latent in individuals and the presentation of speech samples can be used to elicit such latent, stereotyped responses.

Hartikainen (2000) conducted a quantitative study using the VGT to measure the attitudes of 137 Finnish upper secondary students towards six standard English varieties: RP, General American, General Canadian, Standard Scottish English, Standard Northern Irish English and

General Australian. The results showed that RP and General Australian were the most favoured, while the Scottish and Northern Irish varieties were rated lowest. The accent of the US was also rated negatively, again indicating that there was no correlation between attitudes and familiarity with English varieties. However, there was a positive correlation between attitudes towards language varieties not familiar and stays abroad to native English speaking countries, English grades and parents with a high level of English proficiency. Other background factors such as age, gender and general grades were not significant determinants of the respondents' attitudes.

He and Li's (2009) study used three research tools to examine the attitudes of Chinese students and teachers towards China English, more specifically, their perception of the English teaching model in mainland China and the desirability of including prominent features of China English in the existing teaching model. With the use of the MGT, He and Li asked 820 university students and 210 mainland Chinese teachers to rate a typical Chinese English accent and a 'native-like standard English accent' recorded by the same person on a 5-point Likert scale of most negative to most positive for 16 traits. Overall, the standard English accent was rated higher than the Chinese English accent in 13 out of the 16 traits. China English was rated significantly lower for almost all positive traits. He and Li concluded that the preference of Chinese students and teachers for the Inner Circle variety seemed to indicate that it might require a longer time for the Chinese English variety to become convincingly acceptable.

McKenzie (2008) conducted a VGT study evaluating Japanese students' attitudes to six different varieties of English, using a semantic-differential scale as the main method of attitude evaluation. He reported that the Japanese informants had different views towards native and non-native English varieties. In terms of status, both standard and non-standard

varieties of British and US English were preferred while they expressed solidarity with the heavily accented Japanese speaker.

Brazil et al. (2001) studied attitudes towards English and Portuguese among 800 respondents. In the first part of the study, they used a matched-guise instrument. In the second part of the study, they used a subjective vitality questionnaire, a direct method of measuring attitudes developed by Bourhis et al. (1981), in order to evaluate the in-group and the outgroup vitality of a linguistic minority. Vitality relates to the social comparison process used by language group members to determine their place in the linguistic pecking order, whether in terms of status, demography or institutional support. They reported that in general both Portuguese and English were rated high in terms of the status dimension. However, English was also highly valued in the solidarity dimension, due to the issue of peer group among Brazilian adolescents. The informants were also required to identify three different speakers of English (American English, British English and Brazilian English). It was discovered that the respondents had difficulty identifying the nationality of the speakers, especially the English guise of the Brazilian speaker.

Tan and Tan (2008) studied the attitudes of 260 upper secondary students towards standard and non-standard English in Singapore by using a combination of direct (questionnaire) and indirect (MGT) methods. The responses to the direct questions indicated that the respondents valued both Standard English and Singlish. The results of the matched-guise test showed that the respondents rated the Standard Singaporean English accent more favourably than both Standard English (American accent) and Singlish. However, the respondents claimed to use Singlish regularly and enjoy using it, and they do not see it as 'bad' English, rather as "part of their unique culture" (Tan & Tan 2008:476).

In the sub-Saharan African context, language attitude research is scanty (Adegbija 1994:57).

Also, deficiency in methodology appears to be the principal weakness of most language attitude studies hitherto carried out in sub-Saharan Africa. Among the widely cited studies are Saah (1986), Schmied (1985), Sure (1991), Abdulaziz (1991), Webb (1992), Adegbija (1992), Kioko and Muthwii (2003) and Otundo (2011). Some of these studies appear to be largely impressionistic in approach and sampling techniques and instruments, when indicated, are often weak. An example is Saah (1986), who examined aspects of language use and attitudes towards English in Ghana. He arrived at his 'views' and 'generalisations' based on his 'discussions with several friends and colleagues as well as from interviews and newspaper articles on the subject' (Saah 1986:367). Another example is Chimezie (1973), who made impressionistic comments on the attitudes of Igbo Nigerian speakers of English towards English. He described the evolution of the importance of English in Nigeria, claiming that Nigerians had a positive attitude towards English because of the indispensable roles English played in the country. According to him, English came to be highly valued in the Nigerian society because of the high social status and respect that competent Nigerian speakers of English enjoyed among their peers, colleagues, subordinates and superiors at all levels in Nigeria (Chimezie 1973:217).

Sure (1991) is one of the pioneering studies by Africans that directly focused on language attitudes with the use of simple instruments and statistical techniques. The instruments of his study comprised twelve attitude statements (six favourable and six unfavourable) for both Swahili and English in the test. He included a total of 405 primary pupils and 358 secondary pupils (763 in total) drawn by stratified random sampling of pupils in seven secondary schools and seven primary schools spread over four town centres and four rural districts in Kenya. For the secondary school subjects, the same statements plus an additional eighteen were used. Respondents had to simply tick whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement. Attitudes, however, like many aspects of life, are far more complex than merely

agreeing or disagreeing with particular statements. He, however, reported respondents' similar favourable attitudes towards both Swahili and English.

Another researcher, Schmied (1985), carried out a study on language attitudes in Tanzania. His study was more detailed, attempting a more scientific presentation of his results. He investigated attitudes towards English, Kiswahili, French and Arabic. Adjectives such as 'beautiful', 'colourful', 'rich', 'pure', 'precise', 'logical', 'rhythmical', 'pleasing to the ear', 'refined', 'superior', 'sophisticated' and 'intimate' were employed to assign inherent attributes to the four languages. The informants' reactions were measured on a scale of agreement ranging from one to six. The subjects were six groups of informants consisting of 55 students and 36 adults. Again, this can hardly be considered a representative sample. The results indicated that the attitudes of the respondents were in favour of English over the local languages. The mother tongues were however positively evaluated as a symbol of ethnic and national loyalty.

Kioko and Muthwii (2003) investigated Kenyans' attitudes towards three different English varieties: Ethnically marked Kenyan English (E-marked), Standard Kenyan English (non E-marked) and native speaker English (i.e. British, Australian and American). They included 210 respondents in the study, grouped by ethnic language, rural and urban background and educational achievement (primary, secondary and tertiary). Respondents came from five ethnic groups. The data collection method was mainly direct questionnaire. The questionnaire asked respondents about their language of preference in formal contexts such as courts, media and schools. It was found that English was the preferred language in the workplace, both in rural and urban environments. It also turned out that differences in language choice in both rural and urban settings were influenced by the educational achievement of the respondents. The educated respondents had a stronger preference for English than the uneducated ones.

Results also showed a huge preference for the non-ethnically marked Kenyan English variety over the native English and the ethnically marked Kenyan English varieties. The non-ethnically marked Kenyan English was believed to have the correct pronunciation and to also accommodate a 'wider world identity'.

From the above studies, a few clear, consistent patterns with respect to Non-inner Circle speakers' attitudes towards English/English varieties emerge: the Non-inner Circle English speakers have a positive attitude towards the English language and they seem to mostly prefer the standard or mainstream Inner Circle accents of American and British English to Non-inner Circle English varieties when status is considered, while Non-inner Circle English varieties are sometimes upgraded for the solidarity dimension.

3.5. Language Attitude Studies in Nigeria

Research that focuses specifically on language attitudes in Nigeria is still very limited. Studies on language attitudes towards English in Nigeria fall into three main categories. The first category examines the attitudes of Nigerian learners towards learning the English language. The second category examines the attitudes towards English in Nigeria. Many of the studies make a comparison on the attitudes of Nigerians towards English and their indigenous languages. The third category of language attitude studies examines the attitudes of Nigerians towards English accents.

Beginning with the first category, namely the study of the attitudes of Nigerians towards English language learning, studies have been carried out into the perceptions by Nigerian learners of English of the status, function, dissemination, importance and significance of the English language in Nigeria, plus the influence these attitudes have on their performance in the English language learning process. Igboanusi (2008), using a questionnaire survey,

examined the attitudes of 1000 respondents towards bilingual education in Nigeria. The extensive quantitative study called for responses from the participants composed of students, teachers, parents and administrators from five different states of the country. The results showed that respondents preferred education in both English and their mother tongue and did not favour one over the other.

Olatunji (2012) examined the attitudes of English language teachers in Nigeria towards the promotion of Nigerian English. An attempt was made to identify the psychological readiness of English teachers to use Nigerian English for the teaching and assessment of students. A twelve-item questionnaire was administered to 144 randomly selected secondary school teachers of English in Ibadan, Nigeria. Frequency counts, percentages, and chi-square statistics were used in the study. The results indicated a strong preference for Standard Nigerian English. There was no significant gender difference in the attitudes of language teachers towards promoting the Nigerian English variety but the results differed significantly according to academic qualifications. The results of the study suggested that there is a relatively fertile ground for promoting Nigerian English for pedagogical purposes.

Wayar (2017) examined the attitudes of students towards English in northern Nigeria. Using a quantitative survey research, he focused on the effects of gender on the attitudes of 240 respondents. He reported that gender played a significant role in learning English, as female respondents had a more positive attitude towards English than male respondents.

The second category of language attitude studies focuses on attitudes towards the English language in Nigeria and other indigenous languages. Adegbija (1992), who had six hundred subjects randomly sampled from Kwara State, Nigeria, studied the patterns and determining factors of attitudes towards English and indigenous languages. He relied heavily on qualitative techniques (interviews and observational data). Even though he also used a

questionnaire, his study of attitudes was quantitatively weak. Like Sure (1991), he used only simple percentages in analysing his results. The results revealed strong feelings of loyalty and love for the indigenous languages as a symbolic value of culture and nationality. On the other hand, English was highly valued for official functions and language of education. Adegbija's study would have been more revealing if there had been a search for multidimensionality and if inferential statistics had been done to further investigate the significance of some of the attitudinal variables.

Adegbite (2003) conducted a study with 200 students at a Nigerian university. He examined the the attitudes of the respondents to the roles assigned to English and indigenous languages in Nigeria. The respondents were exposed to a set of lectures on a course 'Multilingualism and National Development' and asked to respond to some questions in a questionnaire before and after the lectures were given. The questions solicited information about the language(s) they would prefer for specific situations (e.g. personal communications, social interactions and official transactions) and the reasons for their preference. The results showed that in the prelecture test, the majority of the respondents preferred English to their mother tongues to take on many of the roles listed, however, after the lectures, there was a change in the response of the respondents in favour of their mother tongues. The study suggested that raising citizens' awareness of the importance of indigenous languages in Nigeria could positively change their attitudes towards their native languages.

Igboanusi and Peter (2005) conducted a survey with a group of 1000 educated people randomly selected from five states (representing major and minority-language speaking populations) in Nigeria to investigate the attitudes of Nigerians towards the English language, Pidgin English and other indigenous languages in various domains of language use. The findings of their study showed high preference ratings for English in several domains of

language use, including activities expected to be dominated by major indigenous languages like Igbo and Yoruba. However, their findings revealed that the attitude of Hausa speakers towards English was negative and differed greatly from the attitudes of the other Nigerian (especially Igbo and Yoruba) speakers.

Adedun and Shodipe (2011) examined contemporary trends in the different attitudes towards the use of English and indigenous languages by Nigerian speakers. Using a questionnaire as the main tool of data elicitation, they explored the bilingual behaviour of 120 students and 35 parents. The study showed that speakers of indigenous languages in Nigeria have different motivations for their preference of English over indigenous languages. The study reported that the majority of the respondents (students and parents) believed that the English language was superior to their indigenous languages. However, the study equally indicated that there was a cultural consciousness among the respondents towards their indigenous languages as an indispensable tool of self-expression.

Adriosh and Razi (2016) investigated the attitudes of Nigerian university students towards the dominance of the English language over their local languages and the role of the Nigerian language policy in this context. The results showed that the respondents often preferred to use English for conversations in both formal and informal contexts. They also admitted that their competence in their native languages were decreasing while their competence in English continued to improve. Despite the fact that they held a positive attitude towards English as an official language in Nigeria, they confessed that they would want the Nigerian language policy to be reviewed and that the most recognised national languages, along with English, should be adopted as official languages.

There are also a number of studies on the attitudes of Nigerians towards Nigerian Pidgin (see Mafeni 1971, Fasold 1984, Ihemere 2006, Akande & Salami 2010). Many studies have

reported that the general attitude of the majority of Nigerians towards Nigerian Pidgin is not encouraging in spite of the fact that it is used by more than two-thirds of the total population of the country and despite its use by people from all walks of life including graduates and professionals (Faraclas 2008, Deuber 2005, Igboanusi 2005, 2008, Akande 2008). For example, Akande and Salami (2010) investigated the use and attitudes of students from two Nigerian universities towards Nigerian Pidgin. In the study, the researchers used the questionnaire to solicit information from 100 respondents, fifty of whom were selected specifically from each of the two universities. Their results showed that the majority of respondents at both universities were not positive about teaching Pidgin English in Nigeria.

In the third category of attitude studies in Nigeria, focus is on the attitudes of Nigerians towards different varieties of Nigerian spoken English. Very few empirical studies have directly addressed the issue of acceptability of Nigerian varieties of spoken English (Obanya et al. 1979, Williams 1983). Obanya et al. (1979) studied the acceptability of four types of English accents (Yoruba English, Igbo English, near RP and RP). Fifty-eight Nigerian-listeners were to listen and rate the accents on a number of traits. Their results indicated that the majority of the respondents were more in favour of RP than near RP and these two accents were preferred to the remaining two local English accents.

William (1983) investigated the acceptability of English accents spoken by Nigerians from various ethnic groups. Fourteen speakers were used for the study: eleven Nigerians (five undergraduates and six graduates) and three native speakers of English. The Nigerian speakers were selected to represent three different accents: near-native (type I), accented Nigerian (type II) and heavily accented (type III). The speakers were asked to read a passage from Bright and McGregor (1970:196-197). The passage contained a number of elements that normally cause problems for speakers of English as a second language (intonation, pauses,

strong and weak stress, consonant groups, diphthongs, minimal vowel pairs, etc.). A sample of 81 subjects was asked to listen to the recorded voices of speakers and rate them on 20 traits. The results showed a pattern of acceptability that strongly favoured native and near-native (type I) accents. The main findings of the study indicated that there was a strong preference for the near-native accents. Noteworthy is the average ranking of two Nigerian near-native accents over the British and American accents. Three of the four type III (heavily accented) accents received the lowest ratings.

Overall, the three research categories discussed above show similar trends. First, the majority of studies have shown that the attitude of Nigerian respondents is generally positive towards the English language and that the language as a whole seems to enjoy a fundamental position in Nigeria. Second, Nigerians seem to have positive attitudes towards standard English varieties like British English and American English, without completely disregarding their local varieties. A question that is yet to be answered is whether Nigerian English as well as other Non-inner Circle English varieties are acceptable as models of English in the same way that the British and American English varieties seem to be accepted in the country. Therefore, this study will fill the vacuum by examining the attitudes of Nigerian students towards English accents from both the Inner and Non-inner Circles. This is the first such study within the Nigerian context.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Chapter 3 discussed the concept of attitudes and presented a series of important studies on language attitudes. It also provided a specific theoretical basis and offered a justification for an in-depth study to be conducted which would focus specifically on the attitudes of Nigerians towards accents of English. This chapter presents the methodology of this study. First, it outlines the focus of the study, the objectives of the study and the research questions. The chapter then reports on the selection of respondents, the varieties of English chosen for evaluation and the background information of the speakers. The chapter continues with a discussion on the choice of social variables. The chapter also gives an account of the research instruments used in the study, the significance of the pilot study, and the data collection procedure of the study.

4.1. The Focus of the Study

Given the very limited number of studies conducted in Nigeria on accents of English, the purpose of the current study is to investigate the attitudes of Nigerians towards accents of English. The specific issues covered in the study are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

Although previous research has shown that non-native English speakers tend to have a more positive attitude towards Inner Circle English varieties than those from Non-inner Circles (see section 3.4), there is a lack of consolidated evidence regarding the attitudes of Nigerians towards their own accent, a Non-inner Circle accent vis-à-vis other accents of English. Further research on the attitudes of Nigerians to various accents of English is therefore needed. It is also important to examine Nigerians' perceptions of their local accents to confirm whether one of the Nigerian English varieties may become acceptable as a symbol of local

identity for the Nigerian population.

Third, the majority of the few studies carried out in Nigeria mainly used direct methods to measure the language attitudes of respondents, such as assessing the attitudes of the respondents based on their responses to a list of statements and questions or reading of passage. Therefore, it makes sense to use a methodology that uses both direct and indirect approaches to study the attitudes of Nigerians towards different varieties of English. A mixed-methods approach will be of great benefits to language attitude study in Nigeria as it would provide more insight into the attitudes of Nigerians towards the English varieties studied.

Fourth, no study has been conducted to investigate the accent recognition ability of Nigerians to English varieties. In other words, none of the previous studies has shown whether Nigerians can successfully differentiate between the varieties of English from the Inner Circle, such as British English and American English or English varieties from other circles such as Nigerian English, Ghanaian English and Jamaican English. The importance of including an accent recognition test in this study is discussed in section 4.3.3.

Fifth, to my knowledge, no detailed study has been conducted on the correlation between the attitudes towards accents of English in Nigeria and social variables. Such a study will allow researchers to determine if and to what extent and in what ways variables such as gender, prominence of English varieties, regional provenance or exposure to English accents can explain the differences in attitudes towards different English varieties (e.g. Kobayashi 2000, Candler 2001, McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010). In the current study, the importance of the social factors of gender, regional provenance and exposure to different English accents to the evaluation of English accents was examined.

Finally, the lack of extensive research into the attitudes of Nigerians towards the various Englishes is disturbing, since the success of a language policy depends on how well it

matches the attitudes of the citizens affected by the policy and its success in convincing the people who have negative attitudes (Lewis 1981). An understanding of Nigerian peoples' attitudes towards various English accents is, therefore, crucial to the implementation of the English language policy in Nigerian schools, colleges and universities. More generally, this will contribute to the widening and deepening of sociolinguistic enquiry on the complexity and dynamics of New Englishes.

4.1.1. Research Questions

In view of the gaps found in a careful review of the existing language attitudes studies, the following research questions have been prepared for the purposes of the present study:

Research question 1: What are the attitudes of Nigerians towards the Inner Circle English accents (i.e., British English, American English) and the Non-inner Circle English accents (i.e., Nigerian English, Ghanaian English and Jamaican English)?

Research question 2: Are Nigerians able to recognise the different accents of English?

a. Are they able to distinguish Nigerian English from other English accents?

b. Are they able to distinguish British English and American English?

c. Does the ability to identify an accent of English influence respondents' attitudes towards the accent?

Research Question 3: How do Nigerians perceive Nigerian English? Particularly,

a. Do they accept Nigerian English as the linguistic symbol of the Nigerian people?

b. Do they have a feeling of ownership towards Nigerian English?

Research Question 4: Do the social variables of gender, exposure to English accents, and regional provenance influence Nigerians' evaluation of the English accents?

4.2. Participants

4.2.1. The Selection of Participants

Two-hundred and nine university students were selected for the present study. The choice of respondents was based on the assumption that students are part of the educated class in the country and that they are likely to be exposed to a wider range of English varieties due to their social media activities (YouTube, Facebook, Instagram videos, etc.).

The respondents were selected from eight Nigerian universities (see Table 4.1). There are considerable differences among the universities. These institutions vary in terms of location, number and types of courses offered. Two universities were selected from each of the four major geographical zones of the country (see Figure 4.1.). From each of the universities, an average of 25 students was chosen for the verbal-guise test and the direct questioning sections of the study. Five students were interviewed from each university.
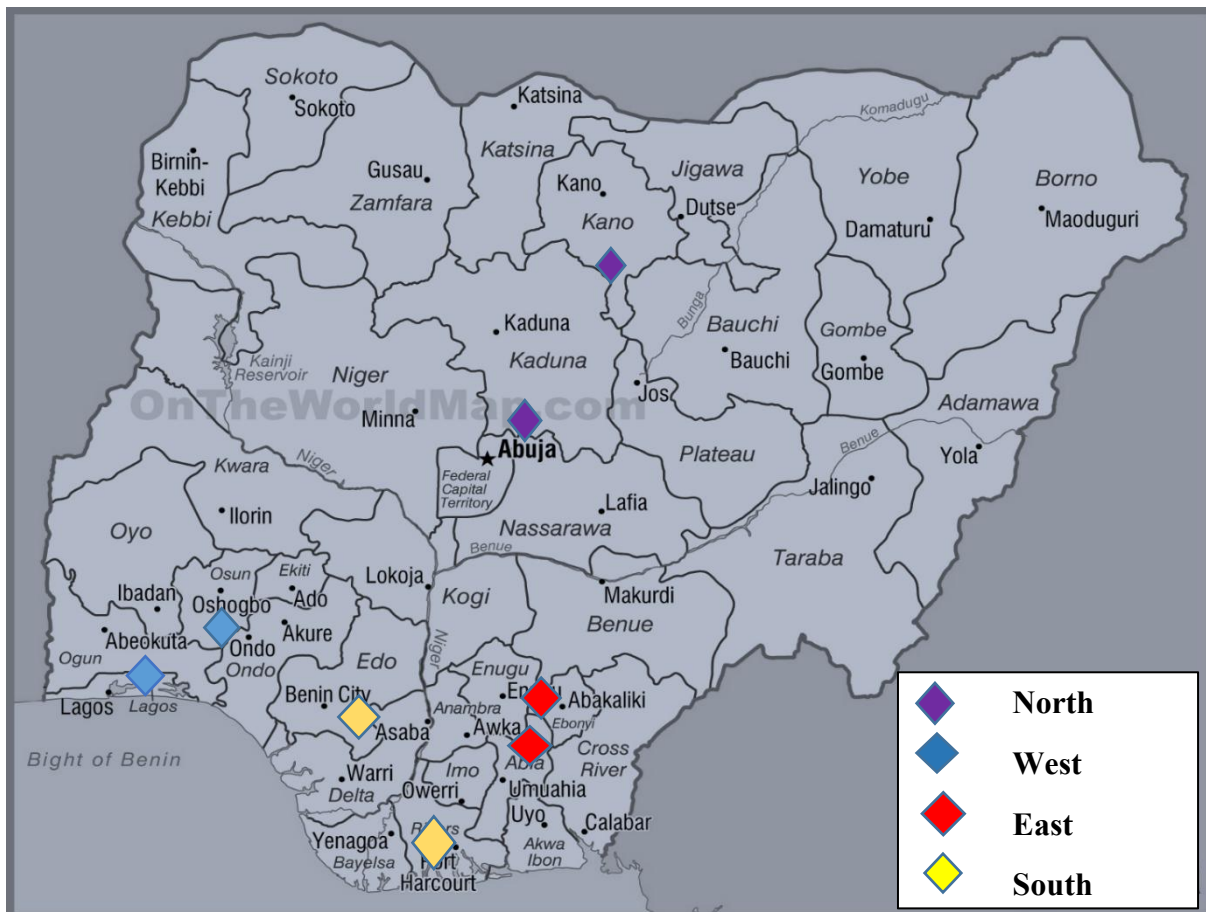
Figure 4.1. Universities of the respondents (source: ontheworldmap.com)

The respondents of the current study were recruited through academic contacts of the researcher in Nigeria. An overview of the participating institutions is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Details of participating universities

University	Region	Location	Number of respondents	Field of respondents
Ahmadu Bello University	North	Zaria	27	Computer Science/Maths/Physiology/International Studies/Microbiology/Education/ Religious Studies

Bayero University	North	Kano	28	Microbiology/Computer/Economics/Economics
Nnamdi Azikwe University	East	Awka	25	Public Administration/Economics/Education/Accounting
University of Nigeria	East	Nsukka	25	Humanities
University of Lagos	West	Lagos	25	Linguistics/Business Administration/Education/History
Obafemi Awolowo University	West	Ile-Ife	28	Humanities/Law
University of Benin	South	Benin	25	Accounting/Public Administration/Education/Linguistics/ Mass Communication/ Agricultural Science/Engineering/Dentistry/Computer Science/Maths
University of Port Harcourt	South	Port Harcourt	26	Agricultural Science/Engineering/Statistics/Nursing/ Plant Science/Biotechnology

4.2.2. The Selection of Background Variables

Starks and Paltridge (1996:218) have suggested that it is advantageous for researchers to provide, if possible, detailed social features of the informants when conducting surveys

concerning the attitudes of non-native speakers towards various English varieties. This is supported by the claims that positive or negative attitudes towards accents are likely dependent on the background information of the respondents (Callan et al. 1983, Edwards 1999, Coupland & Bishop 2007, McKenzie 2010, Chien 2018). Although there are certain social variables that are normally explored as determinants of attitudes, such as age, gender, and language background, no model or list of such variables has been specifically provided for the study of language attitudes (Baker 1992:41).

As discussed in the review of language attitude studies in Nigeria, little has been studied on the attitudes of Nigerians towards various English varieties. In addition, the role and influence of many social variables on the attitudes of Nigerians have still not been adequately studied. Therefore, it was considered important to gather as much social information about the respondents as possible in the current study.

All informants were asked to provide background information on the following variables:

      i.   gender

      ii.   overall exposure to accents of English

      iii.   regional provenance

Regional provenance has been proved to be an important influence, with different languages being preferred depending on the region of the country where the speakers come from (Dornyei & Clement 2001, Dornyei et al. 2006). Information about the regional origin of the informants may be particularly important when researching in Nigeria, as there is evidence that the difference between the ethnic group or the region may be a pronounced social factor among Nigerians (Adegbija 1994, Oyebola, Ho & Li 2019). Information about the regional provenance of the respondents was defined by the universities of the participants. Since it is possible for students originating from one region of the country to go to study in another

region, extra care was taken to make sure only students who had originated from each of the regions were included in the data collection exercise. The informants were thus asked about their mother tongue and how long they had lived in the region. The gender of respondents was also examined as a potential predictor of their attitudes. A number of language attitude studies have shown that gender usually influences how respondents perceive accents of English (Giles 1970, Wilson & Bayard 1992, Coupland & Bishop 2007, McKenzie 2008). According to these studies, female respondents are more loyal than male respondents in favouring standard speech over non-standard speech. Also, previous research has shown that female speakers tend to use more prestigious forms in their speech than male speakers in Nigeria (Ekpe 2010, Wayar 2017, Oyebola, Ho & Li 2019). It is, therefore, important to investigate the influence of gender on the attitudes of Nigerian respondents towards English accents. The third factor is respondents' exposure to the accents of English. This variable was determined by soliciting information on the informants' exposure to English accents in the media (television, radio, YouTube, etc).

The variables age, education and country of origin were controlled. The occupation of informants was controlled, all of them were students. Only university students were used and their age was largely similar (20-29, 90%). The respondents were Nigerians born in Nigeria and were living and studying in Nigeria at the time the data for the main study was collected (July/August 2018).

4.3. Data Collection

This section describes the research instruments used in the study. The research tool used in this study consists of five main parts (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. Components of the research instrument.

