

The Quotative System of Nigerian English



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List of Abbreviations

AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AUX	Auxiliary
CHP	Conversational Historical Present
DECTE	Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English
FCT	Federal Capital Territory
FGN	Federal Government of Nigeria
HND	Higher National Diploma
IDG	Indigenous Groups
JAMB	Joint Admission and Matriculation Board
LSWE	Longman Spoken and Written English
LVC	Language Variation and Change
MSAC	Multisource 'All' Corpus
MT	Mother Tongue
NE	Nigerian English
NPE	Nigerian Pidgin English
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
NSNE	Non-standard Nigerian English
PCEs	Postcolonial Englishes
PIS	Participant Information Sheet
RP	Received Pronunciation
SBE	Standard British English
SE	Standard English
SNE	Standard Nigerian English
STL	Settlers speech community
STRC	Stanford Tape-Recorded Corpus
SWB	Switchboard Corpus
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
WFTRC	Wimmer/Fought Tape-Recorded Corpus

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Abstract

This thesis explores the ways speakers of Nigerian English (NE) re-create their own speech and the speech of others in narrative discourse using different quotatives. Research on English quotatives largely concentrated on the spread of quotatives in native varieties (e.g. American English, Barbieri, 2007; British English, Buchstaller, 2006; Scottish English, Macaulay, 2001; New Zealand English, Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009; Australian English, Winter, 2002; Canadian English, Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004), whereas non-native varieties have received notably less attention. Therefore, this thesis presents an account of the acquisition and spread of quotatives in NE, which is a non-native variety.

The study is based on naturally occurring data collected from 180 participants during sociolinguistic interviews conducted at different locations in Nigeria. The primary focus is on *be like*, *say*, *tell*, and *zero* quotatives on the grounds of their high frequency in my data. The study adopts Schneider’s (2007) Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes to examine the emergence and development of NE, and Variationist Sociolinguistics (Labov, 1963, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2012) for the analysis of the quotatives. The analysis is based on a mixed-methods approach that relies on both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

The quantitative analysis was conducted using *Rbrul* (Johnson, 2009). The discourse analytic qualitative method was employed in the qualitative analysis mainly to address the question of how and why different quotatives have specific discourse-pragmatic functions in performed narratives. While investigating how users of NE differ from other varieties of English in their use of quotatives, the study explores how the speaker’s choice of the different quotatives is conditioned by both linguistic (the content of the quote, grammatical person of the quotative, and tense/time reference of the quotative) and social (age, sex, regional origin, and social class) factors.

The findings from this thesis show that there is a change in the development of quotative expressions in NE, which has a strong place in the way Nigerians recreate speech in narrative conversations. The findings demonstrate that a marked change in

NE with respect to quotatives lies in *be like* use and how this quotative form offers an alternative way of introducing direct speech, which seems on the same model as *say*, *tell*, and other traditional quotative forms. In sum, this thesis offers insight into understanding the mechanisms of linguistic change and how the English quotative system has been adapted in NE.

CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction

1.1 Background to the study

In the past few decades, research in sociolinguistics has drawn attention to quotatives also known as ‘reporting devices’ or ‘direct speech introducers’ that speakers use for reporting speech, thoughts, attitudes, or gestures. The use of quotatives was first noted by Butters (1980, 1982) in American English, and since then, *go* and *be like* have been in the quotative system along with more traditional forms such as *say*, and *think* (Tagliamonte, 2012: 247). McCarthy (1998: 150) highlights their importance where he stresses that “hardly any stretch of casual conversational data is without reports of prior speech”. Some English quotatives do not only introduce speech but also perform discourse-pragmatic functions of introducing thoughts or gestures. For instance, quotative *be like* is a flexible discourse marker that can introduce internal dialogue or speech (Ferrara & Bell, 1995: 285). With respect to reported speech, Coulmas states that:

Utterances can be made the subject of other utterances. They can be criticized, questioned, commented on, or simply be reported. Language can be used to refer to language. We can talk about talk. This is true for all natural languages and is, indeed, a fundamental feature whose absence disqualifies any sign system as a human language.

(Coulmas, 1986: 2)

Existing studies on quotatives show that the English quotative system is diverse and constantly changing. For instance, *be like*, *go*, and *say* differ in the way they are used. While *be like* is largely associated with young speakers, quotative *say* is associated with old speakers (Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy 2007: 204; Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009). In fact, Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009: 304) report that *be like* is almost non-existent in the speech of old speakers. *Go* on the other hand is a preferred form for teenagers and young adults (Cukor-Avila, 2002: 3). In terms of the

tense the quotatives take, *be like* is found to be more frequently used in present tense contexts, while past tense tends to favour *go* and *say* (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991). In relation to the subjects they take, *be like* is commonly found with first person while both *go* and *say* favour third person (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999: 161). Contrary to this, *be like* is likely to be used in the third-person singular rather than first-person singular contexts (Ferrara & Bell, 1995). With regard to social class, *be like* is considered to be a characteristic of the middle class (Blyth et al, 1990). Romaine and Lange (1991) in their study argue that *be like* is more frequent among the working class. Studies on gender differences, however, have yielded mixed results. In some studies, *be like* is found to be associated with men (Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009), while in other studies *be like* is reported to be preferred by women (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Ferrara & Bell, 1995). As for the content of the quote, *be like* introduces direct speech as well as thoughts, whereas *go* and *say* introduce direct speech or something clearly said aloud (Blyth et. al. 1990: 2015). Research on quotatives has not always yielded comparable results in terms of the social and linguistic factors that favour their use. Some constraints have been found to have consistent effects in many studies, while there is still no consensus on the behaviour of other constraints (see chapter 2.3).

However, studies on English quotatives largely concentrate on the spread of the quotatives in American English (Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Dailey-O’Cain, 2000; Barbieri, 2007), British English (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Buchstaller, 2006), Scottish English (Macaulay, 2001), New Zealand English (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009), Australian English (Winter, 2002) and Canadian English (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 2009; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004). Less attention has been paid to quotatives in non-native varieties. Given the well-documented diversity in varieties of English around the world in other linguistic areas, there is a need to investigate the inventories of quotatives speakers from different regions and countries have in their repertoire. This issue is especially pressing given how frequently quotatives are used in everyday speech and thus can give rise to misunderstandings in international communication. Schneider (2007: 86) observes

that “the juncture of syntax and semantics is known to be particularly susceptible to innovation in New Englishes” – and this is exactly where quotatives are situated.