Part One	Verbal-guise test (6 guises; 5 English varieties)	15 personality traits for each English variety
Part Two	Accent recognition test	6 speakers, 5 English accents
Part Three	Attitudes questionnaire	4 sections; 31 questions
Part Four	Interview	10 questions
Part Five	Respondents' background information	5 questions related to the social variables under investigation: gender, regional provenance, first language, level of exposure to English accents, and familiarity with English accents

4.3.1. The Verbal-guise Test

The participants first took part in the verbal-guise test.[2] The Likert scale (strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (6)) was used for the verbal-guise exercise. It is assumed that Likert scales are particularly useful for measuring the intensity of attitudes (Henerson et al. 1987:86). For the selection of traits in this study, the criteria were inspired by previous studies and their relevance was confirmed by the responses from the pilot study. Some traits were selected from previous studies (Giles & Powesland 1975, Hiraga 2005, McKenzie 2008, Zhang 2010): 'friendly', 'confident', 'pleasant', 'modest', 'sincere', 'trustworthy', 'refined', 'competent', 'educated', 'convincing', and 'polite'. Four new traits were added based on their relevance to the Nigerian context. The current study assessed the 'intelligibility' of the speakers and how

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[2] Following existing research into language attitudes, this study has applied the VGT as an indirect method to investigate the Nigerian respondents' implicit attitudes. See a detailed discussion in section 3.3.2.

well each of them could be a 'good linguistic role model for Nigerians', a 'good newscaster in Nigeria', and a 'good English teacher in Nigeria'. The appropriateness of the traits for the main study and their relevance to the Nigerian context was confirmed by means of a pilot study (see section 4.4), which had been carried out in the course of the design process of the final questionnaire. An online survey was conducted for this pilot study to examine the respondents' overall reactions to the speakers (the same ones used later in the main study) on the traits. The group of participants for the pilot study consisted of 56 students from a Nigerian university. All participants were born and raised in Nigeria.

4.3.1.1. The Recording of Speech Varieties

The speakers read a passage with a topic relevant to the Nigerian background but sufficiently general for all speakers (both Nigerians and non-Nigerians) to relate to (see Appendix 2). The passage was chosen as the stimulus in this study because it could be controlled for a number of factors. Compared to spontaneous speech, read speech helps to avoid potential variations (lexical, syntactical and morphological) of different speakers of English (Moloney 2009, Chien 2018). The speech samples were selected from recordings made with 12 male speakers between the ages of 21 and 30 years. After a careful consideration of factors such as speech rate and pitch, six of the recordings with the best quality were chosen for the study (see section 4.3.1.3). The speakers were personally contacted by the researcher. Four of them were recorded in a sound-attenuated room while the remaining eight speakers recorded themselves with the voice recording app on their mobile phones. The speakers were requested to read the text in a natural way within a certain frame of time.

4.3.1.2. The Selection of the Varieties of English

Since this study aims to examine the attitudes of Nigerians towards native and non-native English accents, five different English varieties were selected. To achieve these goals, six

different speakers were utilised for the purposes of evaluation by the informants chosen to participate in the study. The five varieties comprise two varieties from the Inner Circle: American English, British English; three varieties from the Non-inner Circle: Ghanaian English, Jamaican English and Nigerian English.

Since British English and American English are widely accepted as the standard in Nigeria (Jowitt 1991, Gut 2008:38, Jowitt 2019:32), language samples of these varieties were selected for this research. This choice is supported by the fact that British English and American English tend to be included as reference varieties in most language attitude studies as they are usually rated high in terms of status (Garett et al. 2003, McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010, etc.). These varieties of English are indigenous varieties of the English language in the Inner Circle of Kachru's World Englishes model (1985, 1992).

Ghanaian English and Jamaican English[3] were chosen to represent English varieties from the Non-inner Circle. The informants who participated in the current study may be relatively familiar with Ghanaian English, because of its increasing presence in the Nigerian society through movies and music. As mentioned in earlier sections, previous studies (Giles 1970, Ryan et al. 1984, Giles et al. 1995, Garrett et al. 2003, Garrett et al. 2005) have reported that Non-inner Circle varieties tend to be rated lowest in terms of status. Jamaican English was included in this study in order to investigate whether Non-inner Circle English speakers, such as Nigerians, who probably are not very familiar with the Jamaican English variety, perceive the variety in the same way. Recordings of two Nigerian speakers of English were included for the purposes of speech evaluation. This enables the researcher to examine the attitudes of Nigerians towards their local English accents.

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[3] While it may be difficult to place Jamaican English within Kachru's Concentric Circles as a result of its complex sociolinguistic situation (Kachru 1992:3), it has been classified within the Non-inner Circle because of its historical development (through colonisation) and current status as a second formal and official variety alongside an English-based Creole that differs rather drastically from it (see e.g. Schneider 2007:227-238).

As previously mentioned (see section 2.2.1), the concepts of 'standard English/non-standard English' and 'native speakers/non-native speakers' have proven to be problematic and there is no general consensus on precise definitions of these terms made by linguists. This should be taken into account with regard to the use of these terms to describe the English varieties selected in the present study for evaluation purposes. In addition, it is important to note that each of the speech samples selected as representative of the English accents is only an example of that particular variety and that other individuals in the same region or social class, age or gender may not speak in completely identical ways (Hiraga 2005:295).

4.3.1.3. Background of the Selected Speakers

In order to minimise possible extraneous factors among the selected speakers, a number of factors were controlled. Since gender and age can influence the quality of speech (Giles et al. 1990, Bradac et al. 2001) and therefore influence the attitude of the informants, the current study has kept the gender of speakers constant and used only men. The six speakers selected to provide the voice samples for the main study are all relatively young adults (the age span of the speakers is relatively narrow, between 26 and 30 years, with an average age of 28). Since the speech rate and length are likely to influence the evaluations of speakers (Giles et al. 1990), the speech samples were selected for substantially similar length, ranging from 55 seconds to 75 seconds. The speech samples were also selected for comparable speech qualities, and overall the recordings were considered to be representative samples of the English varieties selected for evaluation purposes. The authenticity of the recordings was confirmed during the pilot study by four listener-judges from Nigeria, Ghana, the US and the UK, who acknowledged that the speech samples exemplified each of the English accents. The speakers were carefully selected for being native speakers of their respective varieties, and non-native English speakers at an advanced level in English, and overall, they were in

possession of good voice qualities (moderate pitch, audible, etc.). The criterion for the selection of speakers was based on whether they were educated and/or professionals. During the course of the recordings, the speakers were asked to provide background information on their age, place of birth, education background, occupation and current place of residence. Each speaker was also asked to indicate which variety of English he perceived himself to speak and to provide other information that might have influenced his spoken English. The information about the selected speakers is summarised below (see also Table 4.3):

The American English speaker was born and raised in Boston, in the northeastern United States, and his undergraduate degree was also in the northeastern United States. He was a Masters student during the time of the recording, also in the USA.

The British English speaker was born in Preston, a city in Lancashire, England. However, he lived for some years in Saudi Arabia. He lived in the military quarters and attended a British college before returning to England. His accent is convincingly British, confirmed by a few other colleagues in England.

The Ghanaian English speaker was born in Accra, Ghana. He has lived his whole life in Ghana. He was a student at a university in Ghana when the speech was recorded.

The Jamaican English speaker was born and grew up in Montego Bay, the fourth-largest urban area by population and the second-largest Anglophone city in Jamaica. He had secondary and university education in Jamaica before moving to the United States for his postgraduate studies. However, he still spoke in English, as at the time of the recording, with an accent that could easily be identified as Jamaican due to a number of phonological features, such as the realisation of the STRUT vowel as [o] (more closed and rounded than the British and General American varieties) (see section 4.3.1.3.1).

The Nigerian English speaker 1 was born in Nigeria. He had his Bachelor and Masters degrees in Nigeria. He studied English Linguistics and has also taught at a Nigerian University. He was doing his PhD programme at a university in Germany and had spent ten months in Germany when the speech was recorded.

The Nigerian English speaker 2 was also born and raised in Nigeria. He had lived in Nigeria all his life up to the moment the speech was recorded. He was a PhD student of Microbiology. He was also a secondary school teacher at the time of the recording.

Table 4.3. Summary of the speakers and the speech varieties

Speaker	Provenance	Age	Coded Reference	Speech duration
American English	Boston, US	30	AmE	0m55s
British English	Preston, UK	27	BrE	1m02s
Ghanaian English	Accra, Ghana	26	GhE	1m04s
Jamaican English	Montego Bay, Jamaica	29	JmE	0m56s
Nigerian English 1	Lagos, Nigeria	28	NgE 1	1m03s
Nigerian English 2	Lagos, Nigeria	28	NgE 2	1m15s

4.3.1.3.1. Phonological Features of Speakers

Table 4.4 presents the most salient accent features in the recordings of the six speakers used in the current study. As mentioned earlier, it has been noted that it may be useful to include some phonological descriptions of speech samples in order to validate the accuracy of the speech recordings (Thakerar et al. 1982, Garrett 1992; Levin et al. 1994). The descriptions use Wells' (1982) lexical sets as a reference point to describe the differences in the individual

features of the speakers. The vowels are described in reference to the lexical sets, while additional consonantal features such as rhoticity, the realisation of dental fricatives and h-deletion/insertion are described as applicable. The reading styles of the speakers are also described.

As shown in Table 4.4, AmE demonstrated a typical American accent, with features such as rhoticity as evident in 'dollar', [dɒlər] 'four' [fɔr] and 'over' [ovər]. He read the passage in an expressive way. The term 'expressive' in this context is the ability to express oneself effortlessly and articulately, without any form of hesitations or falter. BrE also read the text in an expressive way and used diphthongs consistently in the GOAT [əʊ] and FACE [eɪ] sets. There was a strong tendency towards non-rhoticity as evident in 'dollar', [dɒlə] 'four' [fɔː] and 'over' [əʊvə]. GhE showed features of a Ghanaian accent, such as [a] in 'hundred' and 'product', [ɛ] in 'thirty' and 'reserve', and TH-stopping in 'sixth' and 'thirty'. The speaker read in a relatively monotonous and hesitant pace, which might affect listeners' ratings. JmE was inclined to use monophthongs in the GOAT set while he used diphthongs in words from the FACE set. There were no instances of rhoticity in his speech and he read the text in an expressive way. The phonological features of Nigerian English have been discussed in section 2.4. One major difference between NgE 1 and NgE 2 is in their reading style. NgE 1 read the text in an expressive way, whereas NgE 2 read the text in a relatively fast but hesitant pace, which might affect listeners' ratings. Also, NgE 1 is the researcher of the present study, who studied Linguistics and perhaps had more exposure to British English; he is, therefore, likely to have a better English proficiency than NgE 2, which might also have a salient effect on the ratings. NgE 1 used diphthongs consistently in the FACE [eɪ] set and the lettER and NURSE sets were realised with [ə] and [ɜ:] respectively. Also NgE 1 realised the STRUT vowel as [ʌ] while NgE 2 realised it as [ɔ].

Table 4.4. Phonological features of speech samples

	American English	British English	Ghanaian English	Jamaican English	Nigerian English 1	Nigerian English 2
Reading style and accuracy	Expressive reading	Expressive reading	Monotonous and hesitant reading	Expressive reading	Expressive reading	Fast but hesitant reading
Rhoticity	Rhotic /r/ in, *dollar, over, four*	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic	Non-rhotic
GOAT	[o] in *home, most, gross*	[əʊ] in *home, most, gross*	[o] in *home, most, gross*	[o:] in *home, most, gross*	[o] in *home, most, gross*	[o] in *home, most, gross*
DRESS	[ɛ] in *domestic*	[e] in *domestic*	[e] in *domestic*	[e] in *domestic*	[e] in *domestic*	[e] in *domestic*
STRUT	[ʌ] in *hundred, country, product*	[ʌ] in *hundred, country, product*	[a] in *hundred, country, product*	[o] in *hundred, country, product*	[ʌ] in *hundred, country, [ɔ] in product*	[ɔ] in *hundred, country, product*
TRAP	[æ] in *black*	[æ] in *black*	[a] in *black*	[a] in *black*	[a] in *black*	[a] in *black*

BATH	[æ] in *class, fastest*	[ɑ:] in *class, fastest*	[a] in *class, fastest*	[a] in *class, fastest*	[a] in *class, fastest*	[æ] in *class, fastest*
NURSE	[ɜr] in *thirty, reserve, first*	[ɜ:] in *thirty, reserve, first*	[ɛ] in thirty, reserve, first	[ɜ:] in *thirty, reserve, first*	[ɜ:] in thirty, reserve, first	[ɛ] in *thirty, reserve, first*
FLEECE	[i] in *feet, three*	[i:] in *feet, three*	[i] in feet, three	[i:] in *feet, three*	[i:] in *feet, three*	[i] in *feet, three*
FACE	[eɪ] in *eight, nation, eighth, educated*	[eɪ] in *eight, nation, eighth, educated*	[e] in *eight, nation, eighth, educated*	[eɪ] in *eight, nation, eighth, educated*	[eɪ] in *eight, nation, eighth, educated*	[e] in *eight, nation, eighth, educated*
GOOSE	[u] in *cubit*	[u:] in *cubit*	[u] in *cubit*	[u] in *cubit*	[u] in *cubit*	[u] in *cubit*
START	[ɑr] in *largest*	[ɑ:] in *largest*	[a] in *largest*	[a:] in *largest*	[ɑ:] in *largest*	[a] in *largest*
h-deletion/insertion	-	-	-	-	-	h-deletion in *hundred, home*
lettER	[ər] in	[ə] in *over,*	[a] in *over,*	[ə] in *over,*	[ə] in over,	[a] in *over,*

	over, dollars	dollars	dollars	dollars	dollars	dollars
commA	[ə] in *africa*	[ə] in *africa*	[a] in *africa*	[a] in *africa*	[a] in *africa*	[a] in *africa*
voiceless dental fricative	[θ] in *sixth, eighth, seventh, thirty*	[θ] in *sixth, eighth, seventh, thirty*	[t] in *sixth, eighth, seventh, thirty*	[θ] in *sixth, eighth, seventh, thirty*	[θ] in *sixth, eighth, seventh, thirty*	[θ] in *sixth, eighth, seventh, thirty*

4.3.2. Attitudes Questionnaire

The second part examines the attitudes of the informants towards accents of English using the direct approach. A questionnaire with thirty-one questions was composed on the basis of previous studies (e.g. Bolton & Kwok 1990, Joseph 1996, Luk 1998, Candler 2001, Pang 2003, Poon 2007, McKenzie 2008, Zhang 2010) and information from the pilot survey. The questions were intended to examine respondents' attitudes and perception of English accents in Nigeria and to identify the most probable explanation for informants' perceptions of English accents. The questions can be grouped into three thematic pairs. Questions 1 through 9 examine respondents' perception of English accents; 10 to 14 question the acceptability of the selected English accents among the respondents; 15 to 27 examine the concerns about the status and solidarity of the accents. For example, these questions were intended to investigate whether Nigerians prefer certain accents of English according to various contextual parameters, and if so, which ones. The remaining four questions were asked in the third section of the questionnaire to examine the sense of ownership of the participants towards

Nigerian English (see Appendix 3).

4.3.3. Accent Recognition Test

The third part of the research instrument investigates whether Nigerian informants can correctly identify various accents of English. In the present study, a question about the recognition of English accents was included for a variety of reasons. It is hoped that the answers will provide information on how accurately and consistently Nigerian respondents are able to identify the English accents included in the study. In addition, the accent recognition item was added to facilitate the interpretation of the data collected in the study.

In order to investigate the identification or misidentification of the speech varieties selected for evaluation purposes, the informants were asked to indicate by ticking from the list of countries where they thought the speakers came from (see Appendix 1 Section C). It should be noted that, for analysis purposes, the identification of an accent was considered successful if the informants correctly recognised the nationality of the speaker (i.e., American, British, Nigerian, etc.), they were not required to identify the particular region of the country where the accent is spoken.

4.3.4. Interview Questions

Interviews were conducted to elicit information on the intelligibility, ownership, and acceptability of English varieties in Nigeria. The interviews were intended as supplementary data to enrich the research. Forty-six respondents were interviewed by the researcher (an average of five from each university). Respondents were asked ten questions on their perceptions and opinions about English accents in Nigeria (see Appendix 4). To analyse the interviews, notes were taken after carefully listening to the recordings. This process was

repeated many times until it was felt nothing more could be garnered from further listening at this stage. The interviews were transcribed using the ICE Markup style (Nelson 2002) and the transcriptions were carefully reviewed. The coding and the analysis were done with the aid of MAXQDA-12 (VERBI Software 2016), a qualitative data analysis software. A two-pronged approach was utilised in order to get an understanding of the data from both the spoken and written words. After repeating this process, the notes and codes created during the listening sessions and the notes and codes made while reading the transcripts were compared. A number of themes were generated from the coding (see Appendix 7) and examined for meaning and interpretation.

4.3.5. Social-demographic Information of Respondents

An important goal of the study is to investigate the significance of a number of social factors in determining the attitudes of informants towards the English accents. Therefore, a section of the research instrument was designed to elicit details of the respondents: gender, regional provenance, first language, familiarity with English and level of exposure to English (see Section 4.2.2).

4.4. The Pilot Study

Before the main study was conducted, the attitudes questionnaire and the verbal guise test were first tested in a pilot study. The pilot study was carried out for the following reasons:

i. to identify the likely challenges that might arise in the administration of the research tool;

ii. to test if the research instruments were fit enough to conduct the investigation, in terms of clarity, the overall attractiveness of the research instrument to respondents, simplicity (taking into account the Nigerian context in which the VGT is not widely used), and duration;

iii. to confirm the relevance of all traits in the Likert scale in the Nigerian context.

The pilot study was conducted in three stages.

4.4.1. First Phase

The first phase of the pilot study was conducted between December 2017 and January 2018. Fifty-six Nigerian students filled in an online attitude questionnaire. All participants were born in Nigeria. The questionnaire consisted of three parts: background information about respondents, preference for English accents, and personality perception. This study was carried out in order to solicit information on respondents' preference of English accents.

4.4.2. Second Phase

The second stage of the pilot study was also conducted online. It was carried out between April 2018 and May 2018. The informants were thirty-nine undergraduate students of different Nigerian universities. The main objective of the second stage of the pilot study was to test the VGT instrument. Respondents were to listen to the recordings and indicate their impressions of each speaker on the fifteen traits: 'friendly', 'trustworthy', 'sincere', 'foreign', 'convincing', 'modest', 'educated', 'intelligible', 'refined', 'correct', 'polite', 'confident', 'good English teacher', 'good newscaster', 'linguistic role model'. The principal aim of this stage of the pilot study was to confirm the relevance of the generated traits for later use in the verbal-guise test of the main study.

4.4.3. Third Phase

The accent recognition test, the third stage of the pilot study, was conducted in July 2018. Eleven participants were asked to judge the speech recordings of four (Nigerians) of the twelve speakers (see section 4.3.1.3). The respondents were tested on their ability to recognise

where the four Nigerian speakers came from. This was intended to test which of the Nigerian speech samples would be fit to conduct the main study, so as to reduce any form of bias in the ratings of the speakers as a result of regional differences among the respondents. The two Nigerian speakers whose regional affiliations the participants could not figure out were used for the final data collection exercise.

4.4.4. The Significance of the Pilot Study

In all the pilot stages, a lot of useful information was gained on the reliability, validity and feasibility of the research instrument. Some changes were made in the attitude questionnaire and the verbal-guise test. First, based on the pilot study, the applicability of the traits used in the verbal-guise test of the main study was confirmed; none of the respondents found the traits difficult to relate with and they did not have any issue using the traits to judge the speakers. Following the suggestion of some of the participants at a seminar where I presented my pilot study, the Ghanaian English accent was included in the main study because of its increasing presence in Nigeria. Another concern was on the lack of enough space for responses; necessary adjustments were made after the pilot study. Also, some alterations were made in the wording of some of the questions (e.g. questionnaire items with double negatives) in order to ensure that all questions were clear and precise to the respondents.

4.5. Procedure: Data Collection

The data collection for the current study was conducted in Nigeria over a period of one month from July 2018 to August 2018. In total, 209 respondents from eight universities participated. The data was collected personally by the researcher from the universities. At each participating university, data was collected in different places: classrooms, dormitories, reading rooms, lecture halls for students. The average time for each participant was 40

minutes. The time included the periods for the data collection and the subsequent debriefing. The average time for data collection in each university was three days. Prior to each visit to the university, contact was made weeks in advance to look for student volunteers. The student volunteers assisted in making contact with other students that formed the respondents.

For the verbal-guise test, participants were asked to rate and identify the speech samples they listened to. At the end of the experiment, respondents were told that the essence of the study was to examine their attitudes towards English accents. They were also told about their rights to know the results of the study. In general, there were two parts for respondents in the verbal-guise exercise. In the first part, they gave their personal information. In the second part, the six speech samples were scored on the six-point scale and the nationalities of the speakers were identified. All the six recordings that were played to the informants were randomised in two orders, in order to minimise any potential ordering effects in their evaluations (Bezooijen & Boves 1986) (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. Random order of speech samples

Group A	Group B
GhE	JmE
NgE 1	AmE
BrE	GhE
NgE 2	NgE 2
AmE	BrE
JmE	NgE 1

Although ethical concerns tend to be more of a problem in qualitative research than in quantitative research (Dornyei 2007:63-64), the nature of the present study, which includes both indirect and direct approaches to measuring attitudes, has made it necessary to address research ethics and possible ethical concerns. Against this background, it was considered

essential to inform participants immediately after the exercise of the purposes, procedures and scientific value of the study. Therefore, the last segment of the data collection exercise was used by the researcher to give a short talk on the methods used in the language studies, followed by a question-and-answer session between the researcher and the informants. The contact details of the researcher were given to the informants and they were advised to ask questions about the study or contact the researcher for more information or for the results of the study.

4.6. Statistical Techniques Employed in the Data Analysis

To investigate the research questions of this study, series of statistical analyses were performed after the numerical data had been encoded, entered, and checked for errors. Several parametric significance tests were run to verify the significance of differences in evaluations of speakers by the informants in the verbal-guise section of the study.[4]

In order to identify the relationships between the speaker ratings for each of the 15 traits on the Likert scale in the verbal-guise section and, if possible, for the 15 traits to be compressed to a smaller set of underlying dimensions, which would take into account the difference in the speaker evaluations, the principal component analysis (PCA), a data reduction method, was used. Although a number of data reduction techniques are available, the reason for the use of principal component analysis was because of its frequent use in the previous studies on language attitudes (Giles 1970, Powesland 1975, Hiraga 2005, McKenzie 2008, Zhang 2010) and thus the application of the technique in the present study allows for easy comparison of the results obtained. The aim of PCA is to find out if variables are grouped together, and if so,

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[4] It is important that several conditions are met in order to conduct parametric tests of signficance for large sets of quantitative data. First, the data must have an interval or ratio level of the measurement (Pallant 2010:205). In the present study, the variables are of the interval type, the intervals between all points on the scale are the same. Second, although parametric significance tests are only applicable if the population from which the sample is taken is normally distributed, this requirement can be relaxed for large samples (Field 2013:270-271). The recruitment of 209 respondents in this study is a large enough sample of the broader population of English-users in Nigeria to apply the tests and findings.

how large a set they form. PCA allows the researcher to condense a larger set of variables (or scale items) to a smaller and more manageable number of components (or super variables). The extracted components thus summarise the correlations among the larger variable sets. PCA is often used to verify whether the extracted components match the results of previous investigations and to prepare the data for subsequent analysis, for example, with multiple regression or ANOVA techniques.[5]

The following statistical techniques were also used in the course of the data analysis:

i)   analysis of variance

ii)   multivariate analysis of variance

Although there are a variety of parametric tests of significance to choose from; the reason for using the analysis of variance (ANOVA) and the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) to analyse the data was also because many verbal-guise studies (McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010, etc.) have utilised combinations of these statistical techniques. Therefore, the use of these statistical tests of parametric significance allows a better comparison between the results obtained in the present study and the results from previous studies of a similar kind.

This study conducted series of ANOVA. The purpose of ANOVA is to determine the extent to which the effect of an independent variable is a major component (Girden 1992:1). It is used to compare two or more means in order to estimate the significance of the differences between them. This present study uses two different types of ANOVA: Between (or independent) groups analysis of variance (which is used when measuring two or more different groups of informants for each of the groups of scores) and Within groups (or

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[5] There are three main steps to perform the principal component analysis:
i) *Evaluation of the suitability of the data for PCA*: in order to test for this, there must be proof for component loadings that are greater than 0.3, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy value must be greater than 0.6; and the Bartlett test of sphericity should be significant ($p > 0.5$) (Tabachnik & Fidell (2001:587-590).
ii) *Components extraction*: where only components with eigenvalues of 1.0 or higher are retained and where it is also confirmed in the scree plot of the component loadings;
iii) *Components Rotation and Interpretation*: the components are often 'rotated' using the Varimax approach, which attempts to minimise the number of variables which have high loadings for clarity.

repeated measures) analysis of variance (which is used when the same informants are measured under two or more different conditions). A one-way repeated measures ANOVA test is often used when comparisons between more than two repeated measures of the same research participants are needed. The test indicates whether respondents' ratings of the English accents are significantly different from one another. For the one-way repeated measures ANOVA test in the present study, the Mauchly Test for Sphericity was used.[6] When a significant difference is found[7], a post-hoc test is conducted to compare "the means of all combinations of pairs" that the English speakers received (Field 2005:741).

Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) is simply an ANOVA with multiple dependent variables. It is an extension of the ANOVA test and is used when the researcher wants to examine the effects of independent variables, such as gender and age, on two or more related dependent variables. A one-way between groups MANOVA was applied to investigate the significant correlations that exist between the independent variables (respondents' background variables) and the dependent variables (the evaluations of the different accents of English). Also, to investigate the correlations between accent recognitions and evaluations of English accents, one-way between groups MANOVA test was conducted six times for each speaker. While the ratings of English accents for status and solidarity were the dependent variables, respondents' recognition of English accents were categorised into two groups of 'correct' and 'incorrect' responses, which composed the independent variables.

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[6] Mauchly's test checks the sphericity assumption of whether the variance of the differences between pairs of evaluations is homogenous. The significance value of Mauchly's test must exceed 0.05 (P> 0.05) for sphericity to be assumed. However, if a between-subjects ANOVA is performed to test whether the homogeneity assumption for each dependent variable has been met, the Levene's Test of Equality can be used.

[7] When interpreting the output of ANOVA, it is important to consider the effect size of a significant effect from the value of 'partial eta squared'. Cohen (1977: 285-287) suggests guidelines for interpreting the values of eta square, where: 0.01 = a small effect size; 0.06 = a moderate effect size; and 0.14 = a large effect size.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS AND PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION

This chapter contains the results of the five parts of the study. First, the results of the verbal guise test are presented. To further investigate the attitudes of the informants towards each accent of English, the results of the conceptual stimuli test are presented. The third section analyses the main effect of a set of social variables on respondents' attitudes, followed by the results of the accent recognition test and the potential effect of respondents' identification or misidentification of the English accents on their evaluations. Lastly, the chapter presents the results of the analysis of the data collected in the interviews. For each phase of analysis, some very general comments are made on the findings.

5.1. Attitudes towards Accents of English: The Vocal Stimuli Test

5.1.1. The General Ratings of English Accents

This section presents the average ratings of the six speakers by the 209 respondents. The average ratings of the speakers for each trait were calculated. The scores range from 1 to 6, with higher scores referring to the evaluative positive end of the continuum.

Table 5.1. Overall mean ratings of the six speakers on fifteen traits

Traits	Speaker					
	American	British	Ghanaian	Jamaican	Nigerian 1	Nigerian 2
Refined	5.06	**5.38**	3.75	4.53	4.56	3.44
	(1.37)	(1.05)	(1.48)	(1.33)	(1.46)	(1.56)
Competent	5.18	**5.33**	4.06	4.78	4.59	3.8
	(1.25)	(1.01)	(1.45)	(1.1)	(1.42)	(1.43)
Sincere	4.9	**5.17**	4.2	4.49	4.46	3.71
	(1.13)	(1.05)	(1.39)	(1.28)	(1.22)	(1.45)
Foreign	5	**5.24**	2.8	4.2	3.5	2.6
	(1.39)	(1.33)	(1.72)	(1.62)	(1.74)	(1.71)
Convincing	4.8	**5.16**	3.75	4.33	4.43	3.43
	(1.3)	(1.12)	(1.47)	(1.36)	(1.23)	(1.51)

Modest	4.83	**5.06**	4.07	4.64	4.69	3.79
	(1.12)	(1.05)	(1.38)	(1.15)	(1.11)	(1.48)
Educated	5.39	**5.56**	4.43	5.13	5.15	4.25
	(1.00)	(0.83)	(1.47)	(1.02)	(0.97)	(1.39)
Intelligible	5.24	**5.32**	4.42	4.94	4.85	4.11
	(1.07)	(0.99)	(1.6)	(1.29)	(1.29)	(1.6)
Friendly	4.4	**4.75**	3.92	4.42	4.57	4.12
	(1.29)	(1.16)	(1.43)	(1.3)	(1.29)	(1.43)
Trustworthy	4.59	**4.85**	4.03	4.42	4.53	3.85
	(1.18)	(1.10)	(1.35)	(1.20)	(1.23)	(1.42)
Polite	4.71	**5.02**	4.25	4.72	4.72	4.19
	(1.17)	(1.02)	(1.29)	(1.21)	(1.17)	(1.37)
Confident	5.21	**5.32**	4.33	4.9	4.85	3.72
	(0.97)	(1.00)	(1.53)	(1.12)	(1.25)	(1.63)
Good English Teacher	4.74	**5.11**	3.87	4.58	4.63	3.34
	(1.42)	(1.15)	(1.72)	(1.27)	(1.49)	(1.54)
Nigerian Newscaster	4.76	**5.19**	3.72	4.59	4.58	3.21
	(1.44)	(1.2)	(1.66)	(1.35)	(1.42)	(1.57)
Linguistic role model	4.78	**4.99**	4.56	4.28	3.91	3.23
	(1.38)	(1.33)	(1.38)	(1.48)	(1.77)	(1.73)

Table 5.1 is a descriptive presentation of the respondents' overall ratings of the six speakers on the fifteen traits. In each category, the highest rating is shown in bold print. In general, British English and American English were the most preferred English accents. British English was rated highest in all fifteen traits, followed by American English, followed by Nigerian English 1 and Jamaican English. The British speaker's accent was thus the most favoured of the English accents. As Table 5.1 reveals, the native speakers of English were more favoured and thus preferred to the non-native speakers. This was the case in all traits.

Apart from the overall preference for Inner Circle accents of English, Nigerian English 1 was preferred on a number of traits. On the evaluation of traits such as 'refined', 'convincing', 'modest', 'educated', 'friendly', 'trustworthy', and 'good English teacher', Nigerian English 1 was favoured over the other English accents, with the exception of the two Inner Circle English accents (British and American). However, neither of the two Nigerian English accents

was considered a good linguistic model for Nigerians over the other English speech varieties. The two varieties were rated lowest in this regard. The other Non-inner Circle variety, Jamaican English, was often ranked in the middle position. Next to the two Inner Circle varieties, Jamaican English was rated the highest in traits like 'competent', 'sincere', 'foreign', 'intelligible', 'polite', 'confident', and 'good newscaster in Nigeria'. Ghanaian English was rated high in 'linguistic role model', even above the other Non-inner Circle accents of English.

Table 5.2. Mean ratings and (standard deviations) of the six speakers on all traits (N=209)

Ranking	Speech variety	Mean
1	British English*	5.16 (1.1)
2	American English	4.9 (1.23)
3	Jamaican English*	4.59 (1.27)
4	Nigerian English 1*	4.53 (1.3)
5	Ghanaian English	4.01 (1.49)
6	Nigerian English 2	3.64 (1.52)

(score 6.00 = the most favourable evaluation)

Table 5.2 shows the ranking of the attitude difference among the six speakers altogether. The respondents' evaluation of the speakers on the fifteen traits has not yet been categorised into underlying evaluative dimensions. The standard deviations indicate that the attitudes of the respondents were consistent. A low standard deviation indicates that the scores are very close to average. A high standard deviation means that the scores are distributed. Comparing the overall differences in the respondents' ratings reveals a clear hierarchy in which Nigerian respondents rate the Inner Circle English accents more positively than the Non-inner Circle accents of English. As shown in Table 5.2, British English was ranked as the most preferred variety, followed by American English. This was followed by Jamaican English and then

Nigerian English 1. These two speech varieties are considered to be well-favoured as they directly follow the two Inner Circle speech varieties in preference. This shows that the respondents were at least relatively positive to these two English accents. Ghanaian English was rated next in the ranking. Nigerian English 2 was rated lowest. Although this variety (NgE2) is a Nigerian English variety, respondents still gave it the lowest rating, probably because they did not recognise it as a Nigerian English variety (see section 5.4). All ratings can be considered positive, i.e. they are above the intermediate point of 3.5. However, a closer examination of the ratings shows that the mean scores of the Inner Circle English accents, i.e., British English and American English, are comparatively high. This finding also indicates the positive attitudes of the respondents towards Inner Circle English accents.

A one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted in order to compare the overall mean evaluations of the six speakers on all fifteen traits. The results showed a significant overall effect for all the six speakers:

Mauchly's Test= 0.853; Sphericity assumed: $F_{(5, 1040)}$=84.72, $p <0.00$; Multivariate eta squared= 0.629, indicating a large effect size.

To examine the individual differences between the evaluations of the six speakers, a pairwise comparison analysis was performed for the repeated measures factor. To control the risk of a Type 1 error, a Bonferroni adjusted alpha value of 0.01 was used, based on a division of the alpha level (0.05) by the number of contrasts performed (5). The Pairwise comparisons for all the six levels of the repeated measures variable show that some differences between the six speakers achieved statistical significance, even allowing for the Bonferroni adjusted alpha level (see Post Hoc test in Appendix 8).

The ranking of the six speakers on all traits is summarised in Table 5.2. The presence of asterisk (*) between the speakers indicates that there is a significant difference ($p<0.05$) in the

respondents' evaluations. The results show that when the scores of all traits are averaged together for each of the six speakers, a clear pattern emerges: native/Inner Circle speakers of English are rated significantly higher than non-native/Non-inner Circle speakers. The Nigerian respondents rated British English more positively than American English.

5.1.2. Evaluative Dimensions: Principal Component Analysis

In order to locate the evaluative dimensions within the data collected in the verbal-guise section of the study, the overall mean evaluations of the six speakers for each of the fifteen traits were tabulated to give six overall scores for each trait and subsequently subjected to the principal component analysis (PCA). Since 209 respondents rated each of the six speakers on every one of the fifteen personality traits, the questionnaire yielded over 18,000 responses, from the excess of 3,000 responses for each of the 15 traits.[8] Before performing the PCA, further tests were performed to assess the suitability of PCA. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy gave a value of 0.92, well above the recommended value.[9] The Bartlett test, which measures significant relationships between variables, was also performed and achieved statistical significance ($p>0.05$), which supported the factorability of the correlation matrix.[10] Inspection of the correlation matrix revealed the presence of a number of coefficients of 0.5 and above (see Appendix 9).

The principal component analysis revealed the presence of two components with eigenvalues above one. Figure 5.1 shows the results in a scree plot. The scree plot shows a clear break

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[8] Comrey and Lee (1992) recommends, in terms of sample size, that 50 cases is very poor, 100 is poor, 200 is fair, 300 is good, 500 is very good, and 1000 or more is excellent; thus, this study passes the sample size test (also see Tabachnick and Fidell 2001:588).

[9] Usually, KMO values between 0.5 and 0.7 are considered mediocre, between 0.7 and 0.8 are good, between 0.8 and 0.9 are great and above 0.9 are superb (Field 2005:648).

[10] If the results of the Bartlett test are significant, it means that there are significant relationships between variables and that PCA is an appropriate test to determine which variables are significantly associated with one another; the absence of significant relationships indicates that there is no need to conduct PCA.

following the second component, which is consistent with the fact that both components account for 60.82% of the variance (52.51% and 8.31% respectively).
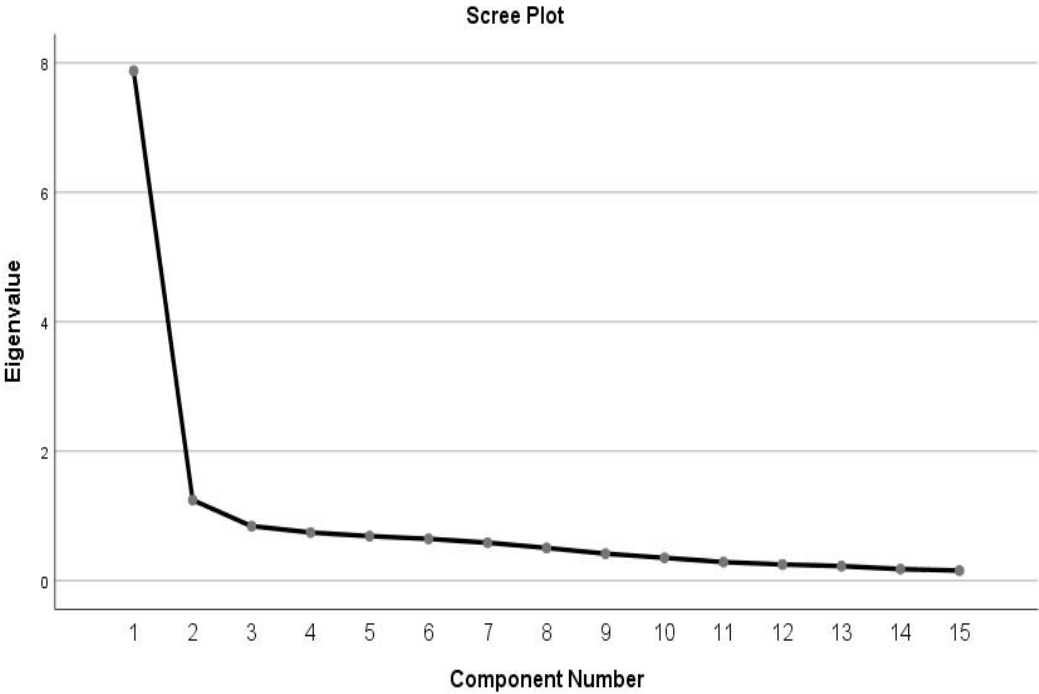
Figure 5.1. Scree plot of principal component analysis

According to Danc and Reidy (1999:431), the cut-off point for Eigenvalue can vary between 0.3 and 0.5; for the purposes of this study, a conservative level of 0.5 was decided upon. To facilitate the interpretation of these two components, a Varimax rotation (with Kaiser Normalisation) was performed. The rotated solution (Table 5.3) revealed the presence of a simple structure in which both components showed a number of strong loadings and where all the traits loaded substantially (0.5 and above) on one or other of the components.

Table 5.3. Rotated component matrix

	Components	
	1	2
The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians	.839	
The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria	.819	

The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria	.775	
The person sounds refined	.679	
The person sounds educated	.644	
The person sounds convincing		.639
The person sounds confident	.570	
The person sounds foreign	.557	
The person sounds polite		.782
The person sounds friendly		.770
The person sounds trustworthy		.759
The person sounds sincere		.710
The person's speech is intelligible for me		.664
The person sounds modest		.595
The person sounds competent	.572	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation.
a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Table 5.3 shows that the traits 'good linguistic role model', 'good newscaster in Nigeria', 'good English teacher in Nigeria, 'refined', 'educated', 'confident', 'foreign' and 'competent' loaded onto component 1, and the traits 'convincing', 'polite', 'sincere', 'intelligible', 'modest', 'friendly', and 'trustworthy' loaded onto component 2. The loading of only two underlying dimensions amongst the respondents' mean evaluations of the six speakers suggests that the Nigerian students held strong stereotypes with characteristics which define stereotypical views of the speakers of each of these speech varieties. The loadings on these two components are consistent with previous language attitude studies (Garrett et al. 2003, Hiraga 2005, McKenzie 2006). For the purposes of this study, the traits in component 1 have been labelled status, and those in component 2 solidarity. Previous evidence suggests that the classification of traits as either status or solidarity may be problematic in socially and culturally diverse environments (Zhang 2010:146). The results of the PCA help to answer the question of whether the traits selected for the study represent non-overlapping features of the two dimensions. The above results do reveal that the traits grouped under 'status' can be

clearly separated from the traits grouped under solidarity. In other words, the fact that the traits were loaded onto two components indicates that the traits are likely to be explained by either component.

5.1.3. Speaker Evaluations: Status and Solidarity

After extracting the two evaluative dimensions of status and solidarity through principal component analysis, respondents' attitudes to each dimension are examined separately.

5.1.3.1. Status Rating

The status rating was thus generated from the ratings of the eight traits loaded on component 1. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was performed to compare the average scores of the six speakers with respect to the status dimension. There were six dependent variables: the ratings of the respondents of American English, British English, Ghanaian English, Jamaican English, Nigerian English 1, and Nigerian English 2 speakers on the eight status traits. The mean and standard deviations of the scores for each speaker are presented in Table 5.4, followed by the analysis of the variance summaries.

Table 5.4. Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker status (N=209)

	Mean	Std. Deviation
American	5.17	1.26
British	5.33	1.02
Ghanaian	4.06	1.50
Jamaican	4.78	1.11
Nigerian 1	4.58	1.46
Nigerian 2	3.80	1.43

The results showed a significant overall effect for status for all the six speakers:

Mauchly's Test= 0.899; Sphericity assumed: $F_{(5, 1040)} = 66.40$, $p<0.000$; multivariate eta squared= 0.53, which indicates a large effect size.

In order to examine the individual differences between the evaluations of the six speakers, a pairwise comparison analysis was also conducted for the repeated measures factor (see Appendix 10).

The Pairwise comparisons output shows all possible comparisons for the six levels of the repeated measures variable. All comparisons were adjusted for the Bonferroni method. The results from the analysis of contrasts between the mean evaluations for speaker status show that a number of differences between the six speakers reached statistical significance, even allowing for the Bonferroni adjusted alpha level.

The status ratings of the six speakers are summarised in Table 5.5. The presence of asterisk (*) between the speakers indicates there is a significant difference ($p<0.05$) between the respondents' evaluations.

Table 5.5. Ranking of six speakers for status

Ranking	Speech variety
1	British English*
2	American English
3	Jamaican English*
4	Nigerian English 1*
5	Ghanaian English
6	Nigerian English 2

From Table 5.5, it can be seen that the respondents had consistent attitudes towards the accents of English when regarding the status dimension alone. British English was still rated the highest among the six speakers, followed by American English. Jamaican English was ranked third, followed by Nigerian English 1. Ghanaian English ranked higher than Nigerian English 2, which was the lowest ranked speech variety in terms of status. When the overall differences between the informants' ratings are compared, a clear hierarchy emerges where

the British English speaker is the most preferred, followed by the American English speaker while Nigerian English speaker 2 is the least preferred. The relatively less favourable rating of Nigerian English 2 is possibly related to the speaker's accent and the noticeable hesitation in his reading. However, a number of differences are evident between speaker evaluations on the eight status traits. For example, when the ratings of the eight traits were averaged together, the Jamaican English speaker was rated higher than Nigerian English speaker 1. Also, in terms of all the traits, the Jamaican English speaker was rated higher than Nigerian English speaker 1 but the difference was not found to be significant. While Nigerian English speaker 1 was moderately rated in most traits, Nigerian English speaker 2 was remarkably less positive.

5.1.3.2. Solidarity Rating

A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was conducted in order to compare the mean evaluations of the six speakers on the solidarity dimension. There were six dependent variables: the average ratings of the American English, British English, Ghanaian English, Jamaican English, Nigerian English 1 and Nigerian English 2 speakers on the seven solidarity dimension traits. The mean and standard deviations of the scores for each speaker are presented in Table 5.6, followed by the analysis of the variance summaries.

Table 5.6. Mean evaluations and standard deviation for speaker solidarity (N=209)

	Mean	Std. Deviation
American	4.83	1.11
British	5.06	1.05
Ghanaian	4.07	1.4
Jamaican	4.63	1.17
Nigerian 1	4.69	1.12
Nigerian 2	3.78	1.49

The results showed a significant overall effect for social dimension for all the six speakers:

Mauchly's Test= 0.885; Sphericity assumed; F (5, 1035) = 43.64, p<0.000; Multivariate eta squared= 0.423, which again suggests a large effect size.

In order to examine the individual differences between the evaluations of the six speakers for solidarity, a pairwise comparison analysis was conducted for the repeated measures factor (see Appendix 11). The Pairwise comparisons output shows all possible comparisons for the six levels of the repeated measures variable. All comparisons are adjusted for the Bonferroni method. When the results were analysed for contrasts between the mean evaluations for speaker solidarity, a number of differences between the six speakers achieved statistical significance. The ranking of the six speakers for solidarity is summarised in Table 5.7. The presence of asterisk (*) between the speakers indicates there is a significant difference (p<0.05) between the respondents' evaluations.

Table 5.7. Ranking of six speakers for solidarity

Ranking	Speech variety
1	British English*
2	American English
3	Nigerian English 1*
4	Jamaican English
5	Ghanaian English
6	Nigerian English 2*

Table 5.7 shows the ratings of the six speakers in the solidarity dimension. For solidarity, the two Inner Circle accents of English (British and American) were still rated highest, while Nigerian 2 was still the lowest ranked. This relatively low rating signifies that Nigerian English speaker 2 was perceived as an out-group speaker, i.e., not perceived as a

representative of Nigerian English speakers. However, Nigerian English speaker 1 was rated higher than the Jamaican speaker of English. He was ranked third for solidarity. Like the status rating, British English and American English were also ranked as the most favoured speech varieties on solidarity rating.

5.2. Attitudes towards Accents of English: Results of the Conceptual Stimuli

This section presents the results of the general questionnaire on attitudes and perceptions of Nigerian respondents on English accents.

5.2.1. Exposure and Familiarity with English Accents

Questions 21 to 25 were designed to investigate the exposure of respondents to English accents. They were asked how often they watched or listened to programmes in each of the accents of English (i.e., American English, British English, Ghanaian English, Jamaican English and Nigerian English) on the TV, Internet, or any other available media. The results are presented below.

	Everyday	Sometimes	Hardly	Not at all
American English	32.7	54.3	9.6	3.4
British English	18.4	60.9	16.9	3.9
Ghanaian English	12.6	33.3	27.1	27
Jamaican English	0.5	12.6	32	54.9
Nigerian English	54.6	37.2	5.3	2.9
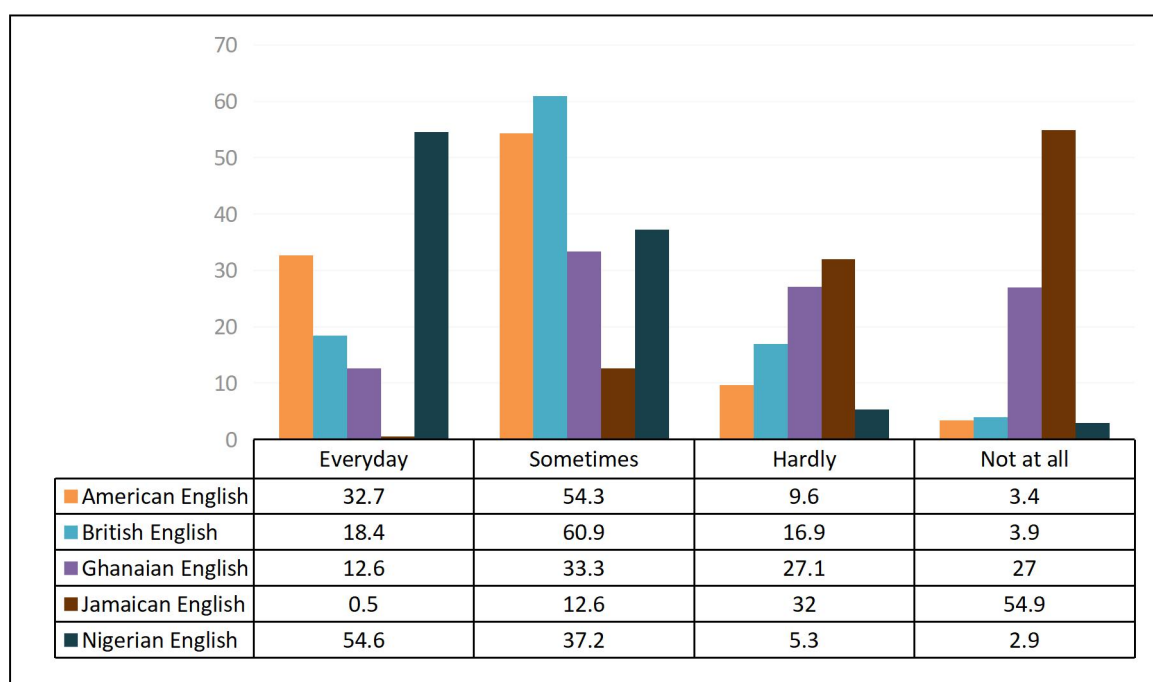
Figure 5.2. Respondents' exposure to English accents

The findings indicate that Nigerian respondents were mostly exposed to their local accent of English (Nigerian English) and were least exposed to the Jamaican English accent. American English and British English accents are the next on the rank of exposure. Even though Nigerians were more exposed to the Ghanaian English accent than to the Jamaican English accent, only 12.6% of the respondents claimed to daily watch/listen to programmes in Ghanaian English. This exposure seems to be limited only to movies and music.

In this same context, respondents were asked to choose the accents of English with which they were familiar. Figure 5.3 presents the results.
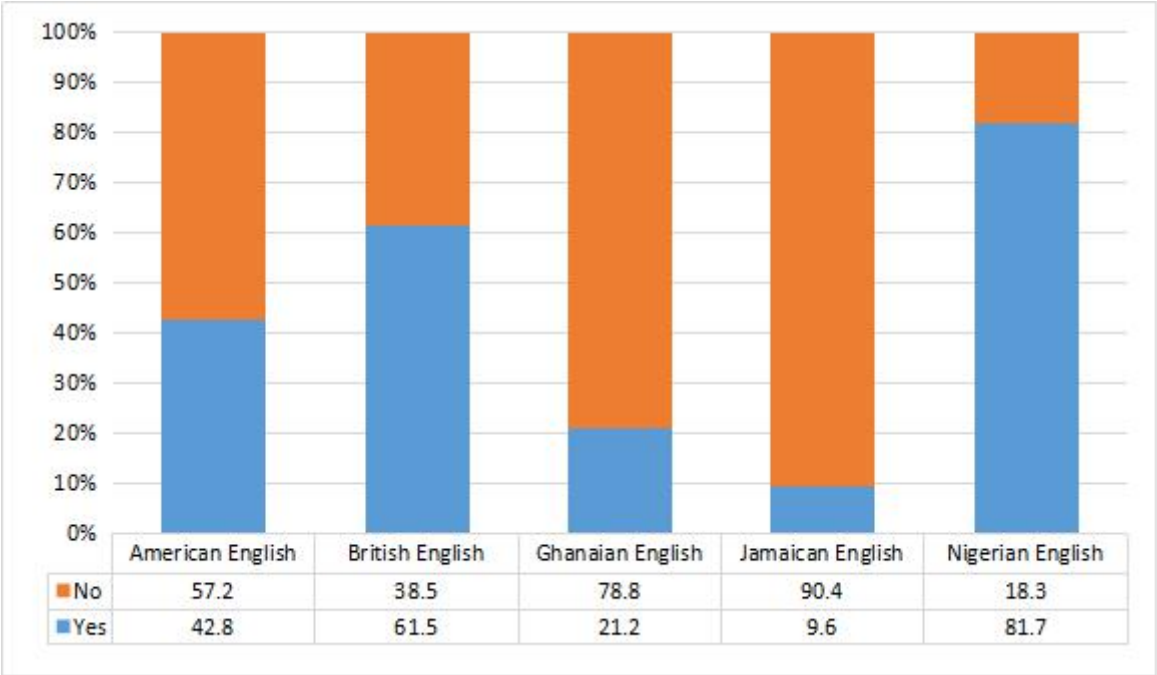
Figure 5.3. Respondents' familiarity with English accents

The results of the familiarity of respondents with the English accents confirm the results of their exposure to the speech varieties. Respondents claimed to be familiar with the accents based on their exposure to the English accents. 82% of the respondents were familiar with the Nigerian English accent, followed by British English with 61.5%, followed by American

English with 43% familiarity. The Ghanaian English and the Jamaican English accents were the least familiar to the respondents.