As a line of scholarly enquiry, this study fills an important research gap related to English quotatives in non-native varieties as it investigates how Nigerian English (henceforth NE) differs from other varieties of English. In addition, this study investigates how speakers’ choice of quotatives is conditioned by both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. The linguistic factors considered in this study are the tense/time reference of the quotative (past tense, present tense, and future time reference), the grammatical person of the quotative (first-person singular, first-person plural, second-person, third-person singular, third-person plural, and neuter), and the content of the quote (direct speech, gesture, and thought). The extra-linguistic factors considered are the social variables age (adolescents, 15-20; young adults, 21-30; middle-aged adults, 31-50; and older adults, 51 and above), regional origin (the north and the south), sex (male and female), and social class (lower class, middle class, and upper class). The primary focus of this study is on the following quotatives: *be like*, *go*, *say*, *tell*, *think*, and *zero*.¹ In NE, it is common for speakers to re-create their own speech and the speech of other speakers in narrative discourse and free conversation using different quotatives. Consider the following examples which I recorded from a spontaneous casual conversation in Nigeria:

- (1) (a) He *was like* “What if I do not give him the money?”
(b) I *thought* “She really knows how to play right”.
(c) He *tells* her “That is our traditional dish”.

- (2) (a) And he *goes* “What do you mean?”
(b) She *said* “Oh, well I cannot give you more than that”.
(c) Mummy will be going out "So stay with your younger siblings".

¹ *Zero* quotatives introduce quotes without an overt marker, which are usually determined by the context of the conversation.

In (1a), using *was like*, the speaker quotes another speaker whose utterance is about giving some money to someone. In (1b), using *thought*, the speaker recreates his thought about a female friend whom he believes knows how to socialise with people. In (1c), the speaker uses *tell* to report a comment from another speaker. Similarly, in (2a), the speaker uses *go* to recreate the speech of another speaker whose utterance is in the form of a question. In (2b), using *said*, the speaker quotes an utterance made by an assessor. In (2c), the speaker quoted mummy's comment, which is not marked with an overt quotative form. These examples illustrate how NE speakers use different quotatives in casual conversations.

This study develops a comprehensive account of the acquisition and spread of quotatives in NE. In addition, it broadens our understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic change through the study of how the English quotative system has been adapted in NE. More generally, it sheds new insights into the study of quotatives, specifically with regard to discourse-pragmatic functions of quotatives in various genres. Thus, the aims of this study are achieved by seeking answers to the following questions:

1. What is the frequency distribution of the different quotative forms in NE?
2. Who are the principal users of quotatives and which quotatives are associated with these users?
3. Do factors such as age, regional origin, sex, and social class affect the use of different quotatives in NE?
4. What are the linguistic constraints that condition the occurrence of quotatives and how do these quotatives interact with the syntax of NE?
5. What are the discourse-pragmatic functions of the most frequent quotatives in NE?

The study adopts Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes to examine the emergence and development of NE. Schneider (2007: 29) proposes five phases through which Postcolonial Englishes progress, viz. foundation, exonormative stabilisation (e.g. Fiji English), nativisation (e.g. Hong Kong English), endonormative stabilisation (e.g. South African English), and differentiation (e.g. Canadian English).

Each of these five phases is defined by four parameters: socio-political background, sociolinguistic conditions, identity constructions, and linguistic effects (see chapter 3.2). According to Schneider (2007: 56), NE is now largely at phase three of nativisation, thus his framework classifies NE as an emergent variety. In this study, the proposition of the model with respect to the nativisation of NE is examined and evaluated in the perspective of how linguistic and social identities are maintained. The analysis of quotatives in this study is embedded within the variationist framework, which has been tried and tested in variationist studies of English quotatives (e.g. Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004; Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009). Data analysis and coding procedures follow Tagliamonte & D'Arcy (2004) as my study is based on a mixed-methods approach that relies on both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

1.2 Language situation in Nigeria

1.2.1 Introduction

Nigeria is a highly multilingual nation with over five hundred different languages with more than one thousand dialects (Ethnologue, 2005). Of these languages, only three are recognised as national languages: Hausa in the northern part of Nigeria, and Igbo and Yoruba in the southern part of Nigeria. These major languages serve as *lingua francas* or languages of trade in some parts of the country. Among the minor languages, some are more recognised than others. For example, Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Ijaw, Kanuri, Nupe and Tiv are not much used outside their areas of origin, but they are recognised as important especially in disseminating information at the regional level. Other minor languages such as Bole, Chamba, Gwari, Kukele, Marghi, and Izon are only relevant at the local level. The language situation at the local level is characterised by a predominantly monolingual setting with the possibility of bilingualism in some cases. In areas where there is local linguistic heterogeneity, one of the three major Nigerian languages is used as a language of communication across language barriers. For instance, Hausa is used in the northern part of the country as the language of inter-ethnic communication on informal and, at times, formal

occasions. English is used in such areas only in strictly official situations and interpreters are usually present to interpret whenever English is used.²

From the sociolinguistic point of view, the language situation becomes more interesting when it comes to dealing with the language choice of government officials, traders, and other people who come from different linguistic backgrounds to live in major cities where the dominant population speaks a different language. Some people live in major cities for many years and use only their mother tongues (henceforth MT) and possibly Pidgin English or English in official situations. According to Mobolaji (1972: 189), the tendency for people who come from different linguistic backgrounds to live together in the same part of the city makes it easy for them to use only their own languages in social interaction and English for official or semi-official occasions. Areas of language use at the national level include the activities of the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) both in the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and in carrying on with its functions with other states. Due to the complex linguistic situation in the heterogeneous Nigerian society, there is naturally a great problem in terms of inter-ethnic communication at this level of administration. This results from the fact that officials of the FGN are drawn from different linguistic backgrounds. This is why different states in the country now use English for strictly official purposes, and either English, Pidgin English, or another major Nigerian language for social communication. Figure 1.1 below is a linguistic map of Nigeria.

² Many of the minor languages in Nigeria do not have any standard orthography.