5.2.2. Preference of English Accents

Respondents were then asked to rank the English accents according to the ones that they thought was the 'most pleasant', 'most understandable', 'most appropriate for newscasters in Nigeria', 'most prestigious', 'has the best capacity to express their thoughts and feelings', 'best for an official language in Nigeria', and 'best for teaching English in Nigeria' (questions 8-15). To ensure a simple presentation and clarity, the mean scores of the accent ranking were calculated. For this purpose, the ranking options were reorganised and converted.[11] This was achieved by converting all 'lowest' scores into 1, 2 and all 'high scores' into 4, 5, leaving the neutral scores at 3. An example is shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8. Conversion of rankings

Original form	Ranking	After conversion	Ranking
Most pleasant, most understandable etc.	1	Most pleasant, most understandable etc.	5
Pleasant, understandable etc.	2	Pleasant, understandable etc.	4
Quite pleasant, quite understandable etc	3	Quite pleasant, quite understandable etc	3
Not really pleasant, not really understandable etc	4	Not really pleasant, not really understandable etc	2
Least pleasant, least understandable	5	Least pleasant, least understandable	1
Not familiar	NF	Not familiar	NF

The result of the rankings of the English accents based on the given criteria is presented in Figure 5.4 (see the details in Appendix 12). In general, the results concerning the preference

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[11] Respondents were originally asked to rank the accents in such a way that 1 came first, 2 came second and so on.

of accents on the given criteria show a similar pattern to those found in the verbal-guise test. The British English accent was favoured on almost all the criteria, with the exception of two, 'expressive' and 'understandable', where Nigerian English received the highest ratings of all the varieties. The two criteria are connected to the solidarity dimension. It is also noteworthy that American English was ranked next to Nigerian English, on four of the criteria: 'expressive', 'official language', 'teaching' and 'understandable'. This indicates that the three English accents are the dominant English accents in Nigeria.
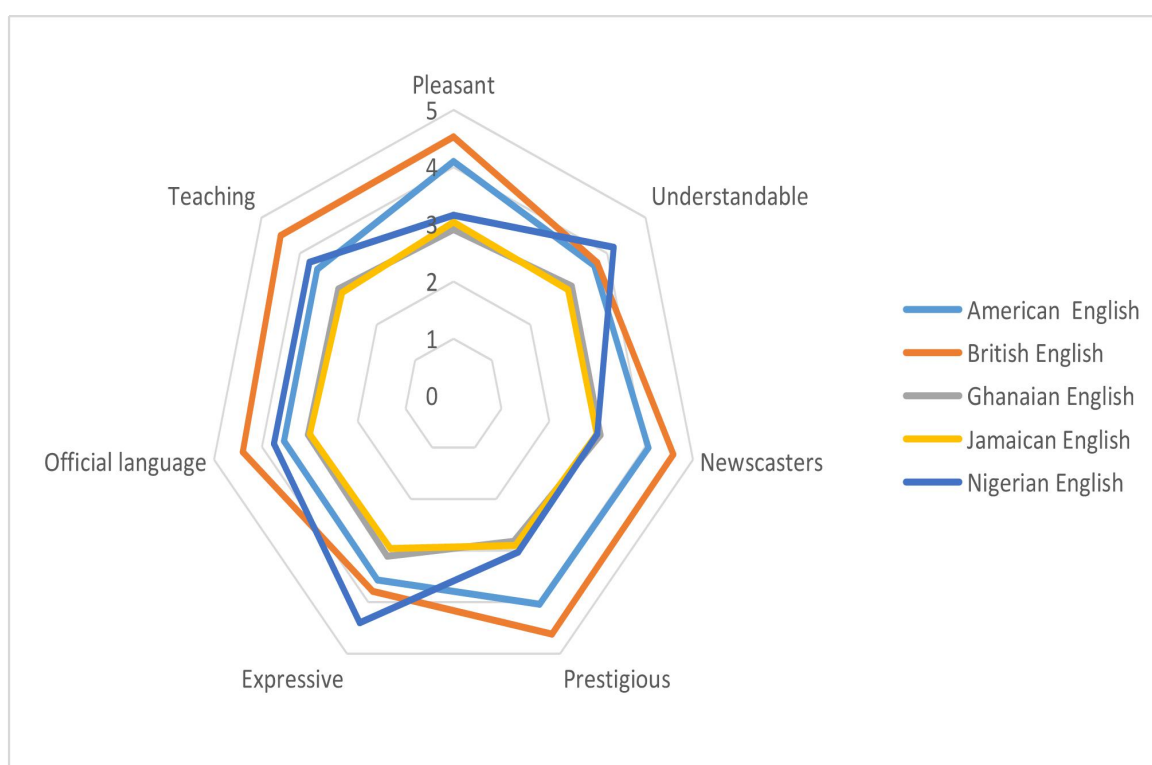
Figure 5.4. Mean values of accent evaluation

Another question was included in order to ascertain whether informants preferred accents of English depending on the situation or domain (i.e., always [all situations], social, formal, none [no situation]) in which they find themselves. Figure 5.5 summarises the results.

	always	social	formal	none
American	21.1	50.2	30.9	6.8
British	23.8	6.3	67.5	2.4
Ghanaian	12.3	28.6	12.8	46.3
Jamaican	6.4	26.1	5.4	62.1
Nigerian	55.1	28	11.6	5.3
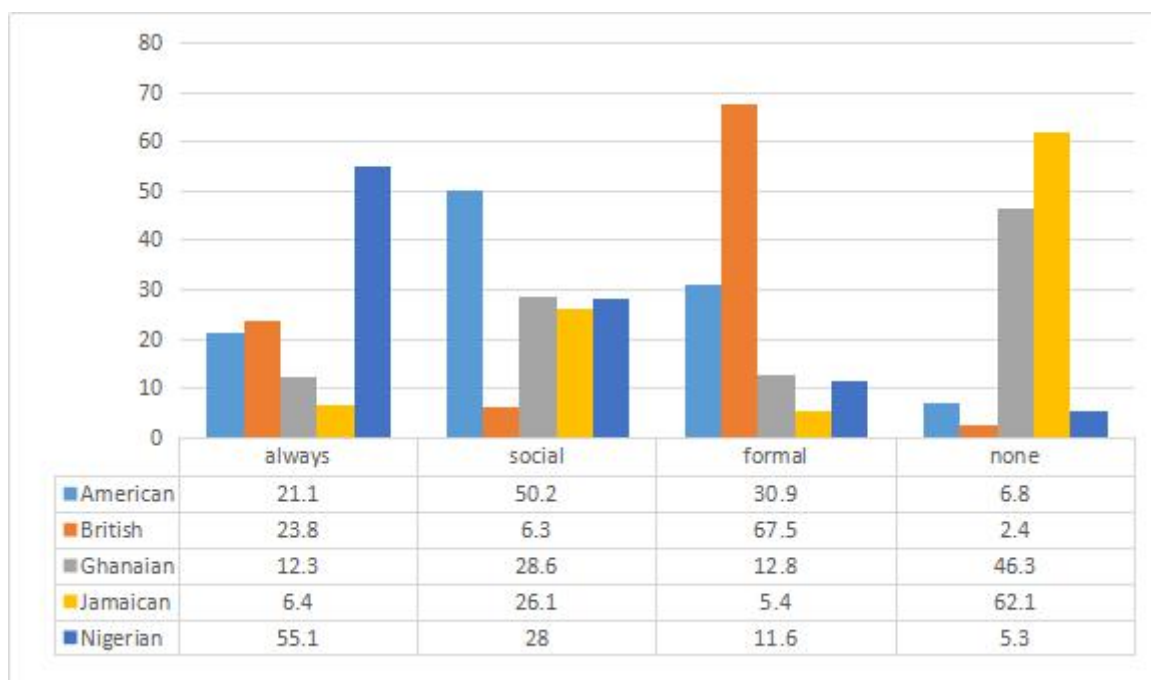
Figure 5.5. Preferred situation to use English accents

Figure 5.5 shows the results of the question on which situation the respondents prefer the English accents for. British English is the accent preferred specifically for use in formal situations, American English is claimed to be preferred in social situations, while Nigerian English is preferred in all situations (i.e. always). The remaining English speech varieties are the least favoured varieties for these categories. Ghanaian English and Jamaican English are most often chosen for the category 'none' (i.e. in no situation at all). These results indicate that respondents generally favoured British English but preferred Nigerian English for all situations. This finding is consistent with the higher rating of Nigerian English in the solidarity dimension, even though it was rated lower than the two native English accents.

Another question was asked to investigate respondents' perception of the various users of English in Nigeria. Figure 5.6 summarises the results. The respondents claimed that British English and American English are used mainly by the literates, while Nigerian English is used by all groups of people. Jamaican English and Ghanaian English are said to be mostly used by semi-literates. These findings on Nigerian English, as well as on the question of the preferred

situation for the individual accents, are consistent with the relatively positive evaluation of Nigerian English in the solidarity dimension.

	All category	Non-literate	Semi-literate	Literate	NF
■ American	14.1	5.9	14.6	65.2	0
■ British	5.4	5.4	7.3	82.4	0
■ Ghanaian	13.8	18.9	35.2	30.1	3.1
■ Jamaican	17.5	23.7	40	17	4.6
■ Nigerian	64.6	5.3	13.1	16	1
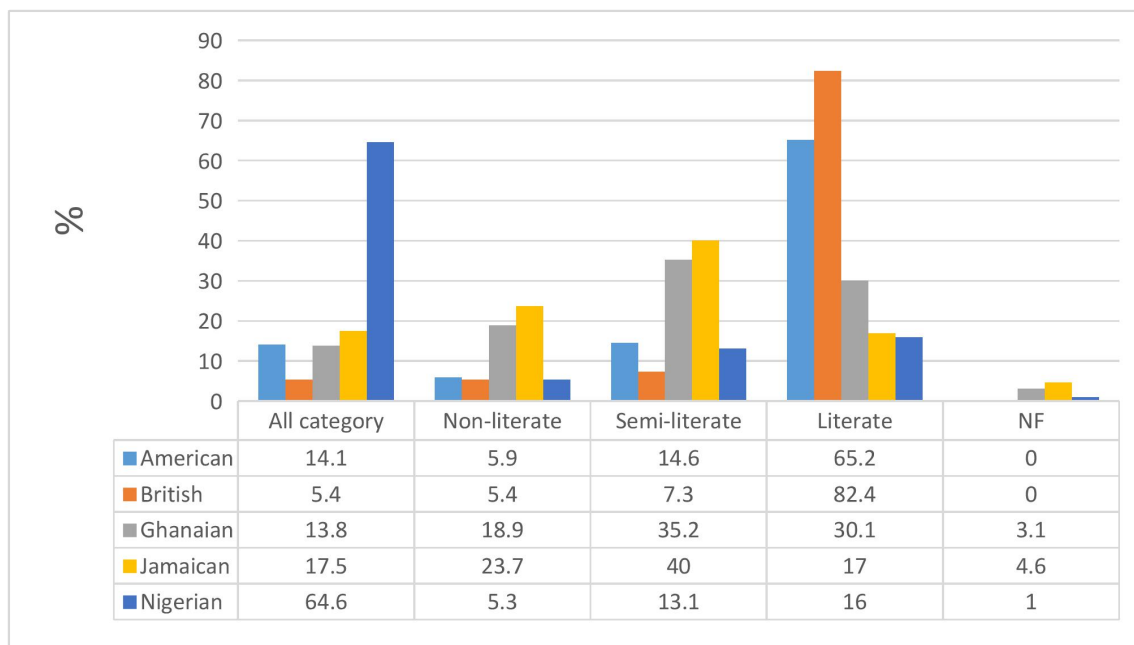
Figure 5.6. Respondents' claimed use of different accents of English by different Nigerian speaker groups

5.2.3. Acceptability of English Accents to Represent Nigerians

The acceptability of English accents to Nigerians was also investigated in the study. Three questions were asked to examine respondents' attitudes towards the English accents as a symbol of Nigerian linguistic identity. Figure 5.7 shows the results of the first question, which asked the respondents the accent of English they aimed at when speaking English.
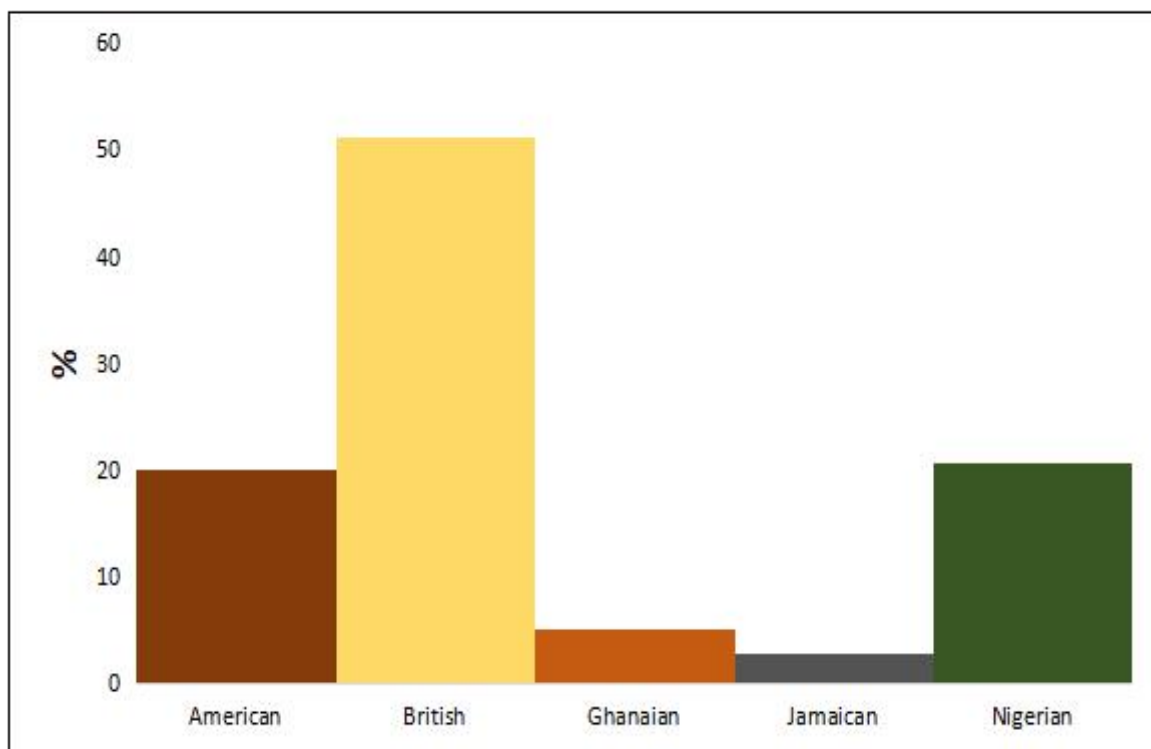
Figure 5.7. Target accents by Nigerians

The result shows that the vast majority of the informants had the British English accent (51.19%) as their target, followed by Nigerian English (20.74%) and American English (20.08%) with relatively low percentages. The least target accents are the Ghanaian English (5.18%) and the Jamaican English accents (2.79%). These results correlate with some of the results derived from the verbal-guise ratings: the high ranking of British English in all the traits.

The questionnaire also investigated whether respondents believed that there is a standard Nigerian English accent, and also whether each of the selected English varieties has a standard accent. The results are presented in Table 5.9. Many of them believed that there is a Standard British English accent, as well as Standard Nigerian English and Standard American English accents. Only few respondents believed there are Standard Ghanaian English and Standard Jamaican English accents.

Table 5.9. Opinion about Standard English accents (in %)

Standard English Accents	Yes	No	I don't know
American	56.3	21.8	21.8
British	81.2	6.3	12.6
Ghanaian	37.2	16.4	46.4
Jamaican	32.0	14.6	53.4
Nigerian	57.8	27.7	14.6

Respondents were also asked whether they would feel comfortable if someone perceived their accent as a native English speaker's accent and whether they occasionally tried to sound like a native English speaker. 86.9% claimed that they would feel good if their accent was mistaken for a native English speaker's, while the remaining 13.1% claimed that it would not mean anything to them. Also, 71.2% of the respondents claimed to occasionally try to sound like a native English speaker when speaking English, while only 28.8% of the respondents claimed that they would not attempt to sound like a native English speaker.

5.2.4. The Sense of Ownership of Nigerian English

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the feeling of ownership of the Nigerian English variety, respondents were asked if it was important to them to maintain the Nigerian accent, and if they would not mind if people were to recognise the Nigerian origin through their spoken English.

Table 5.10. The sense of ownership of Nigerian English (in %)

Questions	Yes	No
1. You think it is important to retain your Nigerian English accent?	56.6	43.4
2. Would you mind if people were to recognise the Nigerian origin	41.1	58.9

through your English?		

Table 5.10 shows that the majority of the informants claimed that they would like their Nigerian English accent to be retained, while the remaining did not see the need to retain their Nigerian English accent. Similarly, a larger percentage of the respondents would not mind if people got to know they were of the Nigerian origin by their spoken English, while the others would not want to be identified as Nigerians by their spoken English.

5.3. Main Effects of Background Variables on Speaker Evaluations

An analysis was carried out to investigate the potential effect of the examined background variables on the two evaluative dimensions (status and solidarity). The background variables investigated in this study are: gender, exposure to English accents and regional provenance. The variables were analysed individually to determine the significant main effects in the informants' ratings in terms of status and solidarity. A main effect occurs when the independent variable has a significant effect on the dependent variable, regardless of other variables. To my knowledge, no previous research has examined the effects of these variables on the attitudes of Nigerians towards English accents.

The main analytical tool used in this section is the multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). This tool is an extension of ANOVA and is normally used to investigate the interactions between independent variables and two or more dependent variables. MANOVA provides a sensitive measure of the impact of independent variables on various dependent variables, taking into account all relationships that exist between the dependent variables (Field 2005:572). Prior to performing the MANOVA tests, the homogeneity of the covariance matrices was confirmed, testing for the equality of covariance assumption and the assumption of variance-covariance matrices. The equality of covariance assumption, i.e., the equality of

variances in each variable was checked using Levene's Test (whose significance level should exceed 0.05 (p>0.05) in each dependent variable). The correlation between any two dependent variables was checked for equality with the use of Box's Test, the outcome of which must also exceed 0.05 (p>0.05). After conducting a MANOVA, the Wilks's Lambda test was used to detect significant effects of the independent variables on the dependent variables.[12] The resultant statistic, eta squared, indicates the effect size, and is thus used to assess the strength of any significant influence. The effect size ranges from 0 to 1. The values of eta squared have been interpreted as follows: <0.1 is a weak effect, 0.1 - 0.3 is a modest effect, 0.3 - 0.5 is a moderate effect and >0.5 is a strong effect (Muijs 2004:195).

5.3.1. Gender and Speaker Evaluation

Information on the respondents' gender was collected from their answers in the background information section of the research instrument. In this particular application of MANOVA, the independent variable was gender, comprising two levels - male and female - and the dependent variables are the average ratings of the six English speakers tested in the VGT.

5.3.1.1. Gender and Speaker Status

A one-way between groups MANOVA was conducted in order to investigate the overall effects of the difference in the respondents' gender on speakers' status. The dependent variables were the informants' ratings of the six speakers on the status traits. The independent variable, gender, was composed of two levels: male and female.

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[12] Generally, four test statistics are used to show if there is a significant difference between the variables: Roy's Largest Root, Hotelling's Trace, Wilk's Lambda and Pilai's Trace. These four test statistics differ little for small and moderate sample sizes (Tabachnik & Fidell 2001, Field 2005:594). Since in the sample, there were six English speakers and 209 informants, it was unlikely that the four test statistics yield significantly different results. Hence, Wilks's Lambda was randomly chosen.

Table 5.11. Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker status (Gender)(N=209)

Speakers	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation
American English	Male	4.90	1.59
	Female	5.23	1.19
British English	Male	5.28	1.15
	Female	5.50	0.92
Ghanaian English	Male	3.70	1.42
	Female	3.79	1.56
Jamaican English	Male	4.47	1.39
	Female	4.59	1.27
Nigerian English 1	Male	4.35	1.61
	Female	4.78	1.31
Nigerian English 2	Male	3.41	1.55
	Female	3.46	1.59

(6.00= most favourable)

Preliminary assumption test indicated that no violations were present:

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices=0.02

Levene's Test of Equality= > 0.05 (for all speakers)

The results of the MANOVA showed no significant overall gender effect on evaluations of speaker status: $F_{(6, 202)}$= 1.09, $p>0.05$ (p= 0.37); Wilks's Lambda=0.97; partial eta squared= 0.03, indicating a small to moderate effect size.

5.3.1.2. Gender and Speaker Solidarity

A one-way between groups MANOVA was also conducted in order to investigate the overall effects of differences in the respondents' gender on the solidarity dimension. The dependent variables were the respondents' ratings of the six speakers on solidarity traits. The independent variable, gender was composed of two levels: male and female.

Table 5.12. Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker solidarity dimension (Gender) (N=209)

Speakers	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation
American English	Male	4.52	1.16
	Female	4.65	1.20
British English	Male	4.90	1.14
	Female	4.80	1.18
Ghanaian English	Male	4.03	1.32
	Female	4.04	1.39
Jamaican English	Male	4.42	1.23
	Female	4.41	1.22
Nigerian English 1	Male	4.52	1.27
	Female	4.53	1.19
Nigerian English 2	Male	3.81	1.42
	Female	3.87	1.42

(6.00= most favourable)

Preliminary assumption test indicated that no violations were present:

Box's test of Equality of Covariance Matrices= 0.23;

Levene's Test of Equality= >0.05 (all speakers)

The results of the MANOVA demonstrated that although there seemed to be a difference according to gender on evaluations of speaker for the solidarity dimension, the effect of gender was not significant: $F_{(6, 202)}= 1.61$, $p>0.05$ (p= 0.96); Wilks's Lambda= 0.99; partial eta squared = 0.008, indicating a negligible too small effect size.

Hence, as no significant overall effect was found, there was no requirement to conduct further analyses on each of the dependent variables. It can, therefore, be concluded that differences in the respondents' gender did not have a significant effect on the speaker evaluations in terms of solidarity dimension, just as there was none for the status dimension.

5.3.2. The Main Effects of Regional Provenance on Speaker Evaluations

This section describes the results of the effect of differences between speakers' regional background on the ratings of the six speakers obtained in the verbal-guise section of the research. In order to measure the effect of regional provenance, information on the respondents' university was retrieved from the background information section. Two universities were selected from each of the four main regions in Nigeria and it was ascertained that the selected students came from these regions (see section 4.2.2, Table 4.1).

5.3.2.1. Regional Provenance and Speaker Status

A one-way between groups MANOVA was conducted in order to investigate the effects of differences in the respondents' regional background on speaker status. The dependent variables were the informants' ratings of the six speakers on status traits. The independent variable was the regional background, which consisted of eight levels.

Table 5.13. Ratings of students according to status (regional background) (N=209)

Speakers	University	Mean	Std. Deviation
American English	Ahmadu Bello University	5.15	1.29
	Bayero University	4.89	1.69
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	5.32	1.18
	Obafemi Awolowo University	5.21	1.29
	University of Benin	5.28	1.17
	University of Lagos	5.28	0.79
	University of Nigeria	4.76	1.64
	University of PortHarcourt	4.58	1.70
British English	Ahmadu Bello University	5.70	0.47
	Bayero University	5.00	1.12
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	5.40	1.44
	Obafemi Awolowo University	5.25	1.14
	University of Benin	5.48	0.87
	University of Lagos	5.60	0.65
	University of Nigeria	5.68	0.63
	University of PortHarcourt	5.00	1.44

Ghanaian English	Ahmadu Bello University	4.67	1.54
	Bayero University	4.78	0.98
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.44	1.16
	Obafemi Awolowo University	3.50	1.50
	University of Benin	4.16	1.6
	University of Lagos	3.40	1.44
	University of Nigeria	2.96	1.51
	University of PortHarcourt	3.23	1.53
Jamaican English	Ahmadu Bello University	4.52	1.4
	Bayero University	4.64	1.45
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.92	1.29
	Obafemi Awolowo University	4.43	1.50
	University of Benin	4.52	1.3
	University of Lagos	4.28	1.4
	University of Nigeria	4.92	0.91
	University of PortHarcourt	4.04	1.25
Nigerian English 1	Ahmadu Bello University	5.24	0.94
	Bayero University	5.11	1.6
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	5.00	1.38
	Obafemi Awolowo University	5.07	1.27
	University of Benin	5.20	0.96
	University of Lagos	4.04	1.46
	University of Nigeria	3.92	2.06
	University of PortHarcourt	3.85	1.41
Nigerian English 2	Ahmadu Bello University	4.07	1.41
	Bayero University	4.39	0.96
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.04	1.59
	Obafemi Awolowo University	3.43	1.77
	University of Benin	3.20	1.5
	University of Lagos	3.48	1.42
	University of Nigeria	2.32	1.35
	University of PortHarcourt	2.77	1.24

Preliminary assumption test indicated that there was only one violation:

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices= $p<0.01$

Levene's Test of Equality= $p>0.05$ (all speakers)

The alpha score for all speakers exceed 0.05

The results of the MANOVA demonstrated a significant overall effect of the regional background on evaluations of speaker status: F (6, 196) = 2.76, p<0.005; Wilks's Lambda= 0.56; partial eta squared= 0.092, suggesting a moderate effect size.

Table 5.14. Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Region	American English	14.085	7	2.012	1.055	.394	.035
	British English	14.818	7	2.117	1.983	.059	.065
	Ghanaian English	51.505	7	7.358	3.642	.001	.113
	Jamaican English	16.100	7	2.300	1.306	.249	.044
	Nigerian English 1	53.597	7	7.657	3.792	.001	.117
	Nigerian English 2	80.823	7	11.546	5.392	.000	.158

a. R Squared = .113 (Adjusted R Squared = .082)
b. R Squared = .117 (Adjusted R Squared = .086)
c. R Squared = .065 (Adjusted R Squared = .032)
d. R Squared = .158 (Adjusted R Squared = .129)
e. R Squared = .035 (Adjusted R Squared = .002)
f. R Squared = .044 (Adjusted R Squared = .010)
g. Computed using alpha = .05

The results of MANOVA showed that there were differences in the status ratings and a significant overall effect was found between the responses from the eight regions. Three differences reached statistical significance:

i. Ghanaian English speaker: F (7, 201) = 3.64, p<0.05, partial eta squared = 0.11, which suggests a statistically significant moderate effect size.

ii. Nigerian English speaker 1: F (7, 201) = 3.8, p<0.05, partial eta squared= 0.12, which suggests a statistically significant moderate effect size.

iii. Nigerian English speaker 2: F (7, 201) = 5.4, p<0.05, partial eta squared= 0.16, which also suggests a statistically significant moderate effect size.

In each of these cases, the respondents from the north rated the speakers relatively higher than the respondents of other regional backgrounds.

5.3.2.2. Regional Provenance and Speaker Solidarity

To investigate the effects of differences in informants' regional background on their ratings of speakers on the solidarity dimension, a one-way between groups MANOVA was also conducted. The dependent variables were the respondents' ratings of the six speakers on the solidarity traits.

Table 5.15. Mean evaluations and standard deviations for speaker solidarity (regional background) (N=209)

Speakers	University	Mean	Std. Deviation
American English	Ahmadu Bello University	4.41	1.08
	Bayero University	4.68	1.39
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.80	1.44
	Obafemi Awolowo University	4.07	0.86
	University of Benin	4.68	1.35
	University of Lagos	5.04	0.79
	University of Nigeria	4.60	0.96
	University of PortHarcourt	4.46	1.30
British English	Ahmadu Bello University	4.11	1.50
	Bayero University	5.18	0.66
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	5.08	0.98
	Obafemi Awolowo University	4.46	1.11
	University of Benin	4.92	1.04
	University of Lagos	5.08	0.76
	University of Nigeria	4.80	1.29
	University of PortHarcourt	5.04	0.82
Ghanaian English	Ahmadu Bello University	4.70	1.35
	Bayero University	4.49	0.88
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.44	1.16

	Obafemi Awolowo University	3.64	1.28
	University of Benin	3.72	1.60
	University of Lagos	3.84	1.68
	University of Nigeria	3.64	0.86
	University of PortHarcourt	3.85	1.49
Jamaican English	Ahmadu Bello University	4.41	1.25
	Bayero University	4.68	0.95
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.68	1.55
	Obafemi Awolowo University	4.00	1.09
	University of Benin	4.72	1.06
	University of Lagos	4.44	0.96
	University of Nigeria	4.20	1.32
	University of PortHarcourt	4.19	1.44
Nigerian English 1	Ahmadu Bello University	4.89	1.05
	Bayero University	5.14	0.89
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.92	1.41
	Obafemi Awolowo University	4.39	1.34
	University of Benin	3.84	1.52
	University of Lagos	4.68	0.95
	University of Nigeria	4.04	0.79
	University of PortHarcourt	4.23	1.21
Nigerian English 2	Ahmadu Bello University	4.15	1.32
	Bayero University	4.43	1.26
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	4.38	1.27
	Obafemi Awolowo University	3.82	1.19
	University of Benin	3.44	1.39
	University of Lagos	3.88	1.39
	University of Nigeria	3.76	1.17
	University of PortHarcourt	3.42	1.39

Preliminary assumption test indicated that one violation was present:

Box's test of Equality of Covariance Matrices= $p<0.01$

Levene's test of Equality= $p>0.05$ (all speakers)

Alpha score= $p>0.05$

The results of the MANOVA demonstrated a significant overall effect of the regional background on evaluations of speaker status: $F_{(6, 196)} = 2.63$, $p<0.005$; Wilks's Lambda= 0.57; partial eta squared= 0.088, indicating a moderate effect size.

Table 5.16. Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
University	American English	15.440	7	2.206	1.610	.134	.053
	British English	28.982	7	4.140	3.364	.002	.105
	Ghanaian English	32.324	7	4.618	2.679	.011	.085
	Jamaican English	13.308	7	1.901	1.285	.259	.043
	Nigerian English 1	39.116	7	5.588	4.084	.000	.125
	Nigerian English 2	77.072	7	11.010	6.534	.000	.185

a. R Squared = .085 (Adjusted R Squared = .053)
b. R Squared = .125 (Adjusted R Squared = .094)
c. R Squared = .105 (Adjusted R Squared = .074)
d. R Squared = .185 (Adjusted R Squared = .157)
e. R Squared = .053 (Adjusted R Squared = .020)
f. R Squared = .043 (Adjusted R Squared = .010)
g. Computed using alpha = .05

Table 5.16 indicates that when results of the effect of the regional background on the six dependent variables were considered separately, four differences achieved statistical significance:

i. British English: $F_{(7, 201)} = 3.37$, $p<0.01$, partial eta squared= 0.11, which suggests a statistically significant moderate effect size.

ii. Ghanaian English: $F_{(7, 201)} = 2.7$, $p<0.05$, partial eta squared= 0.085, which suggests a statistically significant moderate effect size

iii. Nigerian English 1: $F_{(7, 201)} = 4.08$, $p<0.01$, partial eta squared= 0.13, which suggests a statistically significant large effect size.

iv. Nigerian English 2: $F_{(7, 201)} = 6.53$, $p<0.01$, partial eta squared= 0.19, which also suggest a statistically significant large effect size.