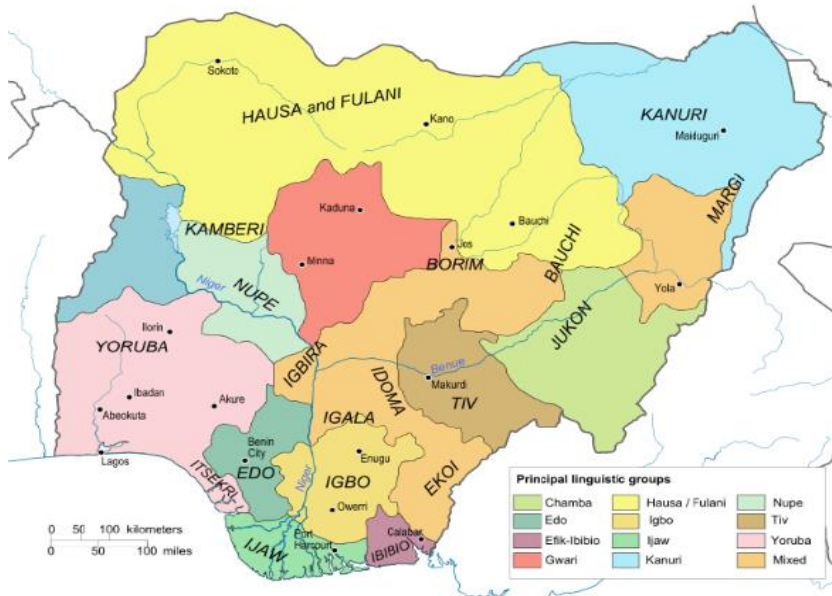


Figure 1.1: Linguistic Map of Nigeria (Martinez-Garcia, 2014: 55)

1.2.2 The English Language

English is the most important language in Nigeria because of its “official” status today. Historical records show that English came into Nigeria as a result of trading, slavery, colonisation, and missionary activities by Europeans (Spencer, 1971). The contact between Europeans and Nigerians started when the English sailor Thomas Windham, accompanied by Nicholas Lambert, visited a city in the southern part of Nigeria called Benin in 1553 and after that Englishmen paid frequent visits to the shores of Nigeria, especially the ports of Calabar and ancient Benin (Spencer, 1971: 10). In subsequent years, there was a boom in legal trading activities between West African countries and European countries. The trading focus shifted from legal trading in pepper, ivory, and gold to illegal trading in human beings known as slave trade. These trading activities brought Europeans and Nigerians closer and the type of communication which evolved between them was a simple communication in English mixed with properties from some local languages. According to Ajayi (1965: 89), by the 18th century, English was very common among Calabar traders in the southern part of Nigeria especially as some of the slaves who started learning English and also

trained as interpreters had returned to work as clerks in some European companies in Nigeria. With the amalgamation of the southern and the northern parts of Nigeria in 1914 by the country's colonial masters, the only option left was to accept the apparent superiority of the colonial masters with English as the hallmark.

Being the only language that breaks every ethnic and language barrier, English now performs several functions in Nigeria. One of the most important functions of English is its use as the medium of instruction in schools. Dearden (2014: 4) sees English as a medium of instruction as "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English". In Nigeria, English is a communication tool that is used in teaching at different levels of education. According to an official document titled *National Policy on Education* promulgated in 1977 and revised in 1981, 1998, and 2004, Section 4, Paragraphs 19 (e) and (f) state that:

The medium of instruction in the primary school shall be the language of the environment for the first three years. During this period, English shall be taught as a subject. From the fourth year, English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction and the language of the immediate environment and French shall be taught as subjects.

(Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004: 16)

This role can be considered as the most important function of English in Nigerian society. One of the challenges of teaching English in Nigeria is to make the students use the language outside the classroom setting and this discourages the use of "Standard English". Students use this variety of English in strictly formal situations and use their local languages or Pidgin English to distinguish the informality of conversations with peers from the formality of classrooms. Nevertheless, English has not lost its favoured place in the Nigerian setting since it is still prominent in the educational system of Nigeria. Besides, English functions as the language of commerce and industry, the language of international communication, the language of the media, the language of law and legal drafting, the language of science and

technology as well as the language of social interactions. This suggests that English plays key roles in Nigerian society, especially because it has the advantage of being ethnically neutral in an environment marked by ethnic tensions.

1.2.3 Nigerian English

As English has found a new environment in Nigeria, its structure adapts to suit the socio-cultural context of the Nigerian environment. Iwara (2008: 12) points out that the linguistic situation in Nigeria attracts attention, not only in terms of its social structure and political integration but also in terms of the actualisation of the ethnicity-based aspiration within the context of the genuine development of the country. In its new environment, English has adopted new features at almost all levels of linguistic analysis: morphology, phonetics, phonology, pragmatics, semantics, and syntax. These features in combination make English in Nigeria a unique variety that differs from other varieties in its own right. Because of the multi-lingual nature of Nigeria, NE itself has its own varieties which range from Standard Nigerian English (SNE) to Non-standard Nigerian English (NSNE) and Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). The situation is described as follows:

Varieties of Nigerian English arise from the interaction of the English language with the local languages and from the different ways speakers of a second language try to approximate the sounds of the language. It also occurs as a result of interference from the mother tongue (MT). Interference occurs at phonological, grammatical, and semantic levels; even at the level of lexis interference can still be noticed.

(Egwuogu, 2014: 103)

In the quest to identify different varieties of NE, many scholars in the field of linguistics have proposed different theoretical models. Most of the scholars adopted different yardsticks such as ethnicity, education, international intelligibility, and evolutionary criteria in support of their models. For example, Brosnahan (1958: 97-110) presents a classification of varieties of NE that builds on educational levels: (i)

the variety used by those with no formal education (Nigerian Pidgin English), (ii) the variety used by those with only primary education, (iii) the variety used by those with secondary education, and (iv) the variety used by those with university education. In this classification, the speakers at level (i) are mostly low-grade workers such as artisans, labourers, and market women. Educated Nigerians occasionally use this variety, especially when they are in an informal environment where they need to communicate across socio-cultural boundaries. Level (ii), which has the greatest number of users, is characterised by some grammatical features. At level (iii), the language is characterised by a wide range of lexical items and some degree of communicative fluency. Level (iv) is characterised by linguistic features close to Standard English which is used for official purposes. This classification is based on the education criterion. Adekunle (1974, 1979) and Adeniran (1979) utilise this criterion as a yardstick for the identification of Standard Nigerian English.