In almost all the cases, the respondents from the north and the west rated the English accents higher than the respondents from the other regions of the country.

5.3.3. Main Effects of Exposure to English Accents on Speaker Evaluation

This section details the results of the effect of respondents' exposure to accents of English on speaker evaluations. The correlation between respondents' exposure to the English accents and their ratings of the five English accents was examined. The overall exposure of the respondents to accents of English was calculated using their responses to the direct questions eliciting information on their exposure to those varieties. In the questionnaire, answers to questions 1-5 provided information on respondents' exposure (via the TV, Internet, etc.) to American English, British English, Ghanaian English, Jamaican English and Nigerian English (See Appendix 3). To recapitulate, the answers to these questions ranged from 'not at all' (scored into 1), to 'every day' (scored into 4). Exposure to each variety of English was calculated by recoding the responses of these questions as numbers and summing up the numbers. The mean scores of the overall exposure to the five accents of English were then calculated.

Table 5.17. Overall exposure to English accents (N= 209)

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
American English	1	4	2.84	1.03
British English	1	4	2.76	1.01
Ghanaian English	1	4	2.47	1.07
Jamaican English	1	4	1.41	2.73
Nigerian English	1	4	3.17	0.73

(score 4.00= the highest evaluation)

The results of informant's overall exposure have been discussed earlier (see section 5.2.1). Since the overall exposure to English accents and average ratings of the five varieties of English are continuous variables, a multiple bivariate analysis was performed to check for a relationship between pairs of variables. The analyses were done to investigate whether there is a relationship between respondents' claimed exposure to each of the English accents and their ratings for the accent of English. In total, five bivariate analysis tests were carried out. Bivariate analysis is normally used to evaluate the relationship between two continuous variables, and a correlation coefficient (Pearson's r) can be used to indicate the direction and strength of that relationship (Muijs 2004:142). Pearson's r coefficients vary between -1 and +1. A coefficient of +1 indicates that the two variables are perfectly positively correlated; in other words, as one variable increases the other increases by a proportionate amount. A coefficient of -1 indicates a perfect negative relationship; and 0 indicates no relationship at all; in other words, when one variable changes the other stays the same (Field 2005:111).[13]

The results of the bivariate analyses show that the correlations between claimed exposure to speech varieties and rating of the varieties reached statistical significance:

American English: r= 0.33, which is significant at $p<0.05$ (p=0.02)

British English: r= 0.24, which is significant at $p<0.05$ (p=0.03)

Ghanaian English: r= -0.36, which is significant at $p<0.01$ (p=0.00)

Nigerian English: r= 0.29, which is significant at $p<0.05$ (p=0.03)

Jamaican English: r= 0.06, which is significant at $p<0.05$ (p=0.04)

The claimed exposure to the majority of the accents of English was found to be positively correlated to the rating of the speech varieties. In other words, the greater the exposure of the respondents to the English accents, the higher the rating that they gave them. This is, however,

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[13] Pearson's r is commonly used to measure the size of an effect. In general, ± 0.1 means a weak effect size, ± 0.3 is modest, ± 0.5 is moderate, ± 0.8 is strong, and >± 0.8 indicates a very large effect size (Zhang 2010:188)

not the case with Ghanaian English. The greater the exposure of Nigerian respondents to Ghanaian English, the lower the rating that they gave it.

5.3.4. Summary of the Main Effects of Social Variables on Speaker Evaluation

In the preceding sections, the main effects of three background variables (gender, regional provenance and exposure to English accents) on respondents' ratings of English accents were presented. The results demonstrated the main effects of some variables on the respondents' ratings of the English varieties. Based on the results, it can be argued that the gender of respondents has no significant influence on the ratings of the English accents, but their regional provenance and the extent of exposure to English accents have an influence on their ratings. In other words, differences in the regional background as well as their level of exposure to the English accents can to some extent account for differences in the attitudes of Nigerians towards different accents of English.[14] The following sections present respondents' accent recognition and the effects of the recognition rates on their evaluations of the English accents.

5.4. Accent Recognition

This section details the results of the accent recognition section of the study. The accent recognition test aimed to test respondents' ability to identify the accents of English. The main objective of this part of the research was to find out how accurately and consistently the Nigerian respondents were able to identify the six English speakers selected for the study. In order to analyse the recognition rates of the six speakers, respondents' responses to the task were categorised as either 'correct' or 'incorrect'. The percentage scores of the recognition

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[14] It was taken into account how important it is to interpret the main effects of social variables on accent evaluations with caution, as interactions between independent variables are likely to occur. However, no further analysis was performed to establish the presence of additional interaction effects, as significant major effects were found only for one social variable (regional provenance) in the VGT.

rates for the American English, British English, Ghanaian English, Jamaican English speakers as well as the two Nigerian English speakers are presented and briefly discussed below.

5.4.1. The Overall Accent Recognition Rates

As illustrated in Figure 5.8, Nigerian English speaker 1 received the highest accuracy rate. It is not surprising that Nigerian respondents are most familiar with their own accent of English. The relatively positive evaluations of this speaker in terms of solidarity show the degree of attachment and familiarity among the Nigerian respondents, many of whom are likely to be speakers of this English accent. The recognition rates of the Ghanaian English and the American English speakers were also moderately high. This finding is likely to reflect the increasing presence of Ghanaian English in Nigeria via movies and music, and the prevalence of American culture in the Nigerian society, mainly via American television programmes and movies, the internet and other technological factors.
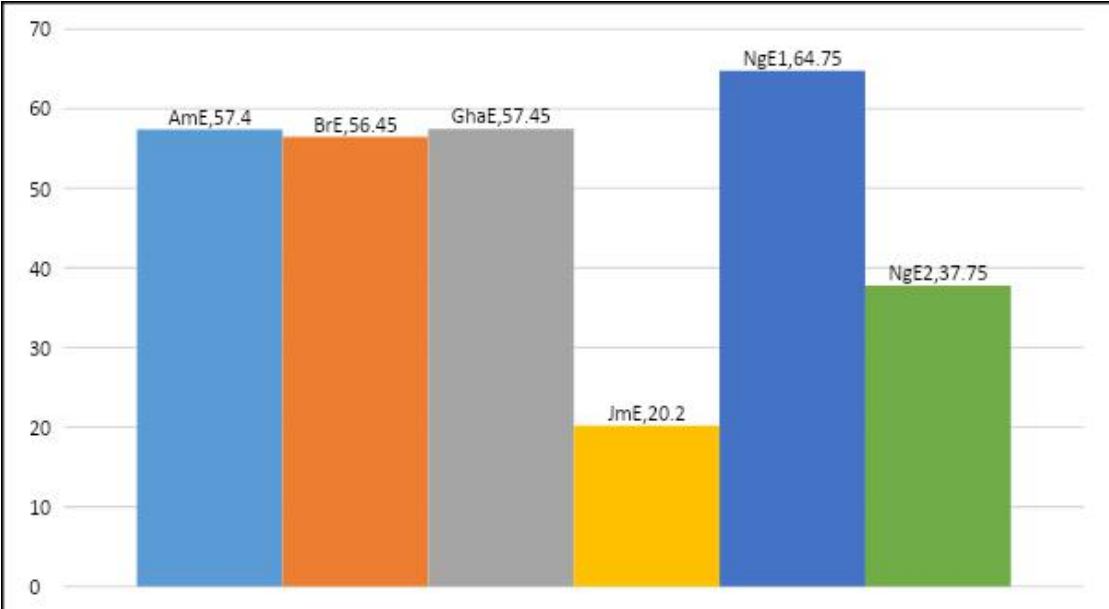
Figure 5.8. Overall accent recognition rate

Participants also recorded moderate recognition for British English, which has been the model of English in Nigeria for decades. It can be observed that Jamaican English had the lowest recognition rate. The most plausible explanation for the relatively low recognition rates for the Jamaican English speaker is the lack of exposure of Nigerians to the variety. Lastly, the task of identifying the country of origin of the second Nigerian English speaker was clearly difficult for the listeners. It is possible that the relatively low level of accurate recognition of this speaker is partly a result of the speakers' articulation of words and the noticeable hesitation in his reading. The low level of accurate identification of the second Nigerian speaker suggests the probable cause for the relatively unfavourable ratings of the speaker in the two dimensions (status and solidarity) in the verbal-guise test. The Nigerian respondents probably perceived the speaker as an 'out-group' English speaker.

5.4.2. Detailed Analysis of Identifications and Misidentifications

In order to examine the identifications of the speakers' nationality more fully, the results of the respondents' identifications and misidentifications were considered separately. The findings are presented below.
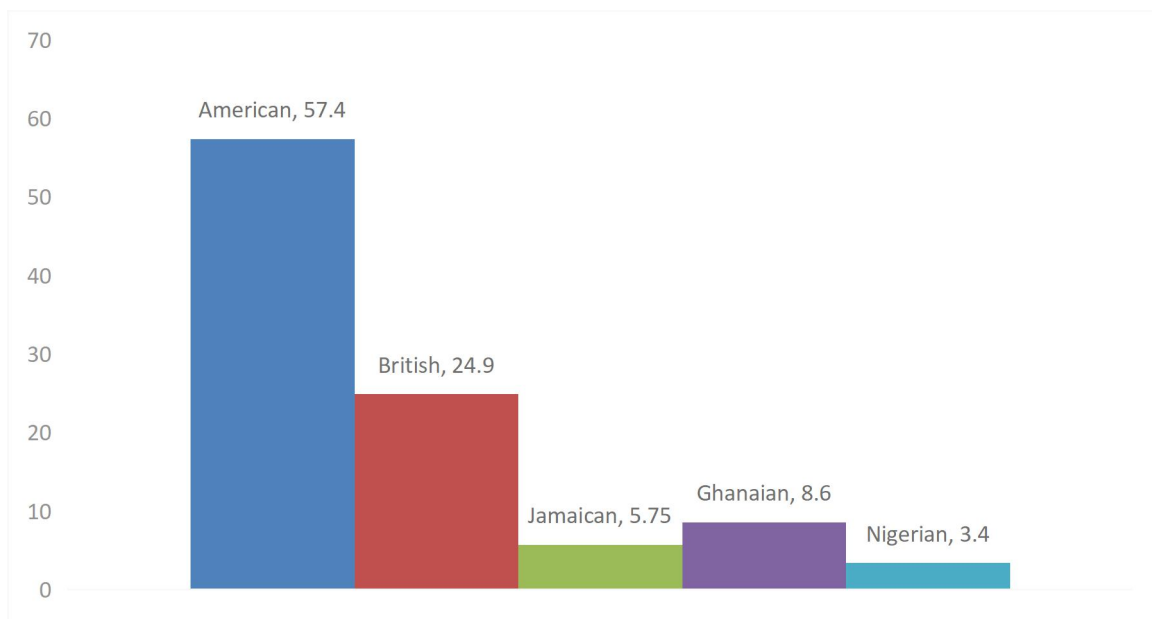
Figure 5.9. Informants' identification of American speaker

Figure 5.9 shows the relatively high recognition of the American English speaker. While 57% of the respondents accurately identified the nationality of the American speaker, most of the respondents (82.3%) were able to identify the speech as an Inner Circle English variety (see Table 5.18). This finding suggests that even though some confusion exists, the great majority of Nigerian respondents are able to recognise American English as a native English accent.
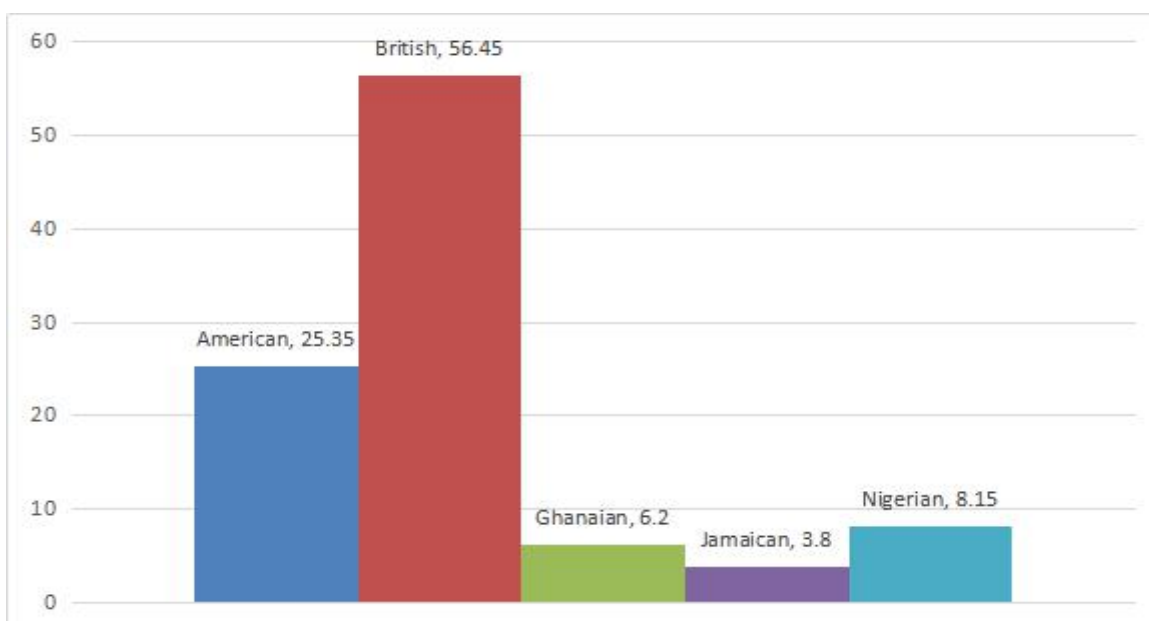
Figure 5.10. Informants' identification of British speaker

Figure 5.10 also demonstrates a high recognition rate for another Inner Circle English accent. British English ranked third in the recognition hierarchy, next to American English. It is also significant that respondents were able to recognise the accent as an Inner Circle English speech variety. This finding suggests that, in terms of recognition, the native/non-native distinction is salient for Nigerian respondents.
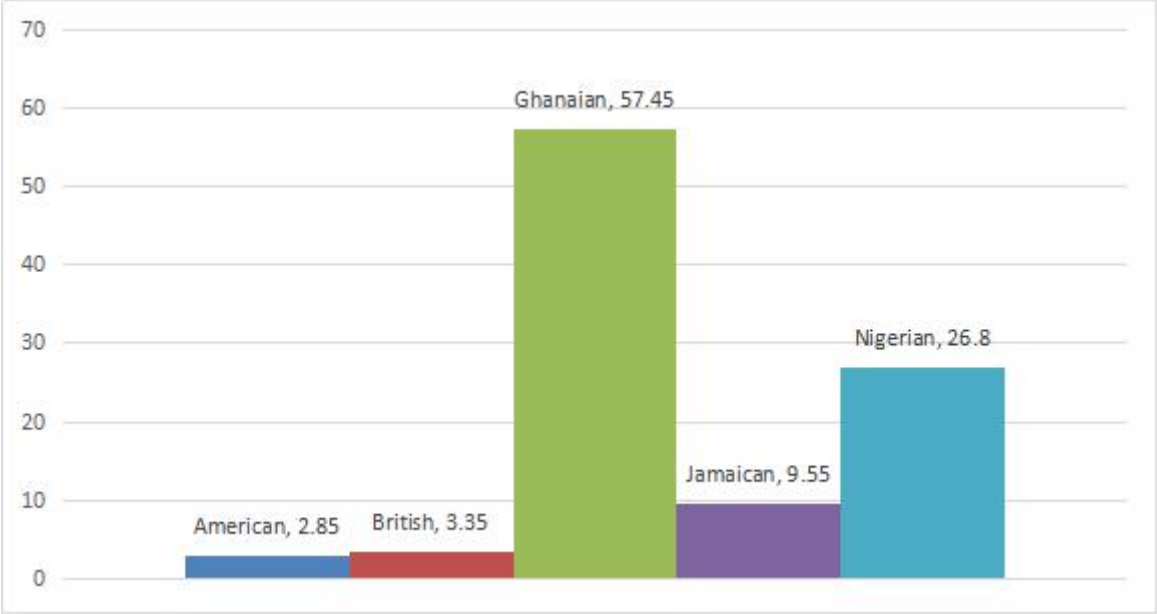
Figure 5.11. Informants' identification of Ghanaian speaker

Figure 5.11 shows the high proportion of respondents who recognised the nationality of the Ghanaian English speaker. The respondents were also able to recognise the speaker as a Non-inner Circle speaker of English. One can speculate that the high recognition rate is due to the familiarity of respondents with Ghanaian English. However, the relatively high proportion of respondents who were able to determine the speaker's nationality tended to have negative attitudes toward it.
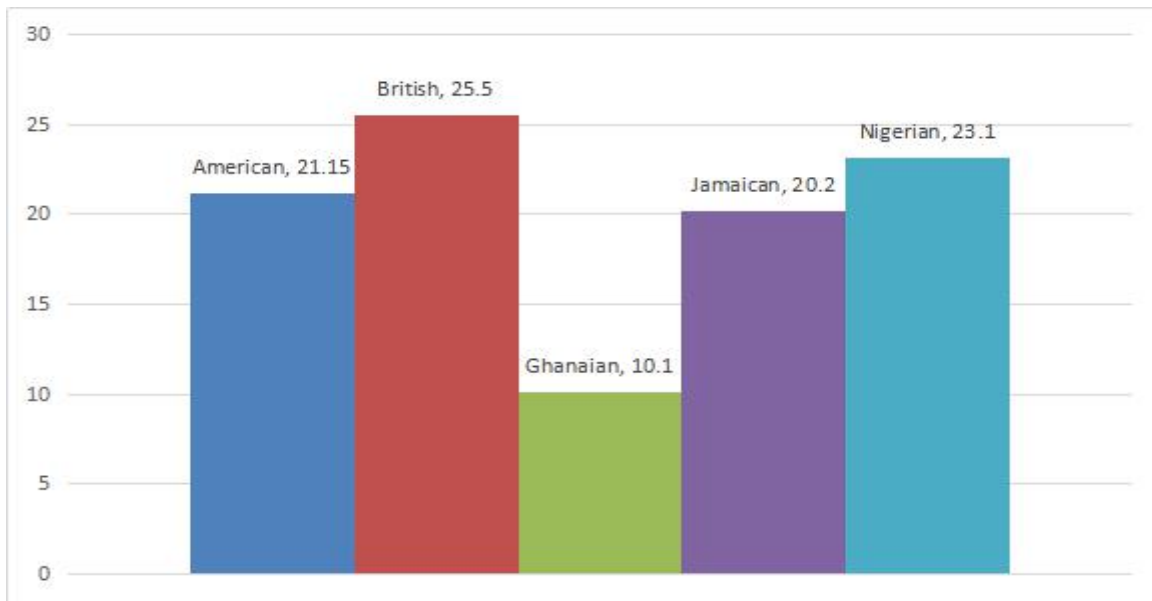
Figure 5.12. Informants' identification of Jamaican speaker

Figure 5.12 shows that a small proportion of the respondents recognised the nationality of the Jamaican speaker. While a little above 50% of the respondents identified him as a speaker of Non-inner Circle English, about 46% of them thought he was from either America or Britain. This finding may also account for why the respondents rated the speaker higher in the status dimension than the Nigerian English speakers.
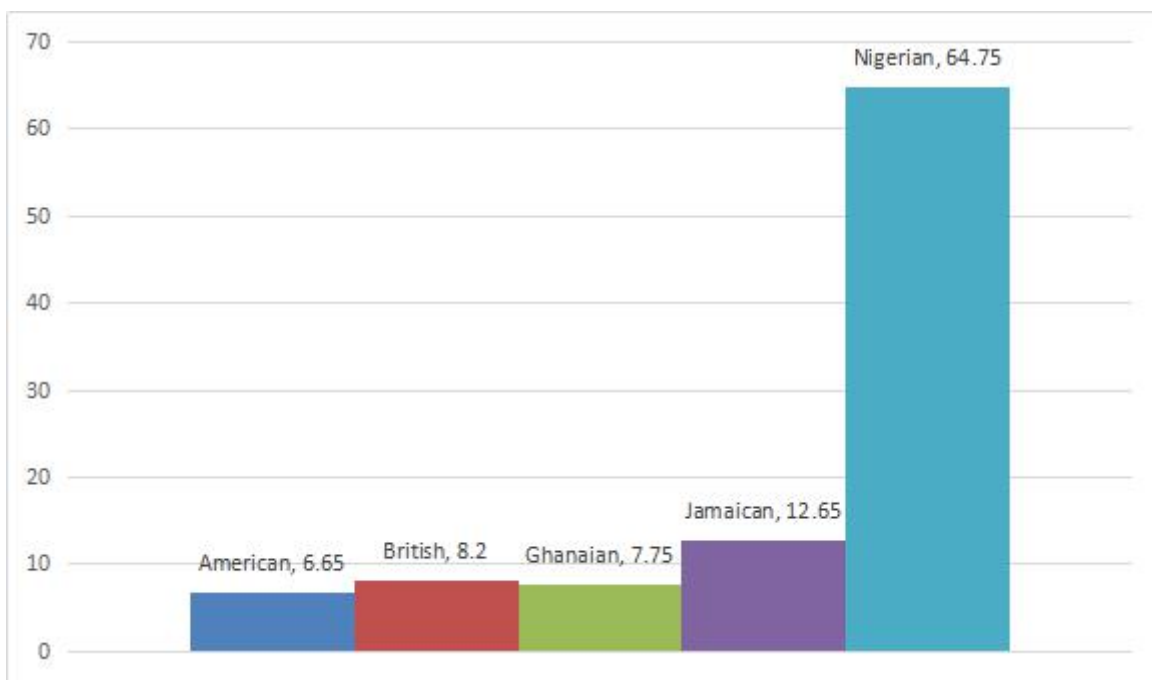
Figure 5.13. Informants' identification of Nigerian English speaker 1

Figure 5.13 indicates that a very high proportion of the Nigerian respondents recognised the nationality of Nigerian English speaker 1. They were, therefore, able to identify him as a Non-inner Circle speaker of English. This possibly accounts for the reason why the respondents rated the speaker high in solidarity traits.
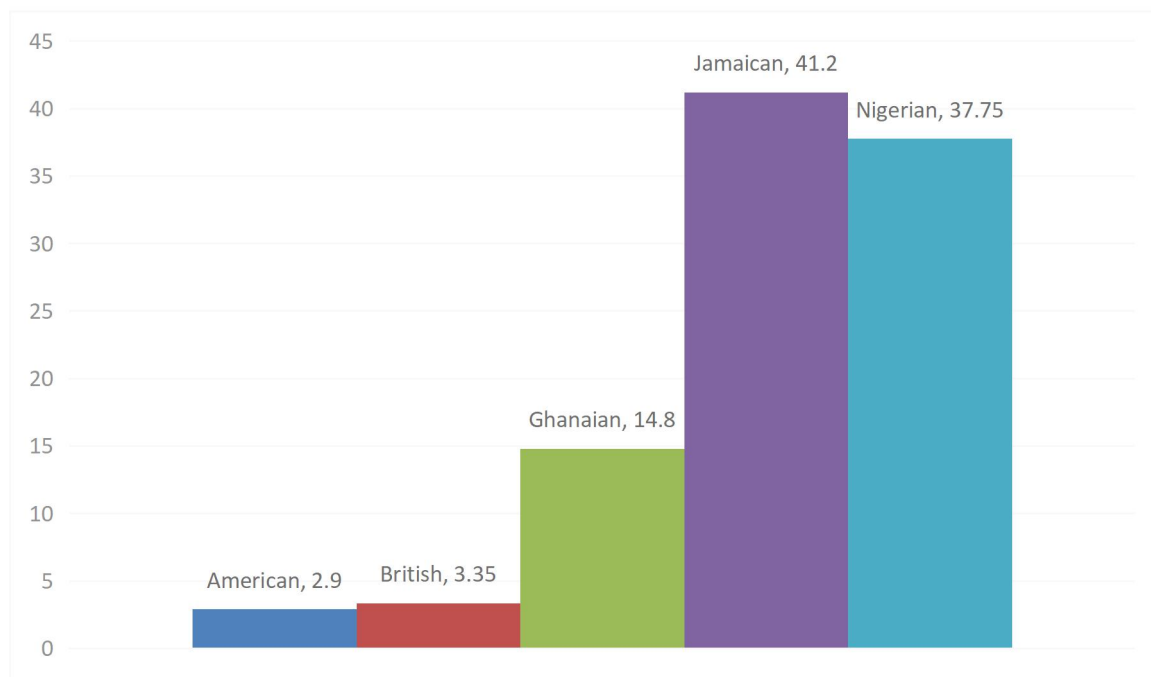
Figure 5.14. Informants' identification of Nigerian English speaker 2

Figure 5.14 shows the relatively low proportion of informants who were able to identify the nationality of the second Nigerian English speaker. This confusion is reflected in the relatively high proportion of respondents who believed the speaker was either Jamaican or Ghanaian. The respondents were nevertheless generally able to identify the speaker as a Non-inner Circle speaker of English. The wide variety of misidentifications found also provides further evidence that the respondents generally perceived Nigerian English speaker 2 as an out-group speaker. This justifies the reason for the low ratings of the speaker in the verbal-guise test in terms of status and solidarity.

Table 5.18. Inner Circle vs Non-inner Circle English speakers

Speaker	Rate of identification (%)	
	Inner circle variety	Non-Inner circle variety
American English	82.3	17.7
British English	81.8	18.2
Ghanaian English	6.2	93.8
Jamaican English	46.6	53.4
Nigerian English 1	14.85	85.15
Nigerian English 2	6.25	93.75

Table 5.18 presents the overall identification rates of respondents based on the classification of English varieties mainly as Inner and Non-inner Circle varieties. It shows that the majority of the respondents correctly identified native and non-native accents of English.

5.4.3. The Main Effects of Accent Recognition

This section contains the investigation on whether the differences in identifications (i.e., correct or incorrect identification) recorded in the accent recognition exercise had a significant effect on the average evaluations of the six English speakers. The first step in the analysis was to compute descriptive statistics for the two evaluative dimensions (status and solidarity) of all the six speakers according to correct and incorrect identifications. The data is summarised below.

Table 5.19. Mean evaluations and (standard deviations) for speaker status and solidarity (correct and incorrect identifications)

Speaker	Accent Recognition					
	Status			Solidarity		
	Correct	Incorrect	Total	Correct	Incorrect	Total
American	5.07	5.04	5.06	4.63	4.55	4.59
	(1.45)	(1.3)	(1.38)	(1.15)	(1.23)	(1.18)
British	5.35	5.32	5.34	4.86	4.84	4.85
	(0.96)	(1.16)	(1.05)	(1.22)	(1.06)	(1.15)
Ghanaian	4.01	4.06	4.04	4.14	3.95	4.05
	(1.46)	(1.47)	(1.48)	(1.36)	(1.33)	(1.35)
Jamaican	4.34	4.52	4.43	4.42	4.4	4.43
	(1.33)	(1.34)	(1.33)	(1.17)	(1.3)	(1.20)
Nigerian 1	4.58	4.53	4.62	4.66	4.34	4.55
	(1.54)	(1.42)	(1.49)	(1.06)	(1.41)	(1.23)
Nigerian 2	3.41	3.46	3.43	3.7	4.03	3.85
	(1.42)	(1.75)	(1.57)	(1.42)	(1.39)	(1.41)

The results in Table 5.19 demonstrate that there is a general pattern towards more positive ratings for correctly identified speakers over incorrectly identified ones. This pattern is more evident in the evaluations of three speakers (American, British and Nigerian 1). This finding shows that Nigerian respondents, if they are more familiar with a variety of English, are likely to rate it favourably. Respondents tended to rate the status and solidarity of Nigerian English speaker 1 relatively high when they recognised him as 'Nigerian'.

The next step of the analysis was to determine the significance of the effects of the recognition rate on the informants' evaluations of the six speakers in the two dimensions. To achieve this, a one-way between groups MANOVA was conducted. The dependent variables were the respondents' mean evaluations of each of the six speakers for status and for solidarity. The independent variable consisted of two levels: correct identification and incorrect identification. The results of these analyses are presented below:

Ghanaian English Speaker

Preliminary assumption test indicated that there were no violations:

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices= 0.06

Levene's Test of Equality= $p>0.05$ for both dimensions (0.17, status; 0.99, solidarity)

Table 5.20. Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Ghanaian speaker	Status	15.106	1	15.106	7.068	.008	.033
	Solidarity	1.946	1	1.946	1.069	.302	.005

a. R Squared = .033 (Adjusted R Squared = .028)
b. R Squared = .005 (Adjusted R Squared = .000)

The results of the MANOVA demonstrate that although there were differences in the evaluations in the status and the solidarity dimensions of the Ghanaian speaker according to accent recognition, there was no significant overall effect between the responses of the correct and incorrect recognitions in the solidarity dimension $F (1, 207)= 1.07$, $p>0.05$ (p=0.3) but statistical significance was reached in the status dimension $F (1, 207)=7.07$, $p<0.05$ (p=0.008); Wilks's Lambda= 0.97, partial eta squared= 0.33, which suggest a large effect size.

From the results of the analysis detailed above, it can be concluded that differences in identification or misidentification have a significant effect on the evaluations of the status of the Ghanaian English speaker but not on the solidarity dimension.

Nigerian Speaker 1

Preliminary assumption testing indicated that no violations were present:

Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices: 0.947

Leven's Test of Equality (p=>0.05 for both dimensions) (0.42, status; 0.83, solidarity).

Table 5.21.Tests of between-subjects effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Nigerian 1	Status	9.059	1	9.059	4.217	.041	.020
	Solidarity	.032	1	.032	.018	.895	.000

a. R Squared = .020 (Adjusted R Squared = .015)
b. R Squared = .000 (Adjusted R Squared = -.005)

The results of the MANOVA demonstrate that although there were differences in the evaluations for the status and solidarity of Nigerian speaker 1 according to accent recognition, it was on only in the status dimension that a significant effect was found in the responses of the correct identification group and the incorrect identification group: $F_{(1, 205)}= 4.217$, $p<0.05$ (p=0.04), partial eta squared= 0.02 (small effect size); there was no significant effect found on the solidarity dimension: $F_{(1, 205)}= 0.018$, $p>0.05$ (p=0.9), partial eta squared= 0.00; Wilks's Lambda= 0.98; partial eta squared= 0.023 (small effect size).

The results of the MANOVA of the remaining speakers (British, American, Jamaican, Nigerian English 2) demonstrate that while there were differences in the evaluations for the status and the solidarity of the speakers according to accent identification, no significant overall effects[15] were found between responses of the correct identifications group and the

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[15] BrE= Status: $F_{(1, 207)}= 0.704$, $p>0.05$ (p=0.4), partial eta squared= 0.003; Solidarity: $F_{(1,207)}= 0.378$, $p>0.05$ (P=0.5), partial eta squared= 0.002; Wilks's Lambda= 0.99, partial eta squared= 0.009;
AmE= Status: $F_{(1, 207)}= 0.157$, $p>0.05$ (p=0.7), partial eta squared= 0.001; Solidarity: $F_{(1,207)}= 0.008$, $p>0.05$ (p=0.93), partial eta squared= 0.000; Wilks's Lambda= 0.999, partial eta squared= 0.001;
JmE= Status: $F_{(1, 207)}= 2.169$, $p>0.05$ (p=0.14), partial eta squared= 0.01; Solidarity: $F_{(1,207)}= 0.874$, $p>0.05$ (P=0.35), partial eta squared= 0.004; Wilks's Lambda= 0.989, partial eta squared= 0.011;

incorrect identifications group in the two dimensions. The results of the series of MANOVA analyses therefore show that although identification or misidentification has some influence on the respondents' ratings for solidarity dimension of the six speakers, in every case, the differences failed to reach significance. However, in terms of status, significant effects of identification were evident on the ratings of the Ghanaian English and Nigerian English 1 speakers. While the recognition of the nationalities resulted significantly in more favourable evaluations of Nigerian English 1, it resulted in less favourable evaluations of Ghanaian English. The findings show that there may be a correlation between the recognition of accents by respondents and their evaluations of the status of such varieties.

5.5. Results from the Interviews

The analyses and results of the interview data are presented both in tabular and graphical forms, while the relevant raw data samples obtained in the interviews are shown as extracts from the transcripts for illustration purposes. The results for each of the questions are discussed below.

5.5.1. Accents of English Used by Respondents

Table 5.22 presents a list of the accents of English the respondents claimed to speak.

Table 5.22. Accents of English spoken by the respondents

Accents of English	No of Responses	Percentage
Nigerian	32	69.56
American	1	2.2
British	4	8.69
Mixed	6	13.03

NgE2= Status: F(1, 207)= 0.704, p>0.05 (p=0.4), partial eta squared= 0.003; Solidarity: F(1,207)= 0.378, p>0.05 (P=0.5), partial eta squared= 0.002; Wilks's Lambda= 0.99, partial eta squared= 0.009

Not Sure	3	6.52
Total	46	100

Most of the respondents claimed to be speakers of Nigerian English. The remaining respondents claimed to speak either a mixed English accent or British English. Only one respondent stated that he/she spoke American English. When those who claimed to be users of British English were asked to explain clearly why they considered themselves as speakers of British English, they said because they were colonised by the British and also because British English is the model of English in the country. The most succinct of such comments are evident in the conversation with respondent 13:

<$I><#>what accent of English do you speak

<$R13><#>British

<$I><#>Ok <#>but what accent of English do you use

<$R13><#>British

<$I><#>British alright <#>uhm why do you think you use the British English accent

<$R13><#>Uhm because we were colonised by the British <#>most educational sector in Nigeria they teach the pupil student using British <[><$I><#>alright</[> <#>so it's the formal language in Nigeria

When those who claimed to speak mixed English were asked why they thought their English accent was mixed, they said that they claimed to be speakers of a mixed accent of English because they had been exposed to a number of English accents, which had influenced their way of speaking English. One of the respondents explained:

<$R18><#>Wow I think it's a mixture of a whole lot of things <#>I cannot actually say this is what I use <[><$I><#>mhm</[> <#>I think I there is nothing like monolithical speaking in language<#> I just I don't know I think I do that

<$I><#>Mhm so you don't have a specific English accent

<$R18><#>I don't think I have a specific accent <#>said that because some people say I speak the Ghanaian version of the English language some people say it's more like the British accent variation some people say a whole lot of things and right now I don't know what I speak <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> because what they say it's like trying to define what I speak

5.5.2. Satisfaction with English Accents

The second question investigated whether the Nigerian respondents were satisfied with the accent of English they used. This was followed by the third question, in cases where they were not satisfied, they were asked about the accent of English they would love to speak. Respondents' answers are summarised in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23. Satisfaction with accents of English

	Nigerian	American	British	Mixed Accent	Not Sure	Total
No of responses	32	1	4	6	3	46
Satisfied	15	1	4	3	1	24
Reason	ownership intelligibility association identity comprehensibility	no reason	prestige global acceptance articulation polished refined interesting sweet quality	communication	intelligibility	

	British (15)	American (2)			British (2)	American (1)	Nigerian (1)	Ghanaian (1)	
				poised respect standard clean strength correct model					
Not satisfied	17				3		2		22
Target	British (15)	American (2)			British (2)	American (1)	Nigerian (1)	Ghanaian (1)	
Reason	tone, prestige global acceptance articulation diction polished refined courteous interesting sweet quality poised respect standard clean strength correct model	Fun no fixed rule			sounds well sexy romantic polite quality articulation	no reason	identity	no reason	

Thirty-two of the forty-six respondents claimed to speak a Nigerian English accent, among whom only 15 were satisfied with their English accent, while the remaining 17 were not satisfied. Of the 17 unsatisfied speakers of Nigerian English, 15 would like to speak British English while the remaining had American English as their target. Those aiming to speak British English would like to speak the English accent because they believed British English possessed some remarkable qualities such as those listed in Table 5.24 (tone, prestige, global acceptance, articulation, diction, polished, refined, courteous, interesting, sweet, quality, poised, respect, standard, clean, strength, correct, and model, etc.). The reason given by those who aimed to speak American English is that they considered the English variety to be less

'rule-bound' and full of fun. The remaining Nigerian respondents also indicated their preferences, whether they were satisfied with their accents, and if not, what accent of English they would love to speak. Overall, most of the Nigerian respondents appeared to have the British English accent as their target. When the accents of English preferred by the respondents are categorised into Inner and Non-inner Circle Englishes, it can be seen that they had more regard for Inner Circle English (especially British English) than Non-inner Circle English.

5.5.3. Preference of English Accents

In order to validate the findings in the direct questionnaire concerning the respondents' preference of English accents, the respondents were asked in the interview which of the accents of English they had listened to in the recording they would prefer to speak. British English, Nigerian English and American English were the most frequent options. British English had the largest positive responses, making it, the overall most preferred English accent. Below is one of the reasons for the respondents' choice:

> <$R7><#>Yeah to a large extent I think I prefer the British <[><$I><#>ok</[><#> mhm it's more polished more refined and uhm and very courteous

This explanation reinforced some of the reasons offered by many of the respondents for their choice of British English.

After identifying the English accents respondents preferred to speak, the next question was why they preferred the chosen accents. In this regard, many of the responses reflected the solidarity and status traits in the VGT. In terms of articulation, many of the respondents were of the opinion that the British English speaker pronounced words 'sweetly' and that his articulation was well polished. They were also asked the accents of English they least

preferred in the recordings. Three of the English accents were mentioned; these are Ghanaian English (55%), Jamaican English (40%), and American English (5%).

After eliciting information from the respondents about the speech varieties they least liked, they were asked why they least liked the accents. The themes appearing frequently in many of the responses to this question were also associated with the solidarity and status traits presented in the VGT. Many of the respondents explicitly referred to the phonological features of the Ghanaian English speaker. They drew particular attention to the realisation of the schwa vowel by Ghanaians as [a]. Respondent 23 exemplified the opinions of other respondents in her comment:

> <$R23><#>Uhn yeah <,>I really don't like the way they pronounce <#>it sounds awkward to me it doesn't sound good and then you might even think it to be something else.

Similarly, another respondent, while expressing his/her opinion about Ghanaian English, re-echoed the opinions of many others:

> <$R22><#>I think so though Ghanaian English sometimes their paster <&>pastor</&> and <O>laugh</O><#> sometimes it can be very confusing

Another major theme evident in the respondents' reasons for not liking the Ghanaian accent of English was its lack of assertiveness. Respondent 17 used the term, 'convincing' while explaining his/her reasons for not liking Ghanaian English:

> <$R17><#>It's not it doesn't sound convincing it doesn't sound competent <#>it's not good to use that accent to teach English or to communicate in official way

Yet another respondent;

<$R32><#>Yeah I don't like Ghanaian English at all because they are always this paster mather <&>pastor mother</&> that kind of English I don't like that

Another major theme in the respondents' reasons for not liking the Ghanaian English accent is that they felt it did not sound appealing. Respondent 27, who admitted while speaking about Ghanaian English, offered a representative explanation:

<$R27><#>It sounded very bland it sounded very dry <O>laugh</O><#>flat and the person was stressing on some words <#>The person it wasn't interesting to hear I wasn't interested to listen to the person <#>It wasn't captivating mhm

The predominant attitude of respondents towards Ghanaian English was rather negative, followed by the Jamaican English accent. Most of the interviewees indicated that they least liked the Jamaican English accent because they were not too familiar with it. Respondent 15 provided a representative explanation for this:

<$R15><#>I do not like Ghanaian English at all and Jamaican English I have not really heard Jamaican speakers of English <#>I am not personally I don't like Ghanaian English

Many respondents who disliked Jamaican English also gave reasons in terms of phonology:

<$R3><#>That's because I barely hear what they are saying <#>I can't really make out the words out of the things they are saying <#>I try tend to restrain my ears to at the end of the day I don't really hear anything they have to say

Also, two of the respondents did not like American English. To them it sounded 'ruleless' and 'lazy'.

<$R10><#>Cause to me I believe American English is just for social social issues it's not formal

<$R28><#>I I see American English to like be a lazy you know a lazy language to me <#>That's my own point of view it's like a lazy language <#>That's the way I perceive it

Lastly, the respondents were asked what they thought should be the preferred accent for teaching English in Nigeria. The two most suggested accents of English are British English and Nigerian English. Only one interviewee mentioned American English and another interviewee suggested the Ghanaian English accent. Coincidentally, British English and Nigerian English had equal percentage scores (48% each). However when asked if they believed native speakers of English would make better English teachers than Nigerian teachers of English, 65% were against this idea for reasons of intelligibility, identity and acceptability:

<$R7><#>Actually they won't <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>why because the Nigerian students are already used used to their own accent you understand <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>So bringing another foreigner to come and teach will be a very difficult talk <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> because the students will not comprehend what the teacher is saying.

<$R40><#>I just suggest them to be teaching Nigerian English <#>Na Nigerian English Because we are from Nigeria and we are all Nigerians <[><$I><#>ok</[><#> Yeah.

<$R13><#>I don't think so because I believe the children will understand the English of the Nigerian teachers better than they do <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> because they are familiar<[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>with the way they speak here <[><$I><#>alright</[><#> yes

<$R23><#>No because once they come to Nigeria to be a teacher it will take long time for us to understand what they are saying <[><$I><#>ok</[><#> for that we are familiar with our Nigerian accent and we also prefer Nigerian teachers

The remaining 35% believed native English speakers would make better teachers than Nigerian teachers of English in Nigeria for reasons of prestige, competence, ownership (nativeness) and colonisation:

<$R5><#>Because we aim to speak like them and we think theirs are better than ours.

<$R14><#>Yes because I just believe that they are the the core structure of their English is formal and presentable and accepted <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> that's all

<$R39><#>Probably uhm well since like I said we use most of their curriculum <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> I think it's better they communicate to us in their language for the sake of uhm communicative competence <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> yeah

<$R28><#>Yes Because to me they are the owners of the language who else would want to you know <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> who else would want to be in a better position to teach a language if not the native speakers

<$R42><#>We were colonised by them <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>most of our standard of education it's concurring with theirs <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>so I think we should just do everything together<#> it's better

5.5.4. The Sense of Ownership

Nigerian respondents were also asked how they would feel if people recognised the Nigerian origin through their English accent or how they would respond to a statement like 'you sound

Nigerian'. Nearly all the respondents indicated that they would not feel bad if they were identified as Nigerians by their spoken English. The majority of them claimed that they would be happy to be identified as Nigerians by their English accent:

<$R7><#>I will be happy because the language is part of our is a marker of identity <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>so my language or my accent shows that I am a Nigerian<[><$I><#>ok</[><#> that shows like it shows my own identity

<$R2><#>I will feel better because that's where I am I was born and brought up <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> I will be ok with it I will be so so satisfied

<$R43><#>I won't feel bad <[><$I><#>alright</[><#> of course everybody has his or her own accent <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#>it is normal so if you feel I am from Nigeria Ok

<$R46><#>I won't feel bad<[><$I><#>mhm mhm</[><#> I won't feel bad I will tell them that I am truly a Nigerian I won't feel bad<[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> there is nothing bad about it <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> cause you can't hide yourself and you can't hide where you are coming from <[><$I><#>yeah</[><#> so that's the thing

<$R27><#>Of course like I said the other time that I am from Nigeria and I speak

Nigerian English no matter what I won't feel biased <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> because that's where I am that's my origin <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> and I can't because of that be a pretense or because I can't speak British English I should now be crucifying my Nigerian English and it's not done and I just find myself speaking Nigerian English and I am fond of it so if you say I am speaking Nigerian English<O>laugh</O><#>uhm that's your problem<O>laugh</O><#> That's your problem

<$R30><#>Anybody who is not proud of where he come from<O>laugh</O><#>is should be killed removed from that place <[><$I><#>mhm mhm</[><#> I have to be proud of where I come from <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> If I go outside that is why I said that if you go outside if I happens to be in United State of America and uhm probably if anybody asks me question and I want to communicate there I will communicate in a way that I will promote my Igbo with their English <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> yes I have to be proud of where I come from Igbo <[><$I><#>mhm mhm</[><#> yes

Only two of the respondents admitted that they would not want to be identified as Nigerians by the way they talk. They said they would feel bad:

<$R45><#>Uhm Actually I will feel bad

<$I><#>why

<$R45><#>because I just uhm that's why I am trying to like <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> change the tone you know if once they know it's Nigeria they will begin to like<O>laugh</O><#>Nigeria Nigeria Nigeria you understand now <[><$I><#>mhm</[><#> yeah I won't go further but you suppose to understand<O>laugh</O><#> uhn uhn<O>laugh</O>

<$R33><#>No I don't want that

<$I><#>you don't want that

 <$R33><#>No<O>laugh</O><#> No I don't

It is clear from these answers that most Nigerians are very comfortable with being identified with their own accent of English, although for most of them Nigerian English is not the target

accent. They see Nigerian English as their own version of English and are proud to be identified with the variety of English.

Lastly, respondents were asked if they would in any way change their accent of English in the native English speaker's country. Many of the respondents claimed that they would not consciously change their accent unless there is a need for it, depending on the environment in which they find themselves and except for reasons of clarity and intelligibility. However, a small number of the respondents admitted that they would gladly adopt the native speakers' accents and that they would see their presence in the new environment as an opportunity to improve on their English proficiency. It is, however, noteworthy that many of them preferred the British English accent to the American English accent (see detailed discussion in section 6.2.1). Significantly, a larger percentage of Nigerian respondents claimed that they would retain their local English accent regardless of the environment in which they reside; this supports the claim that they felt comfortable with their English accent and were willing to identify with it.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of the data analysis and preliminary comments on the results were presented in Chapter five. This chapter provides a more in-depth discussion of the findings from the data analysis in relation to the research questions discussed in the earlier sections of this thesis.

6.1. Summary of Findings

This study examined the attitudes of Nigerians towards different accents of English, with two varieties of Inner Circle English (American English, British English) and three varieties of Non-inner Circle English (Ghanaian English, Jamaican English, and Nigerian English). Through the application of the verbal-guise technique together with the use of a Likert scale, over 200 respondents evaluated the accents of English on several traits and factors. As mentioned in the earlier sections of this thesis, this is probably the first study using the verbal-guise technique (and the Likert scale) to study language attitudes in Nigeria. Using the verbal-guise technique facilitated the inclusion of accents in a broader context. The use of a Likert scale provided an insight into the intensity of the respondents' attitudes. An accent recognition exercise was included in the study in order to complement the verbal-guise technique. The findings gotten from the accent recognition test facilitated the interpretation of respondents' attitudes towards accents of English which based on voice stimuli by providing insight into the cognitive framework of the respondents. Conceptual stimuli (direct questionnaire and the interview) were also used to examine respondents' perceptions of English accents in order to confirm the findings of the verbal-guise test. Including all these research instruments increases the reliability of the research findings.

The previous chapters presented in detail the research priorities and research questions, the

methodology of the study and the results of the different parts of the research study. This chapter contains a detailed discussion of the results of the study. The overall findings in this study indicated that the Nigerian respondents favoured the Inner Circle accents of English. over the Non-inner Circle accents of English. Concerning the accent recognition test, the majority of the respondents were able to identify whether the speech samples were of the Inner Circle English varieties or the Non-inner Circle English varieties. However, some of the respondents had difficulty distinguishing between the accents of English e.g. Jamaican English.

Also, the influence of background variables on the respondents' evaluation of English accents was taken into consideration. While regional provenance and respondents' exposure to English accents exhibited significant effects on respondents' evaluations of the speakers, gender was not found to be significant.

6.2. Discussion and Conclusions

6.2.1. Research Question One: What Are the Attitudes of Nigerian Students towards Accents of English?

As earlier mentioned, the results of the verbal-guise test indicated that among the accents of English, the accents of English from the Inner Circle were ranked highest and were preferred to the Non-inner Circle accents. British English, American English, Jamaican English, Nigerian English 1, Ghanaian English and Nigerian English 2 were ranked in descending order of evaluation.

The verbal-guise test verified that the two sociolinguistic dimensions of status and solidarity are salient in the investigation of the attitudes of Nigerians towards accents of English. From the rankings, it can be observed that in terms of status, British English, American English and

Jamaican English were the most highly ranked accents. In terms of solidarity, the two Inner Circle accents were still the most highly ranked, followed by Nigerian English 1. Nigerian English 2 was rated lowest in the two dimensions. It can, therefore, be concluded that the Nigerian respondents preferred accents of English from the Inner Circle to those from the Non-inner Circles. To the best of my knowledge, this type of study is in short supply in Africa, especially in Nigeria. However, results from the studies that have focused on social evaluations of English accents e.g. in Hong Kong (Bolton & Kwok 1990, Luk 1998, Candler 2001, Poon 2007, Zhang 2010), Japan (McKenzie 2006), Nigeria (Williams 1983, Oyebola 2019) have reported that Non-inner Circle English speakers often prefer Inner Circle varieties of English to Non-inner Circle varieties of English. The findings of this study thus corroborate the findings from those studies.

One surprising finding is that Jamaican English received more favourable ratings than the two Nigerian accents of English. This is probably as a result of the low recognition of the nationality of the Jamaican speaker. Many of the respondents (46.6%) thought the speech sample was an Inner Circle accent, and among the remaining respondents (53.4%) who thought it was a Non-inner Circle English accent, 23% thought it was a Nigerian English accent. The high ratings of the Jamaican accent may be due to these two reasons: those who misidentified the speaker as a native speaker of English and the others who thought he was a Nigerian speaker of English.

Noteworthy is the finding of the current study that the Inner Circle varieties of English received higher ratings than the Non-inner Circle accents among the Nigerian respondents in the two dimensions. The finding of a more positive rating for IC English varieties has been reported in a number of studies including Obanya et al.'s (1979) study on the acceptability of English accents in Nigeria. Obanya et al. reported that their respondents were more in favour

of IC English accents than NIC English accents. However, among the IC English accents, British English received higher ratings than American English in status and solidarity dimensions. The finding of a more positive rating for British English than American English has been reported in previous studies in the UK and US (Giles 1970, Steward et al. 1985, Hiraga 2005). Some studies (Munro 2007, Bayard et al. 2001, Hu 2004, McKenzie 2006) have, however, provided evidence that British English (RP) is gradually being dropped in favour of American English owing to globalisation and the increasing popularity of American culture via the media. Based on the findings of the present study, this is currently not the case in Nigeria. These findings may not come as a surprise, given that British English has been the pedagogically preferred model of English in the country (Jowitt 1991, Gut 2008:38, Jowitt 2019:32). Another likely reason is the colonisation factor. Nigeria was colonised by Britain; many of the British personnel in various government departments, from the Governor-General downwards, together with Anglican missionaries, who in the twentieth century mostly came from Britain, served as models which Nigerians emulated (Jowitt 2019:168). Up till today, many Nigerians still nurture a colonial mentality, a situation whereby the colonised have the belief that the values, language and culture of the coloniser are superior to theirs. This is evident in the opinions of many of the respondents in the interview when they were asked why they preferred British English to Nigerian English.

The high rating of American English alongside British English should also not come as a complete surprise given the popularity of American culture in Nigeria via movies, music, soap opera, cartoons and other technological factors. Gut (2008:38) has also noted the increasing popularity of American English among Nigerians as a result of the increasing numbers of Nigerians returning from their studies in the United States of America. This development has also been reported by Adetugbo and Awonusi (1982), Awonusi (1994, 2004), Kolawole (2004), and Kperogi (2015). On a general note, Bayard et al. (2001) have also remarked on

the predominant influence of the American media and increasing exposure of speakers of English to the American accent, which seems to be the main contributing factor towards the holding of positive attitudes towards the variety.

Because of the influence and position occupied by British English and American English in Nigeria, the majority of Nigerians thus seem to have been pressured towards admiring such varieties, therefore nurturing a less positive attitude towards Nigerian English. These findings seem to suggest that Nigerian English is not yet stable in the Endonormative phase of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic model, contrary to what some scholars (e.g. Ekpe 2010, Ugorji 2015) have claimed. Oyebola (2019) remarked that the attitudes of Nigerians towards their own accents signify that it may take longer for the Nigerian accent of English to remain stable, if it has already reached the fourth stage. It appears that there is not enough stability in the confidence of Nigerians in their local English accent to show that they are ready for a new, independent identity as it is observable in Singapore English, which seems to be fully experiencing endonormative stabilisation.

However, the findings presented in this study seemed to be somewhat complex. The results also indicated some preference for Nigerian English 1. This is especially true of the solidarity dimension, where the accent ranked third, while in the status dimension it ranked fourth. The relatively positive rating may indicate that the Nigerian respondents identified with the speaker. To some extent, it confirms that Nigerians feel a sense of ownership towards one of their local accents of English. It seems plausible to assume that one reason for this is that the respondents were familiar with this variety. The familiarity with the speaker of Nigerian English 1 appears to be reflected in the high percentage of correct recognition found in the results of the accent recognition test included in the study. Surprisingly, Nigerian English 2 remained at the bottom in all the rankings. An arguable explanation for this is the speaker's

reading style, characterised by noticeable hesitations. Indeed, the higher rating of Nigerian English 1 in terms of solidarity to some extent confirms the results widely reported in previous studies, namely that non-native English varieties are usually favoured for solidarity, especially when the evaluators are speakers of that variety (Giles 1970, Bayard *et al*. 2001, McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010).

The result of the rankings of accents in the two dimensions (status and solidarity) seemed to contradict that of some previous studies (Giles 1970, Ladegaard 1998, Hiraga 2005, McKenzie 2008) that reported that a variety that is ranked higher in the status dimension is likely to be rated lower in solidarity. The rankings showed that when comparing the assessments of native speakers and non-native speakers, the solidarity dimension is not always expressed only for non-native speakers. The results of this study confirm the findings of Poon (2007), Zhang (2010), and Ugwuanyi and Oyebola (forthcoming), which reported that native varieties ranked high in both status and solidarity, while non-native English varieties were rated lower than native varieties, even for solidarity traits.

6.2.1.1. Attitudes towards Accents of English: Preference based on Vocal Stimuli vs Preference based on Conceptual Stimuli

Similar to the results of the verbal-guise test, which revealed favourable evaluations of the Inner Circle English accents by the Nigerian respondents, the results of the conceptual stimuli test (direct questions) also showed that the Inner Circle accents of English, especially British English, were still rated more highly than the other English accents. British English remained the English language norm favoured by the Nigerian informants for 'status' functions such as official roles, pedagogical functions, appropriate for newscasters and as the most prestigious. However, in the conceptual stimuli test, Nigerian English was ranked alongside British English, even above the American English accent. Jamaican English was less favoured and

Ghanaian English was the least favoured. The two sets of results confirm that the linguistic norm for English in Nigeria continues to rely on the Inner Circle accents for phonological correctness and appropriateness. This finding confirms Oyebola's (2019) report that the Nigerian way of speaking English is still not widely acceptable to Nigerians, whose English pronunciation proves to be rigidly dependent on British English (RP). An apparent proof is the fact that most English dictionaries used in Nigeria are British English, with the *Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary* topping the list (Jowitt 2019:33).

However, the fact that IC English accents (British English or American English) continue to be the English language model in Nigeria does not necessarily imply that Nigerian English has not in any way developed its own linguistic norm through local varieties of English. In fact, there has been a record of Nigerian English reaching the Endonormative stage (Ekpe 2010, Okoro 2011, Udorji 2015) at the lexical and grammatical level. It has only been very difficult to make this claim at the phonological level as well as at the attitudinal level. Nevertheless, the relatively positive attitude towards Nigerian English in this study implies that Nigerian English may be in the process of establishing its own norms through its increasing acceptance among Nigerians, especially in the solidarity dimension, even though the development of such acceptability appears weak. Also, even though Nigerian English was less favoured compared to British English, it was found that a number of informants preferred Nigerian English for intimate situations, such as being the most understandable, having the best capacity to express their thoughts and feelings. This confirms the association and identification of Nigerians with their local variety of English.