In another classification for standardising NE, Banjo proposes another criterion which rests on local acceptability and international intelligibility. He identifies four varieties:

Variety i: spoken by Nigerians who have picked up the language as a result of the exigencies of their occupation. Much of it can be described as “broken English”.

Variety ii: the speech exhibits signs of systematic learning of English and its speakers are likely to have had at least primary education. Others may have had some secondary education as well. This brand of English represents the speech of most Nigerian bilingual speakers of English, and it is largely intelligible and acceptable nationally.

Variety iii: this is the product of even greater exposure to a standard variety of the language and represents a standard use of English in Nigeria. In most cases, the exposure is obtained through education. This variety is associated with university education.

Variety iv: this variety is identical with Standard British English and may not be understood by the average Nigerian. (Banjo, 1996: 75-80)

According to this classification, the speakers of Variety (i) are those with poor knowledge of the English language. This variety is characterised by a near-total transfer of the linguistic features of local languages into English and is unacceptable even nationally. Variety (ii) which exhibits minimum transfer from the MT's sound system is marked by social acceptability. This variety is close to Standard British English (SBE) in syntax, but different from it at the levels of lexis and phonology. Consider examples (3) and (4) as given by Banjo:

- (3) My change is not complete, conductor balance me, I want to drop here.
- (4) Take the other road there is go slow on the road.
- (5) Our journey was hampered by hold up.

Variety (iii) is marked by high international intelligibility but low social acceptability. This is the variety of the educated elite and has been recognised by many scholars in Nigeria. In this variety, the lexis and syntax are close to SBE but different from it in phonology, as illustrated in (5). Variety (iv) is marked by high international intelligibility as it equates to SBE. This variety is used by many Nigerians who speak English as their L1 either because they are brought up in native speaker environments or because they are born to native speaker parents. Jowitt (1991) opines that this classification of NE is arbitrary.

According to Gut (2004: 815), the majority of British residents in Nigeria in the first half of the twentieth century were RP (Received Pronunciation) speakers, and earlier models had identified strongly with Britain in their speech, so the prestige accent of English was RP. It is interesting to note that the British accent is no longer aimed at. In some cases, it is seen as “affected and arrogant” (Gut 2004: 817) or “affected and un-Nigerian” (Jowitt 1991: 40). Going by Banjo's classification, a variety (iii) NE user mentally distinguishes /ə/ from /a/. But to the majority of NE speakers, there is often no distinction between the words *cheap* /i:/ and *chip* /i/ and

ones like *caught* /ɔ:/, *coat* /əʊ/, and *cut* /ʌ/. At the phonological level, some of the noticeable features that pose difficulty for NE speakers are:

- (6) (a) /a:/ and /æ/ are pronounced as [a]
 (both *bard* and *bad* are pronounced as [bad])
 (b) /i:/ and /i/ are pronounced as [i]
 (both *heat* and *hit* are pronounced as [hit])
 (c) /u:/ and /u/ are pronounced as [u]
 (both *fool* and *full* are pronounced as [ful])
- (7) (a) /ŋ/ is pronounced as /n/ or /ŋg/
 (*singing* is pronounced as [siŋgin])
 (b) /ð/ and /ə/ are pronounced as /d/ and /t/
 (*day* is misused with *they* and *tree* with *three*)
 (c) /l/ and /r/ are often misused
 (*grass* and *glass*, *play* and *pray*)

In the cartography of World Englishes, Nigerian English is a postcolonial variety (see Schneider, 2007). Like other postcolonial varieties, NE forms part of Nigeria's identity.

1.2.3.1 Standard Nigerian English

Yule (1985: 180) defines Standard English as “the variety which forms the basis of printed English in newspapers and books, which is used in the mass media and taught in schools. It is the variety normally taught to those who want to learn English as a second language”. In other words, it is a dialect that is widely accepted and used for official purposes because of its highest status in a community or nation. In the classification of language varieties, the standard variety is usually the reference point for other varieties in a given speech community. Ahulu (1999: 36) adds that “for a language to be standard it must pass through a filter. Usages are not labeled standard merely because they are used and found acceptable by native speakers. The additional

criterion is the acceptability of such usages among educated people”. Hudson (1996: 33), in describing this filter through which a language must be sifted to be considered as standard, comes up with the following criteria: selection, codification, elaboration of functions, acceptability, and intelligibility. Akindele and Adegbite (1999: 136) opine that in the standardisation of a language, the selection of some features from different sub-varieties is inevitable. However, it can be claimed that Banjo’s variety (iii) aligns with this position since it considers linguistic exposure which cuts across Nigeria.

NE now plays a key role as a firmly established language of administration as well as the language of literature-in-English in Nigeria. English is the undisputed language of records of official matters at different levels of administration in Nigeria. The use of NE in producing literary works is more intriguing. To reach a wider audience, many Nigerian writers, especially those who belong to the so-called educated class, use English as their medium of expression. The English they use here is embellished with local flavours to introduce various levels of speech that conform to the indigenous culture. For example, a notable Nigerian writer is Chinua Achebe, the author of the novel *Things Fall Apart* (Achebe, 1958). In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe uses some expressions that reflect the Nigerian experience. Consider (8):

(8) Your *chi* is very much awake, my friend. (pp. 48)

In (8), the term *chi* means “personal god”, which originates from Igbo. *Chi* is merged into the text almost flawlessly so that the reader understands the concept by its context. The noun *chi* here is a Nigerian usage since the standard form is *God*. The case here is that of incorporating Nigerian expressions involving syntactic transfer from a local language. This applies to a wide range of literary productions in Nigeria. From what has been previously explained, the question of the standardisation of NE is not new and efforts are being made to delimit the standard variety from the non-standard variety. In addition, the codification of the grammatical and phonological rules of this variety has been initiated and is still ongoing. For example, a glossary of NE lexical items has been drawn up by Jowitt (1991). In addition, three dictionaries

of NE (Adebite et. al., 2014; Blench, 2005; Igboanusi, 2002) are now available. These dictionaries deal basically with standard NE usage. Examples (9) and (10) are from *A Dictionary of Nigerian English* (Blench, 2005: 1-7) and *A Dictionary of Nigerian English Usage* (Adebite et al., 2014: 44-70):

- (9) (a) *Akara* /akara:/: fried bean-cake.
 (b) *Bushmeat* /buʃmi:t/: any meat from a hunted animal.
 (c) *Chicken-change* /tʃiːkin-tʃeɪndʒ/: insignificant amount of money.
 (d) *Danfo* /danfɔ:/: commuter bus/van used for passenger transport.
- (10) (a) *Expo* /ekspau/: illegal items brought into an examination hall.
 (b) *Four-one-nine* /fɔ:wʌnnain/: fraud.
 (c) *Grasscutter* /graskɔ:tɑ/: cane rat (*thryonomys swinderianus*).
 (d) *Mumu* /mumu/: a fool.