Table 6.1 shows a comparison between the two sets of results, in order of preference and shows that British English is consistently rated most favourably in all evaluations.

Table 6.1. Preference for accents based on vocal stimuli and conceptual stimuli

Preference based on vocal stimuli	Preference based on conceptual stimuli
British English	British English
American English	Nigerian English
Jamaican English	American English
Nigerian English I	Jamaican English
Ghanaian English	Ghanaian English
Nigerian English II	

The preference and encouragement of IC English varieties, especially as models of English in Nigeria, has resulted in the varieties being indexed as the standard and most prestigious English varieties. They are thus more favoured than other varieties. On the other hand, NIC varieties of English have over time been indexed as 'non-standard' and thus less preferred. As discussed in section 6.2.1, many of the respondents identified with Nigerian English as their marker of linguistic identity but claimed to have IC English accents as their targets. Therefore, Nigerian English seems to index identity alignment while British English and American English both index status alignment. However, while British English is restrictively indexed for official/formal situations (status and official), American English seems to be valued for both formal and social situations (status and social). It will be interesting to carry out further studies specifically on Nigerians' perceptions of the roles these varieties of English play in Nigeria.

6.2.2. Research Question Two: Are Nigerian Students Able to Identify the Accents of English Investigated?

Findings from the analyses revealed that there were indeed differences between informants' recognition rates of where the six speakers came from. The results of the accent recognition test revealed that the majority of the respondents were able to identify the nationalities of Nigerian English 1 speaker, Ghanaian English speaker, American English speaker and British English speaker correctly. This is perhaps as a result of the prevalence of American English in the English language media (news, movies and songs) in Nigeria, British English being the model of English in the country, familiarity with the Nigerian accent, and the prevalence of Ghanaian English also via Ghanaian movies in Nigeria. The recognition rates of the remaining two speakers of English (Nigerian English 2 and Jamaican English) were relatively low. Also, the recognition rates of British English and American English seem to challenge the impressionistic claim of Jowitt (2019:33) that the majority of Nigerians are not aware of the difference between the two English varieties.

A credible explanation for the high recognition rates of Nigerian English is the Nigerian respondents' familiarity with the accent of English and their ability to distinguish the variety from other English varieties. The overall positive ratings for Nigerian English 1 suggested that there was a high degree of solidarity with the speaker amongst the respondents, many of whom were likely to be speakers of that variety of English since the respondents comprised a group of educated university students. Nevertheless, the preference for the two IC English varieties over Nigerian English indicated that the respondents generally found the accent less prestigious compared to British English and American English.

Ghanaian English ranked second in the recognition test. This reflects the exposure of Nigerians to Ghanaian English. Three major reasons could be responsible for this. The first

one is the popularity of Ghanaian movies in the country, including the prominent roles that Ghanaian artistes play in Nollywood (the Nigerian film industry). The second reason could be the heavy presence of Ghanaians in Nigeria. Many Ghanaians live in Nigeria. The oil boom in the early 1970s brought economic improvements to Nigeria, and people from many countries, especially from Ghana, migrated to Nigeria. Both professional and unskilled Ghanaian workers moved to Nigeria to look for a better living. Many of the educated Ghanaians were preferred as English language teachers in Nigeria until the late 1990s. Also, Ghanaians have a distinct way of pronouncing English words. This often occurs in words with the schwa vowel, such as, 'mother' and 'teacher', which are often pronounced with the front low vowel [a] (see Simo Bobda 1997:254, Huber 2008:77).

In contrast, Jamaican English received the lowest recognition rate. The misidentification of Jamaican English may be connected to Nigerian respondents' less exposure to the variety of English. A number of the respondents misidentified Jamaican English as either American English or British English. This indicates that Jamaican English is not as popular as Jamaican Creole, which has become globally relevant through the world-wide success of Caribbean musicians in the reggae and dancehall traditions, also in Nigeria. Because of this, Mair (2013:264) has grouped Jamaican Creole as a super-central variety while Jamaican English is just a central variety. Many Jamaican Creole words and idiomatic expressions have become firmly established in urban youth language in many parts of the English-speaking world, with Nigeria being a typical example (see Mair 2013: 263-265, Akande 2012:251).

When it comes to the recognition of native and non-native varieties of English, the majority of the respondents were able to identify the varieties from the Inner Circle and those from the Non-inner Circle. They were able to identify American English and British English as native varieties. This confirms the results of the direct question asking whether they were able to

differentiate Inner Circle English accents from Non-inner Circle English accents. The majority of respondents claimed to be able to differentiate between the two English varieties. Respondents were also able to identify Nigerian English and Ghanaian English as Non-inner Circle varieties. However, they seemed to have some challenges in identifying Jamaican English. This may be because of the same reason, that is, unfamiliarity with the Jamaican accent of English. Also, it has been reported that Jamaican English seems to exhibit the features of a typical native English variety alongside those of a typical second-language variety to some degree (see Mair 2009). This, perhaps, played some role in the recognition of the Jamaican English speaker by the respondents. The majority of the respondents also seemed to have some difficulty in distinguishing between different varieties of English, for example, Jamaican English and Nigerian English 2. The findings suggest that the native/nonnative distinction is crucial for respondents and that recognition of speakers' accents is occurring at different levels of awareness (Lindemann 2003:355, McKenzie 2006:223).

Further analyses were carried out to examine the significance of the effects of identification or misidentification on the respondents' ratings of the six speakers for status and solidarity. Although the results of the study indicated that there were no significant effects of identification for solidarity, in terms of status, main effects were found for the Ghanaian English speaker and Nigerian English 1 speaker. The accurate identification of the speakers' nationality correlated with a more favourable evaluation for Nigerian speaker while it correlated with a less favourable evaluation for the Ghanaian English speaker. This finding suggests that as far as the ratings of the Inner Circle English accents are concerned, identification of the accents did not have significant effects on respondents' evaluations. However, for the ratings of two Non-inner Circle English accents (Ghanaian English and Nigerian English), identification of the accents had significant effects on respondents'

evaluations. The identification or misidentification of the Jamaican accent did not have any significant effect on respondents' evaluations. Jamaican English is a good example of the weak effect of identification on the evaluation. Only a few respondents were able to recognise it, but it was rated rather positively. It did not matter if it was recognised correctly or not. The results thus seem to confirm the relation between accent recognition or non-recognition and social stereotypes (Milroy & McClenaghan 1977, Ladegaard 1998, Dailey-O'Cain 1999, Lindemann 2003, Zhang 2010, etc.). In other words, whether the nationality of a speaker is identified or not, respondents often evaluate accents by incorporating the accents into the social stereotype of specific groups. For example, Milroy and McClenaghan (1977) reported in their study that although their respondents misidentified some of the English varieties (Scottish English, Southern Irish-English, RP, and Ulster English), the stereotypes of listeners who misidentified them were still similar to those who identified them. According to them, a variety may evoke stereotyped responses whether or not respondents are able to identify the variety, and thus, respondents allocate the speaker of the variety to a specific reference group (Milroy & McClenaghan 1997:9).

A similar result was obtained by Ladegaard (1998) in his study on Danish speakers of English. His subjects' recognition and evaluation of eight varieties of English also suggested a connection between accent evaluation and stereotypes. Even though 90% of the subjects misidentified Australian English, they still rated the English variety positively on the solidarity dimension, which is a stereotype that is traditionally associated with it (Ladegaard 1998:267). He concluded that:

> Even though the judges are not native speakers of English, we may assume some degree of familiarity with the accents employed in this experiment since they sometimes appear in the media. It is, therefore, possible that the subjects have some

sort of stored, 'subconscious information', based on previously acquired media-transmitted stereotypes (269)

The relation between accent evaluation, accent recognition or non-recognition and stereotypes was also observed in the study by Lindemann (2003), whose subjects were unfamiliar with Korean-accented English and the majority of them misidentified it as another English accent from East Asia. He concluded that subjects might be able to incorporate a variety into the social stereotype of a particular group even if they are unable to recognise the variety (358).

Zhang (2010) also reported a similar situation. Of the 16 speakers he used in his study of Hong Kong English, the identification or misidentification of the place of origin of 14 speakers had no effect on the speakers' ratings by his informants. He cited a case of an American speaker whom only a small number of informants identified as an American speaker but who still received high ratings from the informants. The author then noted that "the recognition of a variety seems to rely on language use and social groups rather than uniquely on the available linguistic information" (Zhang 2010:232). This means that the stereotypes of social groups are available, regardless of whether the subjects are aware of the social connotations of a particular language or not (Ladegaard 1998, Clopper & Pisoni 2005). The findings of McKenzie's (2006) study also showed that his Japanese learners retained representations of varieties of English and consciously or unconsciously relied on the stereotyping resource to both complete the recognition task and assign individual characteristics to the speakers in the verbal-guise section of his research.

The relation between accent recognition or non-recognition and stereotypes can also be observed in the present study. The results of this study seem to support the assumption that social and cultural stereotypes play a significant role in the evaluation of speakers, especially when misidentification of a variety occurs (as in the case of the Jamaican speaker). In other

words, informants who cannot recognise a variety may still be able to assign the variety to the stereotype often attached to it, consciously or unconsciously. Despite the fact that the majority of the respondents did not identify the nationality of the Jamaican speaker, he still received high ratings from the respondents. Even so, since Jamaican English was recognised as a variety from the Inner Circle by many of the respondents in the study, it is possible that the linguistic or paralinguistic characteristics of the speaker were associated with certain Inner Circle varieties of English which the respondents had encountered before, either from the media or elsewhere (see Mair 2009). This probably influenced the relatively high ratings of Jamaican English alongside American English, especially in the status dimension.

The general conclusion then is that whether the respondents are able to recognise a variety or not, the stereotype associated with that variety is likely to remain the same; thus, even if the respondents link the variety to a false nationality, the speaker's ratings obtained from the verbal-guise test remain valid to demonstrate the stereotype imposed on the variety. It is, therefore, plausible to conclude that the verbal-guise technique is a reliable tool for investigating the attitudes and perceptions of respondents that cannot otherwise be easily elicited through any other means.

6.2.3. What Sociolinguistic Variables Influence Respondents' Attitudes towards the Accents of English?

The results showed the main effects of some sociolinguistic factors on the respondents' ratings of the English varieties. In the study, no effect of gender was found for the evaluations of the six speakers in either the status dimension or the solidarity dimension. This is in line with the findings of studies like Gallois and Callan (1981), Ihemere (2006) and Zhang (2010) that did not find the gender of respondents to be a significant factor in language attitude variations. In contrast, the results showed that the regional background of the respondents had

a significant effect on respondents' ratings. In other words, the difference in regional backgrounds can to some extent account for differences in the attitudes of Nigerians towards different accents of English. Students from the North rated Nigerian English 1 higher than other English accents. This may be due to the conservative nature of the people in this region, which is influenced by their religion and culture (see Igboanusi & Peter 2005). There is therefore less concern about speaking a 'prestigious' form of English. The results of some studies have also shown that regional provenance is a key factor in the evaluations of varieties. Examples include attitudes of language learners in Hungary (Dornyei & Clement 2001, Dornyei *et al.* 2006) and Japanese learners of English (Donahue 1998, Fukuchi & Sakamoto 2005, Carroll 2001).

The average rating of each of the English accents was also found to correlate with the claimed exposure to the English accents. While the exposure of the Nigerian respondents to American English, British English, Nigerian English, and Jamaican English resulted in higher ratings for the speech varieties, their exposure to Ghanaian English resulted in a lower rating for it. Even though there is a lack of data with which to compare the results obtained in this study in the African context, the results can be compared with a limited number of studies that have investigated the factor exposure to English varieties (Candler 2001, Poon 2007, McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010). While the results of Zhang's study reported no relation between the ratings of a variety of English and exposure to it (2010:191), McKenzie's (2006) study did correlate exposure and attitudes of his 558 respondents to English varieties. He concluded that exposure to English had a significant effect on the ratings of certain varieties of English amongst his respondents, but only in the status dimension (McKenzie 2006:165-166). His report is also similar to the results of Dalton-Puffer et al.'s (1997) study on the attitudes of Austrian university students towards native and non-native English varieties. The authors

reported that among the native accents of English, respondents preferred RP, the one which they were most exposed to (1997:126).

As mentioned in the literature review section, little has been reported on the attitudes of Nigerians to various English varieties. Obviously, the role and influence of many social variables on the attitudes of Nigerians have not been sufficiently studied. Given that little research has been done on this topic in Nigeria, and the present study is perhaps the first to examine the relationship between the social variables of respondents and their attitudes to English accents in Nigeria, the results of the study are therefore of particular importance. The results suggest that social variations within a population may account for different attitudes towards different varieties of English and may, therefore, challenge the suitability and/or adoption of a 'dominant' linguistic model. However, even though the results have provided evidence of possible variations within the Nigerian population, with varying attitudes, there is a need for further studies among Nigerian users of English in order to validate the findings obtained in this study. It would be useful to conduct further studies on language attitude among English users in Nigeria; more importantly, such a study may include Nigerian stimuli that are regionally identifiable.

6.2.4. Research Question Four: What Are Nigerians' Perceptions of Nigerian English?

This study further explored Nigerian respondents' perceptions of Nigerian English as part of the Nigerian identity, concerning a sense of ownership and the acceptability of Nigerian English to represent the Nigerian people.

First, when the respondents were asked to rank the English accents based on the accent they thought was the 'most pleasant', 'most understandable', 'most appropriate for newscasters in Nigeria', 'most prestigious', 'has the best capacity to express any area of their thoughts and

feelings', 'best for an official language in Nigeria', and 'best for teaching English in Nigeria', the results concerning the preference of accents on the given criteria showed a similar pattern to those found in the verbal-guise test. The British English accent was favoured on almost all the criteria except for 'best to express their thoughts' and 'most understandable', in which Nigerian English received the highest ratings compared to the other varieties. The two criteria are within the solidarity dimension, where as British English was rated highest in criteria connected to the status dimension (prestigious, newscasters English, English teaching, and official language in Nigeria).

The results of the conceptual stimuli test further showed that even though respondents claimed a preference for British English in formal situations, they expressed their preference for Nigerian English in all situations. This finding justifies the high ratings that Nigerian English received in the solidarity dimension, even though a bit lower than the two IC English accents. Nigerians accept Nigerian English as their own and therefore consider it appropriate for all situations. In other words, although Nigerian English may not be evaluated as the most preferred or the most prestigious accent, it is popular in all contexts in the Nigerian society.

Another question was asked to investigate respondents' perception of the categories of English users in Nigeria. The respondents were of the opinion that British English and American English are used by the literates, while Nigerian English was believed to be used by all categories of people. This finding, once again like the question asked on the preferred situation for each accent, is consistent with the positive ratings of Nigerian English in the solidarity dimension.

As concerns the acceptability of the Nigerian English accent, the result showed that the vast majority of the informants had the British English accent as their target, followed by Nigerian English. This explains why British English was ranked highest in almost all the criteria,

including as an officially recognised accent in Nigeria. The results indicated that Nigerian respondents believed very much in the standardness of British English, while they had a relatively positive opinion of the standardness of Nigerian English as well.

Most of the respondents claimed that they would feel good if their accent was perceived as an IC English accent, and they occasionally attempted to sound like an IC English speaker when speaking English. These findings also indicated that the respondents perceived Inner Circle English varieties such as British English and American English to be more prestigious than Nigerian English.

However, many of the respondents were proud to be identified with their local English variety. When the respondents were asked in the interview how they would feel or react if people were to recognise a Nigerian origin in their accent, most of them claimed that they would not feel bad if they were identified as Nigerians by the way they spoke English. Many of them claimed they would be happy to be identified as Nigerians by their English accent.

Respondents were asked additional related questions in the interview. They were asked what, in their opinion, should be the preferred accent for teaching English in Nigeria. The majority of them suggested either British English or Nigerian English. This points back to Jowitt's (2013) dichotomy of 'the rejecters' and 'the accepters'. Those who preferred a Nigerian English accent for teaching in Nigeria are the accepters, while those who preferred British English are the rejecters. It looks like this highly controversial topic will continue for at least the next few years. However, most of the respondents preferred a Nigerian teacher of English to an IC English speaker. It is clear from the responses that most Nigerians are comfortable identifying with their own English accent, although for many of them this is not the target accent. They see Nigerian English as their own version of English and are proud to be

identified with the variety of English. There is a potential, therefore, for Nigerian English to play a role in forming a linguistic identity for Nigerians.

6.3. Implications

6.3.1. Implications for the Choice of Linguistic Models in the Nigerian Classroom

The main purpose of the study was to measure the attitudes of Nigerians towards English accents. However, it is expected that the findings will help inform educators and policymakers about the choice of a linguistic model in the Nigerian classroom. The question of which model is best suited for ESL and EFL contexts has been a hot topic for both researchers and language practitioners, especially in classroom situations where a native speaker model has traditionally been promoted and preferred (e.g. Tsui & Bunton 2000, Vavrus 2007, Kirkpatrick 2007). The findings of this study are, therefore, relevant to the ongoing debates in the field of applied linguistics. As Jenkins (2000:5) noted, until recently, it was considered necessary in language learning for English learners to approximate as closely as possible to a particular native English standard, especially in the pronunciation aspect. As Giles (1998) has pointed out, people's attitudes towards a particular language or language variety may influence how motivated they are to learn it. Choosing the native speaker's English as a model can also reduce the self-esteem of non-native teachers who have to teach a model that they themselves do not speak (Medgyes 1992). So, at different times and for different reasons, researchers have suggested that other English varieties may possibly serve the same purpose (Abercrombie 1956, Modiano 1996, McKenzie 2006). For instance, Abercrombie (1956:55) noted that RP may not be the best choice in all cases because of "its peculiar social position, which makes people hostile to it" and as "it is a phonetically difficult accent" for non-native

speakers of English to learn. Instead, he recommended Scottish English as a pronunciation model because it was certainly easier for most foreigners.

Some other researchers have proposed simplified versions of English as general pedagogical models. Examples include Ogden's (1938) BASIC English (British American Scientific International Commercial English), with which he attempted to make available to everyone "a second, or international language which will take as little of the learner's time as possible" (Ogden 1938:91), Quirk's (1981) Nuclear English, which was constructed as 'culture-free' (1981:155) form of the English language, easier and faster to learn than any variety of 'natural English', and Jenkins' (2000) Lingua Franca Core (LFC), modelled to improve mutual intelligibility in interactions between non-native speakers and to allow learners to 'preserve their L1 identity'. In Nigeria, 'Ninglish' has recently been proposed by some Nigerian scholars as a nativised English variety to be considered for teaching in Nigerian schools (Udofot 2004, 2013, Ekpe 2010).

The results of the current study showed some awareness among Nigerian respondents about social and regional differences in the accents of English. In addition, the results suggested that respondents' attitudes towards various accents of English are complex. For instance, the results demonstrated that if status were the overriding factor, the Inner Circle varieties of English would likely be considered for the linguistic models. In contrast, the results also showed that if solidarity were the determining factor, Nigerian English would be an appropriate model for Nigerians. Therefore, given the high level of awareness and complexity of Nigerian students' attitudes towards English accents, where mutual intelligibility can be maintained, it is inappropriate to enforce in the classroom only a single or even a limited range of pedagogical models for English speakers. This is the view of Tanaka and Tanaka (1995:129), who maintained that if we can keep mutual intelligibility, the choice of English

variety or varieties from the continuum of the Standard British English or American English to the English-based Pidgins and Creoles should depend on our own goals and needs. A similar view was held by Canagarajah (2006:234) who maintained that every speaker of English today in the postmodern world needs an awareness of both native English norms and non-native norms. He or she should be able to shuttle between different norms, recognising the systematic and legitimate status of different varieties of English in this diverse family of languages.

Erling (2004:218) also found the knowledge of varieties of English amongst learners of English at a university in Berlin impressive. She concluded that there should be an awareness of other varieties of English apart from British English and American English. This view is largely consistent with that of Kubota (1998:304), who argued that in the case of Japan, it was particularly important for English teachers to introduce Non-inner Circle varieties of English to their students as much as possible to help them to recognise multiple identities of English and to broaden the cultural and linguistic perspectives of students in the world.

Jenkins (2000) argued that speakers from the Inner Circle no longer have the right to dictate standards for second-language users of English, as English is now spoken most frequently among this group of speakers in the international context. It is for this reason that the choice of a particular variety of pronunciation as a model or standard needs to be re-examined. The results of the current study pointed in a similar direction and showed that the familiarity of English speakers with native accents of English positively influenced their attitudes to these varieties. For these reasons, it would be beneficial to introduce standard varieties of Inner Circle English as well as Non-inner Circle varieties to Nigerian users of English in order to increase their awareness of as many varieties as possible.

As far as language teaching is concerned, the importance of accent exposure in an international environment should be strengthened, so it makes sense to organise courses related to varieties of English in order to draw the attention of Nigerians to the worldwide use of English. In this way, Nigerians will learn to appreciate their own English accents when they are sufficiently exposed to both native and non-native English accents. It is also crucial to encourage the use of different English accents to promote effective students' communication strategies, which is far more important than imitating a specific English accent (Kubota 1998, McKenzie 2006). As Morrow (2004) has pointed out, it is not realistic for users of English to encounter a single variety of English in the world; this is particularly the case for Nigerians. Having the IC English varieties as the 'standard' could limit the possibility of English speakers' exposure to many other varieties of English. In contrast, learners who speak different varieties may feel comfortable with multicultural communication in a global context (Poon 2006:27). Thus, it is imperative that English teachers in Nigeria develop a more tolerant attitude towards traditionally less prestigious English varieties. This can be achieved by exposing these teachers themselves to non-standard English varieties (Kachru 1997, McKenzie 2006).

The measures described above could lead to a deepening of the linguistic and cultural awareness of relevant English varieties and help to deconstruct trivialised and simplified stereotypes which are so prevalent in English language textbooks and the media in Nigeria. Although a standard for native speakers is an unattainable goal for most local teachers, dictionaries, grammars and textbooks from native English language varieties are still preferred by Nigerian teachers to those produced by Nigerians. The reason for this dilemma is partly due to the various stakeholders: language teachers, researchers, curriculum developers, publishers, etc., working in isolation and not actively involved in research on English pronunciation, language attitudes and pedagogy within the general context of World

Englishes. The proposed pedagogical measures imply that changes in the classroom should be implemented at all institutional and governmental levels. That is why defining the future of English teaching in Nigeria clearly requires a lot of collaboration and coordination between academics, educators and policymakers. It is also important to raise learners' awareness and increase their linguistic flexibility and tolerance for the pluricentricity of the English language by exposing them to a range of English varieties. Awareness-raising strategies such as those mentioned above will encourage learners' confidence in their own local English variety (see Jenkins 2006).

6.3.2. Implications in Relation to World Englishes Models

While research on World Englishes continues to be thought-provoking from debates on ideologies, research tools and case studies of individual varieties, this study has contributed its quota by investigating the complexity and dynamics of English in Nigeria. Starting with Kachru's (1985) Three Circles model, which emphasises the potential of 'New Englishes' to become norm-developing varieties, Nigerian English is one of the institutionalised second-language varieties of English. One of the most important things about the model is the idea of nativisation in the Outer Circle varieties (Kachru 1985:211). The notion of nativisation, which manifests itself as the 'Nigerianisation' (Ekpe 2007:84) and 'localisation' of English in Nigeria has encouraged many Nigerians who now claim ownership of the Nigerian English variety, as evident in the findings of this study. As ground-breaking as this model was, it has been criticised largely as a synchronic and static conceptualisation of World Englishes. Some studies have shown that it is not uncommon for language varieties to undergo a transition from one category to the other (Bongartz & Buschfeld 2011, Buschfeld 2013 on the Outer Circle to Expanding Circle transition of English in Cyprus, Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2014 on the development of Expanding Circle to Outer Circle English in Namibia, or Edwards 2016

on the change from Expanding Circle to Outer Circle in the Netherlands). It has thus been suggested that these two groups (Outer and Expanding Circles) be considered as two poles on a continuum (Biewer 2011, Bongart & Buschfeld 2011, Buschfeld 2013, Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017). To remedy these complications, the present study has recategorised the three groups into two, namely: Inner Circle English varieties and Non-inner Circle English varieties (consisting of the traditional Outer and Expanding Circles) (see details in section 2.2).

In a quest to provide a larger framework that will account for the emergence of new Englishes from a diachronic perspective, Schneider (2003, 2007) introduced his Dynamic model, which conceptualises the evolution of postcolonial English varieties (see details in section 2.2.2). The model indicates phase by phase specific properties of Nigerian English, based on its contact experience. It describes the developments that constitute the foundation of Nigerian English, its exonormative stabilisation and nativisation. While Schneider (2007) argues that Nigerian English has hardly reached the fourth stage (Endonormative stabilisation), some scholars (Ekpe 2007, Okoro 2011, Ugorji 2015) have reported that Nigerian English has moved to the fourth stage. Ugorji (2015) argues that the evidence for the fourth stage has emerged following the indications that the necessary sociological (psychological independence, literary creativity and acceptance of local norms) and linguistic conditions (typical structural and non-structural properties, appreciable codification) have been met (see Udorji 2015). While many of these conditions might have been successfully met, the condition of acceptability of Nigerian English, especially in official settings, remains questionable. For a variety of English to be endonormatively stable, there must be some kind of internal agreement in the speech community on the status and function of the English variety. The findings of this study indicate that even though there is a relatively positive attitude towards Nigerian English, especially in the solidarity dimension, the acceptability seems weak, as the majority of the respondents prefer British English in official usage. It is

also important to note that the claims of Ekpe (2007) and Udorji (2015) are largely impressionistic; there is, therefore, a need for more research of the nature of the current study.

This study has also gone further to include the recent EIF Model of Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017). This is because the model has made first attempts for an integrative analysis of the categories 'ESL' (PCEs) and 'EFL' (non-PCEs), which the present study has categorised together as 'Non-inner Circle varieties' (see section 2.2.1). The EIF model attempts to capture the developments of all NIC varieties, relating them to each other, not only in terms of their development but also with respect to their current status and linguistic forms (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017:105) (see details in section 2.2.3). The model uses the framework of extra- and intra-territorial forces to integrate the two NIC English varieties without disregarding the differences between them. The label 'Non-inner Circle' thus helps to reduce the traditional granularity of classifications and descriptions of World Englishes, which is of great benefit to World Englishes theorising.

Another important conceptualisation of the model is that it accounts for the problem of lacking a foundation phase and the missing settler strand. While Nigeria does have a foundation phase in Schneider's sense, there has been some controversy concerning whether Nigeria was ever a country of white settlement, a fact which seems to limit the applicability of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic model to Nigeria (Jowitt 2019:39). According to Jowitt (2019:192), it is difficult to identify the settler strand in Nigeria. A settler strand is supposed to be a group of native speaker settlers and their descendants who initially identify with the 'home' country but later with the new country as it advances towards independence (Jowitt ibid; see also Schneider 2007:31 ff). While this was the case in South Africa and some parts of East Africa, in Nigeria, the government officials, teachers and missionaries who set English standard during the colonial era rarely identified with Nigeria rather than with Britain. They

were (and saw themselves) as expatriates. If this was the case with the British who officially colonised Nigeria, then the brief period spent by the American missionaries and explorers in Nigeria could not have been in any way different. This indicates that the 'STL strand' concept of the Dynamic model probably needs to be adjusted, hence the importance of encompassing the extra- and intra-territorial forces mechanism, which suggests not just the foundation phase of colonisation or any other physical language contact situations but rather all possible ways (both internal and external) for the spread and development of the English language. An example is the factor of globalisation via the Internet and the media. The relatively positive ratings of the American English accents by the Nigerian respondents indicate the possible influence of US popular culture and media in Nigeria. In this respect, it seems plausible to assume that extra-territorial forces like the Internet and media can represent a language contact situation playing a similar role to that of the settler strand, where different language varieties are able to meet (Paolillo 2007:424, Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017:115). These findings corroborate other studies that have reported situations where American English, especially through the global media, exerts an increasing influence on the development of different English varieties (Taylor 2001 for Australia, Schneider 1999 for Singapore, Trüb 2008 for South Africa, Awonusi 2004, Igboanusi 2003, 2008 for Nigeria).

6.4. Limitations and Outlook for Future Research

Although the results of the current study have shed light on the complexity of the attitudes of Nigerians towards accents of English and provided relevant explanations for the results, there are undoubtedly some constraints, indicating that there is still work to be done.

Firstly, in the verbal-guise experiment, although great care was taken to minimise the effects of potentially confounding variables, there were unavoidable non-linguistic factors that could influence respondents' evaluations. For instance, the environment where the verbal-guise test

was conducted and the unfamiliarity of respondents with the verbal-guise test and its procedures may have had an impact on the respondents' evaluations. In order to discount this possibility and to validate the results obtained in the current study, verbal-guise studies of a similar nature may be conducted amongst users of English in Nigeria.

Another limitation of the study has to do with the statistical techniques used for the data analysis. This study used parametric tests (such as ANOVA and MANOVA), which have been used in previous studies (e.g. McKenzie 2006, Zhang 2010) to analyse the data. However, as noted by Chien (2018:286-287), one of the challenges of such parametric models is that they are likely to ignore individual differences and misrepresent the distributions of correlations and statistical significances. It is likely that individuals behave differently towards the English accents, which the parametric tests may not account for (Johnson 2014:2). Future studies on language attitudes may adopt mixed-effects regression models, which will help the researcher to handle potential individual variations through illustrative analyses like scatterplots (e.g. Johnson 2014).

Thirdly, there was only one speaker recorded for each of the accents of English, with the exception of Nigerian English (two speaker representatives); one speaker may not be enough to represent a language variety. As reflected in the ratings of the two Nigerian English speakers, respondents' attitudes may differ. Therefore, further studies are recommended which may include more speech samples to represent the different accents of English. Likewise, in order to further investigate the attitudes of Nigerians towards accents of English, future studies may include recordings of speakers of other varieties of English for evaluation. Little or nothing has been reported on Nigerians' perceptions of speakers of Expanding Circle English accents; there is, therefore, a need for studies to be conducted on these English accents.

Also, the speakers selected in the present study were all men in their 20s and 30s. It would, therefore, be useful to conduct a similar study with female speakers and perhaps speakers of other age groups. The respondents of the present study were all university students. This makes the population relatively homogeneous. A larger number of Nigerian respondents may be included in a similar study. In this way, the results can be generalised beyond this particular group.

Even though the present study examined the influence of a number of background variables on the attitudes of Nigerian respondents towards English accents, it is recommended that future studies should take into account the influence of other factors such as age (Coupland & Bishop 2007, Skyes 2010), socio-economic status (Zhang 2010) and level of education (e.g. Skyes 2010) on respondents' perceptions of accents of English.

In addition, the results of the present study point to the presence of a certain degree of solidarity among the Nigerian respondents towards Nigerian English. However, British English and American English were rated higher in the VGT. One likely reason for this is that the local varieties of English are not given enough attention in the classroom (Oyebola 2019). It is therefore natural that student-respondents do not rate their Nigerian accent very positively. For further studies, it may be important to focus on the solidarity dimension of Nigerians towards Nigerian English, to determine which factors are responsible for their attitudes in order to ascertain why British English and American English were perceived with a higher degree of solidarity than Nigerian English. It may also be important for further studies to examine the attitudes of Nigerian teachers or even secondary school students towards accents of English. The findings obtained from such studies may have further pedagogical implications for the choice of a linguistic model in the Nigerian classroom.

To conclude, this chapter has provided a summary of the results of the study, a detailed

discussion on the findings, and outlined the limitations of the study and some possibilities for future research. It is expected that the investigation in this thesis will provide new insights into the attitudes of Nigerians towards accents of English in Nigeria, particularly with regard to Nigerians' perception of Nigerian English. Not only did the results of the verbal-guise test reveal that Nigerian English was perceived relatively positive in terms of solidarity but also through the direct questions and the interview questions, where it was ranked higher than Inner Circle accents in the domains of ownership, identity, and association. This study is the first study to establish a model of potentially determining social variables in language attitudes studies within the Nigerian context. It is also the first study to include the accent recognition test to complement the verbal-guise study of language attitudes in the African context. This study has, therefore, provided a clear picture of the different attitudes, acceptability, and preference of English accents among Nigerian users of English.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Verbal-guise Task

Dear Participant,

As part of my PhD research with the University of Münster, Germany, I am undertaking an investigation with focus on speakers of English in Nigeria. Your participation in this section will involve listening to some recordings and doing a rating task. The whole process should not take more than fifteen minutes of your time.

The exercise is anonymous so please answer as truthfully as possible; there is no particular correct answer that is being sought. If you do not wish to complete any part of the questionnaire, you are free to leave it blank.

I assure you of complete confidentiality and anonymity. Furthermore, any information you give will be used only for the purposes of this particular research project.

Folajimi Oyebola

Section A (Background Information)

Please complete this section with information about yourself

1. Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐
2. Age Group: (16-19) ☐ (20-29) ☐ (30-39) ☐ (40-49) ☐ (50+) ☐
3. University: University of Lagos ☐   University of Benin ☐   University of Niger ☐   University of Port Harcourt ☐   Obafemi Awolowo University ☐   Nnamdi Azikwe University ☐   Bayero University ☐ Ahmadu Bello University ☐
4. Programme of study: _____
5. Present Level   100 ☐   200 ☐   300 ☐   400 ☐   500+ ☐   PG ☐
6. Country of Birth: _____
7. Country of Mother's Birth: _____
8. Country of Father's Birth: _____
9. Which languages do you speak? _____
10. Have you ever been to any English speaking country outside Nigeria? Yes ☐ No ☐
    If yes,

    Pleases country/countries   and the duration of stay

    1. _____   _____
    2. _____   _____
    3. _____   _____
    4. _____   _____

Section B

Listen carefully to the recordings and indicate your impressions of each speaker among the fifteen criteria. As you listen, please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with the speaker's possession of the qualities in question from scales 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). You may listen to each speaker more than once but make sure you complete the list of traits for each speaker before proceeding to the next one.

Speaker 1

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
1.	The person sounds refined						
2.	The person sounds competent						
3.	The person sounds sincere						
4.	The person sounds foreign						
5.	The person sounds convincing						
6.	The person sounds modest						
7.	The person sounds educated						
8.	The person's speech is intelligible for me						
9.	The person sounds friendly						
10	The person sounds trustworthy						
11	The person sounds polite						
12	The person sounds confident						
13	The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria						
14	The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria						
15	The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians						

Speaker 2

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
1.	The person sounds refined						
2.	The person sounds competent						
3.	The person sounds sincere						
4.	The person sounds foreign						
5.	The person sounds convincing						
6.	The person sounds modest						
7.	The person sounds educated						
8.	The person's speech is intelligible for me						
9.	The person sounds friendly						

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
10	The person sounds trustworthy						
11	The person sounds polite						
12	The person sounds confident						
13	The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria						
14	The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria						
15	The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians						

Speaker 3

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
1.	The person sounds refined						
2.	The person sounds competent						
3.	The person sounds sincere						
4.	The person sounds foreign						
5.	The person sounds convincing						
6.	The person sounds modest						
7.	The person sounds educated						
8.	The person's speech is intelligible for me						
9.	The person sounds friendly						
10	The person sounds trustworthy						
11	The person sounds polite						
12	The person sounds confident						
13	The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria						
14	The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria						
15	The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians						

Speaker 4

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
1.	The person sounds refined						
2.	The person sounds competent						
3.	The person sounds sincere						
4.	The person sounds foreign						
5.	The person sounds convincing						
6.	The person sounds modest						

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
7.	The person sounds educated						
8.	The person's speech is intelligible for me						
9.	The person sounds friendly						
10	The person sounds trustworthy						
11	The person sounds polite						
12	The person sounds confident						
13	The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria						
14	The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria						
15	The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians						

Speaker 5

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
2.	The person sounds refined						
3.	The person sounds competent						
4.	The person sounds sincere						
5.	The person sounds foreign						
6.	The person sounds convincing						
7.	The person sounds modest						
8.	The person sounds educated						
9.	The person's speech is intelligible for me						
10	The person sounds friendly						
11	The person sounds trustworthy						
12	The person sounds polite						
13	The person sounds confident						
14	The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria						
15	The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria						
16	The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians						

Speaker 6

		Strongly disagree (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Strongly agree (6)
1.	The person sounds refined						
2.	The person sounds competent						

3.	The person sounds sincere						
4.	The person sounds foreign						
5.	The person sounds convincing						
6.	The person sounds modest						
7.	The person sounds educated						
8.	The person's speech is intelligible for me						
9.	The person sounds friendly						
10	The person sounds trustworthy						
11	The person sounds polite						
12	The person sounds confident						
13	The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria						
14	The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria						
15	The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians						

Section C

Accent Recognition Test

Please listen to the recordings again and indicate by ticking [√] from the options in the table below what you think the nationalities of speakers are.

Nationality	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 3	Speaker 4	Speaker 5	Speaker 6
American						
British						
Ghanaian						
Jamaican						
Nigerian						

Appendix 2: Reading Passage

Why is Nigeria called the giant of Africa?

With a population of over one hundred and eight six million people, Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa, the most populous black nation on earth, and the eighth most populous in the world.

With an annual gross domestic product of about four hundred billion dollars, Nigeria has the largest economy in Africa.

Nigeria is home to Lagos, the sixth largest urban centre in the world.

Nigeria is the only African country listed among the "Next Eleven" economies poised to become the biggest economies in the Twenty-first century.

The Nigerian economy is the fourth fastest growing in the world.

At one hundred and twenty five trillion cubic feet, Nigeria has the seventh largest gas reserves in the world.

Nigeria has Africa's largest university educated population of approximately thirty-five million.

Nigeria has Africa's largest and most prosperous middle class of approximately fifty million.

Nigeria has one of the top three most powerful military forces in Africa.

Nigeria is the first and only Black country in the world where cars are locally manufactured (not assembled)

Nigeria is the first Black country to launch a space satellite.

Nigeria has the fastest growing construction industry in the world.

For decades, Nigeria has been playing a "fatherly" role in African politics, providing economic support and peacekeeping assistance when and where necessary.

Nigerians are the most exposed and traveled people in Africa. There are Nigerians in every country on Earth!

Yes, Nigeria is truly the giant of Africa despite the fact she has got Giant Problems.

Appendix 3: Questionnaire on the Attitude of Nigerian Students towards Accents of English

In this section, you will be asked about your thoughts on English accents. The whole process should not take more than ten minutes of your time.

The exercise is anonymous so please answer as truthfully as possible; there is no particular correct answer that is being sought. If you do not wish to complete any part of the questionnaire, you are free to leave it blank.

I assure you of complete confidentiality and anonymity. Furthermore, any information you give will be used only for the purposes of this particular research project.

Folajimi Oyebola

Section A

1. How often do you watch or listen to an American English programme on TV, Youtube etc? (Please give an example_____)

   Everyday ☐ sometimes ☐ hardly ☐ not at all ☐

2. How often do you watch or listen to a British English programme on TV, Youtube etc?(Please give an example_____)

   Everyday ☐ sometime ☐ hardly ☐ not at all ☐

3. How often do you watch or listen to a Ghanaian English programme on TV, Youtube etc?(Please give an example_____)
   Everyday ☐ sometimes ☐ hardly ☐ not at all ☐

4. How often do you watch or listen to a Jamaican English programme on TV, Youtube etc?(Please give an example_____)
   Every day ☐ sometimes ☐ hardly ☐ not at all ☐

5. How often do you watch or listen to a Nigerian English programme on TV, Youtube etc? (Please give an example_____)
   Everyday ☐ sometimes ☐ hardly ☐ not at all ☐

Section B: Accent Evaluation

6. Choose the accents of English that you are familiar with

   American English ☐
   British English ☐
   Ghanaian English ☐
   Jamaican English ☐
   Nigerian English ☐

7. Can you (accurately) recognize the difference between a native English accent (e.g. American/British) and a non-native English accent (Nigerian(Ghanaian)?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know ☐

8. Rank the different accents of English based on which you believe is the most 'pleasant'. 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options write 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box
American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

9. Rank the different accents of English based on which you believe is the most 'understandable'. 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options tick 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box
American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

10. Rank the different accents based on which you believe is the most appropriate for newscasters in the media (Radio/TV). 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options tick 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box.
American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

11. Rank the different accents of English based on which you believe is the most 'prestigious'. 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options tick 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box
American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

12. Rank the different accents of English based on which you believe has the best capacity to express any area of your thoughts and feelings. 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options tick 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box
American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

13. Rank the different accents of English based on which you believe is the best for an official language in Nigeria. 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options tick 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box

American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

14. Rank the different accents of English based on which you believe is the best for teaching English in Nigerian schools. 1 comes first, 2 comes second and so on. If you are not familiar with one or more of the options tick 'NF' (Not familiar with this) in the box

American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

15. Which accent do you aim at when you speak English?

American English ☐
British English ☐
Ghanaian English ☐
Jamaican English ☐
Nigerian English ☐

16. How satisfied are you with your English accent?

Very satisfied ☐   quite satisfied ☐   not every satisfied ☐   not satisfied ☐

17. Would you like to sound more 'native-like' when you speak English (i.e American, British etc)?   Yes   No

18. In your opinion, is there a Standard American English accent?
Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

19. In your opinion, is there a Standard British English accent?
Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

20. In your opinion, is there a Standard Ghanaian English accent?
Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

21. In your opinion, is there a Standard Jamaican English accent?
Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

22. In your opinion, is is there a Standard Nigerian English accent?
Yes ☐   No ☐   Don't know ☐

23. What category of people do you think use American English accent in Nigeria?
All category of people ☐   Non-literate ☐   semi-literate ☐   literates ☐

24. What category of people do you think use British English accent in Nigeria?
All category of people ☐   Non-literate ☐   semi-literate ☐   literates ☐

25. What category of people do you think use Ghanaian English accent in Nigeria?
All category of people ☐   Non-literate ☐   semi-literate ☐   literates ☐

26. What category of people do you think use Jamaican English accent in Nigeria?
All category of people ☐   Non-literate ☐   semi-literate ☐   literates ☐

27. What category of people do you think use Nigerian English accent in Nigeria?

All category of people ☐ Non-literate ☐ semi-literate ☐ literates ☐

28. In what situation would you consider an American English accent appropriate?
Always ☐ social ☐ formal ☐ None ☐

29. In what situation would you consider a British English accent appropriate in Nigeria?
Always ☐ social ☐ formal ☐ None ☐

30. In what situation would you consider a Ghanaian English accent appropriate in Nigeria? Always ☐ social ☐ formal ☐ none ☐

31. In what situation would you consider a Jamaican English accent appropriate in Nigeria?
Always ☐ social ☐ formal ☐ none ☐

32. In what situation would you consider a Nigerian English accent appropriate in Nigeria?
Always ☐ social ☐ formal ☐ none ☐

Section C: Personality Perception

Please tick either yes or no for each of these questions

1. Do you feel good when someone thinks your accent is like native English speaker's accent (i.e. American/British)? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Do you occasionally deliberately try to sound like a native speaker (i.e. American/British)? Yes ☐ No ☐

3. You think it is important to maintain your Nigerian accent in your English
Yes ☐ No ☐

4. Would you mind if people were to recognize the Nigerian origin through your English?
Yes ☐ No ☐

Further comments please:

_____

_____

Appendix 4: Interview Questions

1. Personal background questions
2. What accent of English do you speak?
3. Are you satisfied with your English accent?
4. Which accent of English do you aim to use?
5. What would you say has influenced your decision on the English accent you have as target?
6. Would you mind if people were to recognize a Nigerian origin through your accent? Or How would you react to a statement like "You sound Nigerian"?
7. If you did not speak Nigerian English, which of the accents of English you listened to would you prefer to speak? And Why?
8. Which of the accents of English you listened to do you least like?
9. What do you think should be the preferred accent when teaching English in Nigeria?
10. Do you think native speakers of English would make a better English teacher than nonnative English speaker?

Appendix 5: Questionnaire Consent Form

As part of my PhD research with the University of Münster, Germany, I am undertaking an investigation with focus on speakers of English in Nigeria. I am looking for Nigerian students who are willing to participate in a study that will involve (1) completing a questionnaire form, (2) listening to some recordings and doing a rating task and (3) participating in an interview. The whole process should not take more than an hour of your time.

I assure you complete confidentiality and anonymity. Also, any information you give will be used for the purposes of only this research project.

Folajimi Oyebola

Please fill the information below if you are willing to participate in this study.

I _____, am willing to participate in this study. I understand and agree that any information I provide will be used solely for this research project.

Sign_____   Date_____

Appendix 6: The Composition of the Nigerian Respondents (N=209)

		Frequency	Percent
Gender			
Male		108	51.7
Female		101	48.3
Region			
North	Ahmadu Bello University	27	12.9
	Bayero University	28	13.4
West	University of Lagos	25	12
	Obafemi Awolowo University	28	13.4
East	University of Nigeria	25	12
	Nnamdi Azikwe University	25	12
South	University of Benin	25	12
	University of PortHarcourt	26	12.4

Appendix 7: Themes of Evaluation of English Accents by Nigerian Students in the Interviews

Positive themes	Negative themes
Accent	Too fast
Highlighting	Hurried pace
Stress	Plodding rate
Articulate	Bad rhythm
Diction	Slow
Enunciate	Faltering
Delivery	Forced
Pronunciation	Disfluent
Clear	Artificial
Coherent	Hard
Comprehensible	Heavy pitch
Intelligible	Poor sound quality
Plain	Inconsistency
Effortless	Mumbled
Fluent	Muttering
Natural	Slurred
Smooth	Unclear words
Simple	Unpleasant
Understandable	Dragging
Appealing	Sick
Attractive	Imprecise
Charming	Over-cautious
Eloquent	Hesitant
Expressive	Shy
Persuasive	Doubtful
Pleasant	Timid
Pleasing	Uncertain
Believable	Unsure
Credible	Forceful
Comfortable	Dull
Certain	Talkative
Confident	Docile
positive	Passive
Self-assured	Proud
Convincing	Slavish
Persuasive	Agitated
Easiness	Placid
Easy-going	Over-familiarity
Relaxed	Boring
Easy-going	
Authority	
Meek	
Modest	

Appendix 8: Post Hoc Test: Pairwise Comparisons for Speaker: All Traits

(I) speakers	(J) speakers	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% Confidence Interval for Difference[b]	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Ghanian	Nigerian1	-.813*	.116	.000	-1.159	-.468
	British	-1.636*	.119	.000	-1.991	-1.282
	Nigerian2	.316	.137	.334	-.091	.723
	American	-1.311*	.124	.000	-1.680	-.942
	Jamaican	-.785*	.134	.000	-1.181	-.388
Nigerian1	Ghanian	.813*	.116	.000	.468	1.159
	British	-.823*	.106	.000	-1.139	-.507
	Nigerian2	1.129*	.118	.000	.779	1.480
	American	-.498*	.099	.000	-.793	-.202
	Jamaican	.029	.095	1.000	-.252	.310
British	Ghanian	1.636*	.119	.000	1.282	1.991
	Nigerian1	.823*	.106	.000	.507	1.139
	Nigerian2	1.952*	.121	.000	1.592	2.312
	American	.325*	.098	.016	.034	.616
	Jamaican	.852*	.096	.000	.567	1.137
Nigerian2	Ghanian	-.316	.137	.334	-.723	.091
	Nigerian1	-1.129*	.118	.000	-1.480	-.779
	British	-1.952*	.121	.000	-2.312	-1.592
	American	-1.627*	.134	.000	-2.025	-1.229
	Jamaican	-1.100*	.104	.000	-1.410	-.791
American	Ghanian	1.311*	.124	.000	.942	1.680
	Nigerian1	.498*	.099	.000	.202	.793
	British	-.325*	.098	.016	-.616	-.034
	Nigerian2	1.627*	.134	.000	1.229	2.025
	Jamaican	.526*	.107	.000	.210	.843
Jamaican	Ghanian	.785*	.134	.000	.388	1.181
	Nigerian1	-.029	.095	1.000	-.310	.252
	British	-.852*	.096	.000	-1.137	-.567
	Nigerian2	1.100*	.104	.000	.791	1.410
	American	-.526*	.107	.000	-.843	-.210

Based on estimated marginal means
*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

Appendix 9: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Communalities		
	Initial	Extraction
The person sounds refined	1.000	.514
The person sounds competent	1.000	.599
The person sounds sincere	1.000	.537
The person sounds foreign	1.000	.525
The person sounds convincing	1.000	.561
The person sounds modest	1.000	.538
The person sounds educated	1.000	.591
The person's speech is intelligible for me	1.000	.566
The person sounds friendly	1.000	.635
The person sounds trustworthy	1.000	.648
The person sounds polite	1.000	.691
The person sounds confident	1.000	.633
The person would make a good English teacher in Nigeria	1.000	.774
The person would make a good newscaster in Nigeria	1.000	.746
The person would make a good linguistic role model for Nigerians	1.000	.766

Appendix 10: Post Hoc Test: Pairwise Comparisons for Speaker Status

(I) speakers	(J) speakers	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% Confidence Interval for Difference[b]	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Ghanaian	Nigerian 1	-.522[*]	.112	.000	-.855	-.188
	British	-1.263[*]	.109	.000	-1.586	-.940
	Nigerian 2	.263	.105	.191	-.048	.574
	American	-1.110[*]	.102	.000	-1.413	-.807
	Jamaican	-.713[*]	.114	.000	-1.051	-.374
Nigerian 1	Ghanaian	.522[*]	.112	.000	.188	.855
	British	-.742[*]	.106	.000	-1.057	-.426
	Nigerian 2	.785[*]	.107	.000	.468	1.102
	American	-.589[*]	.094	.000	-.868	-.309
	Jamaican	-.191	.106	1.000	-.505	.123
British	Ghanaian	1.263[*]	.109	.000	.940	1.586
	Nigerian 1	.742[*]	.106	.000	.426	1.057
	Nigerian 2	1.526[*]	.114	.000	1.189	1.863
	American	.153	.085	1.000	-.100	.406
	Jamaican	.550[*]	.094	.000	.271	.829
Nigerian 2	Ghanaian	-.263	.105	.191	-.574	.048
	Nigerian 1	-.785[*]	.107	.000	-1.102	-.468
	British	-1.526[*]	.114	.000	-1.863	-1.189
	American	-1.373[*]	.116	.000	-1.718	-1.028
	Jamaican	-.976[*]	.098	.000	-1.267	-.685
American	Ghanaian	1.110[*]	.102	.000	.807	1.413
	Nigerian 1	.589[*]	.094	.000	.309	.868
	British	-.153	.085	1.000	-.406	.100
	Nigerian 2	1.373[*]	.116	.000	1.028	1.718
	Jamaican	.397[*]	.101	.002	.098	.697
Jamaican	Ghanaian	.713[*]	.114	.000	.374	1.051
	Nigerian 1	.191	.106	1.000	-.123	.505
	British	-.550[*]	.094	.000	-.829	-.271
	Nigerian 2	.976[*]	.098	.000	.685	1.267
	American	-.397[*]	.101	.002	-.697	-.098

Based on estimated marginal means
*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

Appendix 11: Post Hoc Test Pairwise Comparisons for Speaker Solidarity

(I) speakers	(J) speakers	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[b]	95% Confidence Interval for Difference[b]	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Ghanaian	Nigerian 1	-.620*	.107	.000	-.937	-.304
	British	-.990*	.117	.000	-1.337	-.644
	Nigerian 2	.288	.116	.200	-.055	.632
	American	-.764*	.115	.000	-1.105	-.424
	Jamaican	-.563*	.119	.000	-.915	-.210
Nigerian 1	Ghanaian	.620*	.107	.000	.304	.937
	British	-.370*	.087	.000	-.628	-.112
	Nigerian 2	.909*	.114	.000	.571	1.246
	American	-.144	.091	1.000	-.415	.126
	Jamaican	.058	.094	1.000	-.221	.336
British	Ghanaian	.990*	.117	.000	.644	1.337
	Nigerian 1	.370*	.087	.000	.112	.628
	Nigerian 2	1.279*	.110	.000	.953	1.605
	American	.226	.088	.159	-.034	.486
	Jamaican	.428*	.096	.000	.143	.712
Nigerian 2	Ghanaian	-.288	.116	.200	-.632	.055
	Nigerian 1	-.909*	.114	.000	-1.246	-.571
	British	-1.279*	.110	.000	-1.605	-.953
	American	-1.053*	.118	.000	-1.404	-.702
	Jamaican	-.851*	.107	.000	-1.167	-.535
American	Ghanaian	.764*	.115	.000	.424	1.105
	Nigerian 1	.144	.091	1.000	-.126	.415
	British	-.226	.088	.159	-.486	.034
	Nigerian 2	1.053*	.118	.000	.702	1.404
	Jamaican	.202	.093	.470	-.075	.479
Jamaican	Ghanaian	.563*	.119	.000	.210	.915
	Nigerian 1	-.058	.094	1.000	-.336	.221
	British	-.428*	.096	.000	-.712	-.143
	Nigerian 2	.851*	.107	.000	.535	1.167
	American	-.202	.093	.470	-.479	.075

Based on estimated marginal means
*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

Appendix 12: Preference for English Accents

Items	English accents	Mean	Standard deviation
Pleasant	American English	4.10	0.83
	British English	4.53	0.72
	Ghanaian English	2.91	1.56
	Jamaican English	3.04	2.33
	Nigeria English	3.16	1.05
Understandable	American English	3.66	1.02
	British English	3.74	1.08
	Ghanaian English	3.08	1.52
	Jamaican English	2.98	2.36
	Nigeria English	4.17	1.1
Newscaster	American English	4.07	0.81
	British English	4.59	0.76
	Ghanaian English	3.07	1.54
	Jamaican English	2.99	2.27
	Nigeria English	3.00	1.18
Prestigious	American English	4.04	0.75
	British English	4.62	0.75
	Ghanaian English	2.82	1.57
	Jamaican English	2.9	2.24
	Nigeria English	3.03	1.02
Expressive	American English	3.57	1.14
	British English	3.79	1.05
	Ghanaian English	3.11	1.65
	Jamaican English	2.96	2.27
	Nigeria English	4.3	1.05
Official language	American English	3.54	0.96
	British English	4.4	0.86
	Ghanaian English	3.04	1.65
	Jamaican English	3	2.28
	Nigeria English	3.75	1.23
Teaching	American English	3.55	0.99
	British English	4.5	0.79
	Ghanaian English	3	1.64
	Jamaican English	2.9	2.29
	Nigeria English	3.75	1.12

Appendix 13: Overall Accent Recognition Rate

Speaker	Rate of Identification (percentage)				
	American	British	Ghanaian	Jamaican	Nigerian
American	57.4	24.9	5.75	8.6	3.4
British	25.35	56.45	6.2	3.8	8.15
Ghanaian	2.85	3.35	57.45	9.55	26.8
Jamaican	21.15	25.5	10.1	20.2	23.1
Nigerian 1	6.65	8.2	7.75	12.65	*64.75*
Nigerian 2	2.9	3.35	14.8	41.2	37.75