1.2.3.2 Non-standard Nigerian English

Non-standard Nigerian English (NSNE) is a variety that does not conform to the rules of Standard English. This variety is characterised by expressions that are peculiarly Nigerian in addition to the core features shared with other varieties of English. Okoro (1986: 95) proposes four sub-categories of expressions associated with NSNE: (i) outright grammatical errors – these errors do not conform to the rules of Standard English usage (ii) those that are misuses of the code (iii) those that are ‘peculiarly’ Nigerian, and (iv) those that have a distinct localised Nigerian flavour. These features and peculiar expressions can be found at different levels of linguistic analysis. Consider the following examples:

-
- (11) (a) I can *hear* the odour. (perceive)
 (b) I *hear* English. (understand)
- (12) (a) She is *marrying* my brother. (married to)
 (b) She is an experienced and *matured* tailor. (mature)

In (11), no rule of grammar is violated but the verb *hear* is inappropriately used since it neither collocates with *odour* nor with *English*. The standard forms are *perceive* in (11a) and *understand* in (11b). Similarly, *marrying* is misused instead of the standard form, which is *married to* in (12a). The error in (12b) is as a result of wrong analogy to other superficial forms that are related. For instance, *experienced* is the adjective form of the noun *experience*, and by wrong analogy to this form, the speaker uses **matured* as an adjective instead of *mature*, which is the correct form. This suggests that NSNE is associated with the lack of adequate knowledge of collocations and lexical relationships.

Jowitt (1995: 218) observes that NSNE is characterised by the pluralisation of SBE uncountable nouns like *advice*, *furniture*, and *equipment* as in (13):

- (13) (a) The students can ask for *advices* from the teachers. (advice)
 (b) They have moved the *furnitures* away. (furniture)
 (c) We must buy new *equipments*. (equipment)

Features of NSNE are also found in the use of idioms. According to Adeniran (1987: 93), the adaptation of English idioms in the Nigerian context is of socio-linguistic interest. In examples (14) and (15), the adaptation turns out to be more literal, which makes the meaning more explicit.

- (14) *Cut your coat according to your size.
 (Cut your coat according to your cloth.)
- (15) *A beggar has no choice.
 (Beggars cannot be choosers.)

In addition, NSNE is characterised by tautology/redundancy as in example (16) where the words *short*, *back* and *night* in (a), (b) and (c) are redundant:

- (16) (a) *I have a *short knicker*.
(I have a pair of knickers.)
- (b) * The driver must *reverse back*.
(The driver must reverse.)
- (c) * I shall attend the *night vigil* tomorrow.
(I shall attend the vigil tomorrow.)

Furthermore, Adeniran (1987: 92) argues that there are instances of absolute deviance in NSNE. He claims that “deviance in Nigerian English usage reflects the user’s ignorance of the rules of collocation or failure in the application of the rules”.³ These deviant features exhibit the wrong use of prepositions, verbless sentences, double subjects, and the insertion or omission of articles. Consider the following examples:

- (17) (a) *Congratulation *for* your appointment.
(Congratulations *on* your appointment.)
- (b) *Go and ask *from* the woman what she wants.
(Go and ask the woman what she wants.)
- (c) * How family?
(How is your family?)
- (d) * Me I do not have any book.
(I do not have any book.)
- (e) *I want to seek *for* your advice.
(I want to seek your advice.)
- (f) * She says truth.
(She says *the* truth.)

³ Some of these views seem from the perspective of teachers of English whose aim is to encourage Nigerians to speak standard English, but they are also linguists.

1.2.3.3 Nigerian Pidgin English

Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) is an important linguistic variety in Nigeria, especially because of its simplicity. This variety draws its lexical items from the dominant language which is English (superstrate) while the sound system is drawn from the indigenous languages (substrate). NPE in Nigeria was regarded as *vulgar*, *unruly jargon*, and *broken English* in the past. The reason for this negative perception resulted mainly from its association with a socio-economically deprived set of people who used it as a language of trade. This suggests that the typical speakers of NPE in Nigeria were those who had little or no formal education. NPE is now expanding and because of its expanding functionality, Nigerians have recently adopted a change in nomenclature from *broken English* to *Naija* (a corrupt form of *Nigeria*). This change erases the negative perception and attitude people had towards NPE as *unruly jargon*, argued to be either inaccurate or vulgar. NPE is now popular and recognised as the language that serves as a bridge between different social classes and ethnicities. Geographically, NPE is spread all over Nigeria.

Nigerian Pidgin is distinguished from Nigerian Standard English by the fact that it is spoken by members of every socio-economic group, while only those with many years of formal education can claim to speak Standard English with any proficiency. For an understanding of Nigerian affairs and for practical communication in Nigeria, knowledge of Nigerian Pidgin is fast becoming indispensable.

(Faraclas, 1996: 1-2)

Despite the fact that NPE has a very large number of speakers, especially among students at all levels of education who often speak it in informal settings, NPE receives little recognition from the central government. Though this variety is yet to have a standard orthography, university professors, medical doctors, engineers, graduates, lawyers, and other professionals have all embraced it, especially because of its role as a language of information campaigns and public announcements. Media houses like *WAZOBIA Radio Station* and *Naija FM Radio Station* now exclusively

anchor all their programmes in NPE. *Radio Faaji* anchors its social commentaries, political programmes, and news in NPE. Popular Nigerian musicians like D. Banj, Idris Abdulkarim, Wiz-kid, Daddy Shockey, Iyanya, 2-Face, and P. Square use NPE as their language of expression. The Association of Nigerian Authors (ANA) now considers NPE as a language of literary expression. Some notable literary works in NPE include Eriata Oribhabor's *If Yu Hie Se A De Prizin*, Ezenwa-Ohaeto's *I wan Bi President*, Tunde Fatunde's *No Food No Country* and Ola Rotimi's *Grip Am*. Elugbe (1990: 10) argues that a language may be recognised as "national" if it is spoken all over a given community and also recognised as an indigenous language. Interestingly, NPE can be considered a national language in Nigeria because it meets the two criteria: (i) it is spoken by Nigerians of different ethnic groups, and (ii) it is indigenous to Nigerians because it originates and develops in Nigeria as it expands. The following are examples from NPE expressions:

- (18) (a) I *fo* carry that book come.
 AUX.
 I would have brought that book.
- (b) *Dem* post Bolaji *fo* West Stand.
 3P to
 They posted Bolaji to West Stand.

In (18a), *fo* marks perfect aspect and it combines the properties of the English structure (modal auxiliary and aspectual auxiliary) to refer to the completed action of bringing a book. In (18b) *dem* is used as a third person plural to mean *they* while *fo* is used as a spatial *to* (directional) indicating where Bolaji was posted to. This kind of simplicity is what makes NPE readily handy in the linguistically diverse Nigerian environment. Jowitt (1991: 14) describes NPE as the informal variety of the English language. For many Nigerians today, NPE is a symbol of solidarity.

In this study, however, the analyses of the set of data cut across all the different varieties of NE discussed above since participants for the study are from every socio-economic group and different linguistic backgrounds.

1.3 Thesis Roadmap

The thesis is organised as follows: Chapter 2 looks into the global reality of English quotatives. It gives an account of reported speech, and also an overview of the state of the art on the quotatives while it presents a review of previous studies. The chapter further demonstrates how different linguistic and social constraints condition the occurrence of quotatives across different varieties. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical background against which the study is set, adopting Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes to examine the emergence and development of NE, and Variationist Sociolinguistics (Labov, 1963, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2012) for the analysis of the quotatives. Chapter 4 describes the procedures of the fieldwork carried out in Nigeria and the methods and techniques I employed in the study. The chapter presents the profile of all 180 participants according to the relevant social factors and it explains how the participants' pseudonyms are coded. The chapter also describes how the corpus is compiled and how the transcription protocols are maintained in the process. Chapter 4 further offers details of how I handled participant anonymity and other ethical obligations associated with the study. Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of the study. It explores the distributional analysis of the overall quotatives as well as the distribution of the quotatives across independent social and linguistic factors. It also presents the results of the correlation between most frequent quotatives and different independent social and linguistic factors. The chapter further discusses the results of multivariate analyses and tests of interaction between different factors. In addition, this chapter explores the analyses of discourse-pragmatic aspects of the different quotatives in NE. The chapter finally discusses the findings in the context of similar studies conducted for other varieties of English. Chapter 6 offers the overall conclusions of the study, summarising the thesis and the major findings. The chapter also presents linguistic implications and further discusses the limitations of the study as well as suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

English Quotative System: The Global Context

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the global reality of quotatives relevant to this study. The first part of the chapter critically discusses the concept of quotatives along with other relevant terms. It also offers an overview of different quotatives as well as the social and linguistic constraints that condition the occurrence of quotative forms across different varieties. The second part of the chapter presents a comprehensive review of previous studies on English quotatives and their diffusion into different varieties of English across the globe. The review provides an insight into the investigation and discussion of the quotative system of Nigerian English in the later chapters.

2.2 Defining quotatives

To define quotatives, there is the need to first tackle the fact that direct quotation (also called reported speech) is a special type of speech act. Buchstaller (2014: 37) illustrates that if Anne utters the words ‘Jim said “I love you”’, the utterance here contains two voices, the voice of the narrator (Anne) and the voice of the reportee (Jim). This suggests that, when we utter a quote, we claim to have access to the source of the quoted speech since we have heard someone say it. Here, we also signal to our interlocutors that the expression we are reproducing at the moment of speaking originates from a different voice than ours. Moreover, Buchstaller (2014: 37) opines that quotation of speech can be regarded as a specific type of “non-visual” evidentiality, which Spronck (2012: 101) refers to as “reportative evidentiality”. The evidentiality here concerns events that we have either heard (or sensed non-visually) or gestures which allow us to present a more believable story. In an earlier contribution, Holt (1996: 221) describes the evidential discourse function of *direct quotation* as “an effective and economical way of not only reporting a previous interaction but also giving evidence regarding what was said”. The evidential value of quotatives is summarised below:

Some evidential values may reflect that the current speaker was a discourse participant in the reported speech situation (prototypically the addressee) and fully represents herself as such at the speech moment. For lack of a better term, we define the *evidential value* as the degree of *mental contact* the current speaker has with the reported speech situation. If this mental contact is direct, the current speaker places herself fully in the reported discourse situation and we may expect that the quotative construction reflects the reported message as accurately as possible. If mental contact is less direct, the addressee may infer that the current speaker was a less prototypical discourse participant in the reported speech situation (e.g. she overheard the message) and/or that the reported message is more likely to have been rephrased by the current speaker.

(Spronck, 2012: 109)

According to Romaine and Lange (1991: 230), quotations are “adequate representations” of the original utterance. Tannen (2007) argues that quotations are not verbatim representations of the original speech acts while she highlights the loose equivalence between quotations and original behaviour. In an earlier contribution, Tannen (1986: 311) refers to the term ‘reported speech’ as a misnomer as she suggests that what is commonly referred to as ‘reported speech’ or ‘direct quotation’ in conversation or spoken discourse is simply ‘constructed dialogue’. The concept of ‘constructed dialogue’ highlights that quotations are not necessarily depictions of the original speech acts but rather approximate reproductions of the original behaviour. This suggests that possible changes to the form of the quoted utterance are simply unavoidable because of the personal limitations of the reporting speakers who are likely constrained by their own accent, style, voice quality, and memory. Like Tannen, Clark and Gerrig (1990: 795) argue against the verbatim assumption of reported speech, “almost every argument we have adduced for the demonstration theory is also an argument against the verbatim assumption. By our account, what

speakers commit themselves to in a quotation is the depiction of selected aspects of the referents' speech".

Buchstaller (2014: 49) observes that quotations are commonly multiple-perspective constructions which contain the perspective of the current speaker as well as that of the reported speaker. Consequently, she suggests that quotations only need to be "good enough". Buchstaller's suggestion entails that "good enough" is simply negotiated by the interlocutors themselves as defined by the context. My conceptualisation of quotation in this study is in line with Buchstaller's (2014: 54) definition of quotation as "a performance whereby speakers re-enact previous behaviours (speech/thought/sound/voice effect and gesture) while assuming the dramatic role of the original source of this reported behaviour". My interest in this approach lies in her showing how the speaker simultaneously creates interpersonal involvement in producing direct speech using quotative markers.

Turning to quotatives, Blyth et al. (1990: 225) define a quotative as "any verb or expression which introduces any reported speech, either direct speech or inner monologue". Romaine and Lange (1991) maintain this definition when they describe quotatives as markers of reported speech and thought as they propose that one of the characteristics of quotatives is the use of direct speech rather than indirect speech following the quotative verb. According to Buchstaller (2006: 5), quotatives are defined as "all strategies used to introduce reported speech, sounds, gestures and thoughts by self or other". These definitions point out that quotatives occur in narratives, where they serve a wide range of interpersonal functions such as creating a sense of immediacy or making the tone of conversations more personal. For this study, I adopt these definitions, which allow me to use the terms verbs of saying and dialogue introducers interchangeably to refer to the concept of quotatives. However, I will pay more attention to the term quotative since it allows the inclusion of items such as *be like* and *be all* which introduce reported speech and thought but are not considered as verbs of saying. Blyth et al. (1990: 225) explain that the term quotative is semantically transparent, neutral, and applicable to both direct speech and inner monologue.

The quotative system in English consists of a wide array of verbs that function as dialogue introducers. Apart from the more traditional verbs such as *say*, *think*, and *tell*, the literature on quotatives has a heavy focus on *be like*. Interestingly, the semantics of each quotative form constrains its use with each form having a slightly different function. For instance, Romaine and Lange (1991: 235-240) report that while *say* introduces speech without the contribution of any pragmatic effect, *think* is mostly used to report internal dialogue, whereas *go* functions as an option for direct speech and non-lexicalised sounds or gestures. On the other hand, the rise of *be like* as a viable quotative form upsets the balance amongst the more traditional quotative verbs as *be like* provides a new choice to speakers, “the partitioning of forms within the system must necessarily re-organise” (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1998: 57). Moreover, local norms of story-telling and styles of narration differ in many respects, lending themselves to a myriad of pragmatic ramifications that are conveyed by the use of quotatives. I explain *be like* in detail and in the context of global studies in section 2.3.

Another quotative form that attracts the attention of sociolinguists is the *zero* quotative which occurs “where direct speech is with neither a reporting verb nor an attributed speaker” Mathis and Yule (1994: 63). One remarkable study of *zero* quotative is the one carried out by Mathis and Yule (1994), and it focuses on the casual conversational speech of American women. The study establishes that *zero* quotatives serve a range of dramatic purposes mainly in situations where other quotative forms such as *be like*, *go*, and *say* would be possible but are not used. In many cases, *zero quotatives* are used as representatives of an interaction between two distinct participants where the speaker quotes what each participant says without employing quotative frames to achieve a dramatic effect (Mathis & Yule 1994: 74). According to Kohn & Franz (2009: 259), quotative frames consist of ‘syntactic bracketing of directly reported speech or inner dialogue, as in *my brother says*, “*you so scaredy-cat, you should get out*” and *I was like*, “*no, no, no, no*”. Moreover, *zero quotatives* also occur when a speaker gives voice to his attitude, or the attitude of other speakers in direct speech form, where there is no evidence of actual interaction being reported. Other prominent quotative forms include *go* which is less transparent,

think which is a marker of inner reflection, and *be + all*. Table 2.1 below presents a number of new English quotative forms by date of first mention in the literature.

Table 2.1 Non-canonical quotative forms by date of attestation (Buchstaller, 2014: 2)

Date	Quotative form	Quotative forms introducing speech
1970s	<i>Here was I</i>	<i>Here was I</i> , ‘Then I must be hard of hearing or something you rapped the door, and I didn’t hear you’. (Milroy & Milroy, 1977: 54)
	<i>Here’s me</i>	<i>Here’s me</i> , ‘Have youse took leave of your sense?’ (Milroy & Milroy, 1977: 54)
1980s	<i>Go</i>	She <i>goes</i> , ‘No I had them bound in front of me’. (Butters, 1980: 304)
	<i>Be all</i>	S/he’s <i>all</i> , ‘Why don’t you ever do what you’re told!’ (With hands on hips and falsetto voice) (Alford, 1982-83: 6)
	<i>I’m here</i>	<i>I’m here</i> , ‘La-de-da-de-da’. (Feigned nonchalance) (Alford, 1982-1983:6)
1990s	<i>I’m sittin’ there</i>	<i>I’m sittin’ there</i> , ‘Wow, dude! Slap bracelets!’ (Stein, 1990: 303)
	<i>Be like</i>	He <i>was like</i> , ‘Let me say something’. (Butters, 1982: 149)
2000s	<i>This is + NP</i>	<i>This is</i> my mum, ‘What are you doing?’ (Cheshire & Fox, 2007)
	<i>Be git</i>	I <i>was git</i> , ‘Aye do you know her?’ (Norton 2008)
	<i>Be just</i>	Angela’s <i>just</i> , ‘Did you do anything last night?’ (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999: 155)
	<i>Be pure</i>	She’s <i>pure</i> , ‘You got it wrong’. (Macaulay, 2006: 275)

A number of these quotatives are relatively infrequent in areas other than attested in the literature. For instance, while the quotative *be git* has only been mentioned in the North East of England, especially in Sunderland (Norton, 2008), the quotative *this is + speaker* has not been recorded outside of the London area (Cheshire & Fox, 2007). Other forms attested in the literature which seem to be sporadic in nature are *be just* (Glasgow and York), *be pure* (Scotland), *here's + speaker* (Ireland), *I'm here* (California), and *I'm sitting here* (Alabama) as reported by Buchstaller (2014: 2). Remarkably, the study of most of the globally available quotative forms relies on the variationist paradigm (Tagliamonte, 2012) with a focus on the conditioning social and linguistic factors that govern the behaviour of the different quotative forms. In a few cases, the argument draws on a range of other approaches, notably on linguistic typology (e.g. Spronck, 2012), discourse analysis (e.g. Golato, 2012), and construction grammar and grammaticalisation (e.g. Vandelanotte, 2012).

However, the social factors described in the literature as conditioning the use of quotative forms across different varieties are speaker age, speaker sex (or gender), and socio-economic status. On the other hand, the linguistic factors conditioning the use of quotative forms are mimetic re-enactment, the content of the quote, grammatical person, and tense and temporal reference. Buchstaller (2014: 101) reports that whereas most of the literature on quotative forms agree that the social factors conditioning quotatives are relatively unstable across space, some of the linguistic factors have revealed generalisable tendencies across the communities studied, especially concerning the linguistic conditioning of the quotative *be like*. The following section discusses these factors in the context of studies conducted across different varieties.

2.3 Previous studies on English quotatives

The sociolinguistic origin of quotatives is traced back to the early 1980s when Butters first noted the use of narrative *go* (Butters, 1980) and *be like* (Butters, 1982) as dialogue introducers in American English. The first example of quotative *go* is recorded in the speech of male American speakers born after 1955 and this quotative form is described as a feature of casual conversation among American speakers under

the age of thirty-five (Butters, 1980: 305). According to Butters, quotative *go* is most frequently used in the present tense. Two years later, Butters (1982: 149) reports *be like*, which is used to quote unuttered thoughts. Since Butters' attestation of the quotatives *go* and *be like* in the literature, studies on the diffusion of quotatives into other varieties of English have increased steadily.

Still in the early 1980s, Cheshire (1982) reports the existence of quotative *go* in a study of non-standard verbs in British English. She samples the speech of adolescents from a working-class background and finds that the quotative *go* frequently occurs with the non-standard inflection as in *I goes "oh clear off"*. Verbs displaying this kind of non-concord are used with a different meaning: "it can be seen that the use of a 'vernacular' verb acts as a lexical constraint on the form of the verb, strongly favouring the non-standard form" (Cheshire, 1982: 43). Here, *I goes* rather than *I go* appears as a non-standard quotative marker.

Tannen (1986) in her study of oral American narratives examines the ways dialogue is introduced in conversational storytelling. She reports that *say* is the traditional and thus most commonly used quotative in her 18 stories, followed by *go* and *be like* (Tannen, 1986: 315-321). She suggests that ways of introducing dialogue fall along a continuum starting with *zero quotatives* in informal conversation and ending with *graphic verbs* typical of literary narratives. She reports that *be like* is next to *zero* on the continuum as its effects depend on the way the dialogue is voiced by the speaker, whereas *go* is identified as an informal feature similar to *be like* in register but similar to *say* in meaning (Tannen, 1986: 324).

Blyth et al. (1990) in a study of quotatives in American oral narrative draw their data from a 10-hour corpus of casual conversations of 30 American speakers between the ages of 20 and 72. They report that while *say* and *go* function as introducers of direct speech, *think* only introduces inner monologue, whereas *be like* introduces both kinds of reported speech, allowing the speaker to express reactions, thoughts or something clearly said (Blyth et al., 1990: 215). In their study of the correlation between the quotatives and linguistic and social factors, they discover that the most influential factor is the tense of the quotatives, followed by age and aspect. Blyth et al. (1990: 218) report that while speakers in their early 20s favour the use of

be like and *go* in present tense contexts, older speakers prefer the use of *say* in the past tense contexts. Concerning ‘subject’, the study reveals that *go* and *say*, in contrast to *be like*, are favoured with third-person singular subjects. The findings also show that the quotative *be like* is used more often by men than by women. Another interesting finding concerns ‘sentence type’ which reveals that *go* rarely introduces declaratives and interrogatives, but is often used to introduce gestures and sounds, whereas the opposite is the case with the quotative *say* (Blyth et al. 1990: 219-221). With respect to the frequency of occurrence of quotatives in the corpus, the results are similar to the findings in Tannen (1986) with *be like*, *go*, and *say* as the three most frequently used quotatives.

Interestingly, Blyth et al. (1990) present the results of a supplementary corpus with an attitudinal survey. The survey is based on data from 54 respondents who describe typical users of *be like* as middle-class female adolescents and typical users of *go* as lower-class males with a low degree of education (Blyth et al., 1990: 224). Thus, with respect to gender variation, the findings of the corpus-based study contradict the stereotypes about typical users of the quotative *be like*. Though they argue that the quotatives are commonly used in serving specific functions, Blyth et al. (1990: 223-225) report that the findings of the attitudinal survey reveal that both *go* and *be like* are considered as ungrammatical and stigmatised features of casual conversations.

Romaine and Lange (1991) present an analysis of the use of *be like* as a marker of reported speech and thought in American English. They draw their data (80 instances of *be like*) from recordings and observations of teenagers and adults, and various media sources. Romaine and Lange (1991: 243) observe that the use of *be like* and *say* is similar to the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), and their data reveal that *be like* tends to introduce the speaker’s own speech and *go* does not show any tendency as it appears neutral, whereas *say* tends to introduce the speech of other speakers. Contrary to the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), Romaine and Lange (1991: 228, 255) discover that *be like* is frequently used by young women and they submit that this trend towards gender variation is influenced by the use of the quotative *be*

like to discuss more interpersonal topics especially as these topics are favoured by women more than men.

In 1995, another corpus-based study on quotatives appears in which Ferrara and Bell (1995) examine differences in the use of *be like* across three ethnic groups as well as between rural and urban populations, and its distribution in relation to social and linguistic factors. This study focuses more on tracking the development of the quotative *be like* in three corpora collected in 1990, 1992, and 1994 from 405 Texas informants aged between 6 and 86. The analysis of the real-time data of 284 tokens of the quotative *be like* indicates that the use of the quotative form in urban areas is increasing among black, Hispanic and white speakers, while it is rarely used in rural areas in the first half of 1990 (Ferrara & Bell, 1995: 277). They also observe a change in the distribution of the quotative *be like* across gender with women as the leading users at the beginning of 1990, which corroborates the finding in Romaine and Lange (1991), but both men and women used *be like* almost equally in 1992 and 1994. With respect to the distribution across age of the speakers, their result is similar to the finding in Blyth et al. (1990), which reveals that the use of *be like* has not spread to speakers older than 40 years (Ferrara & Bell, 1995: 275). Their findings regarding subject reveal that the quotative *be like* is used increasingly with third-person subjects in addition to first-person subjects, which oppose the findings in Blyth et al. (1990) (Ferrara & Bell 1995: 278). Concerning the future development of the quotative system, they submit that the balance between quotatives may continue to change and may lead to obsolescence of the traditional quotative *say* (Ferrara & Bell, 1995: 286). However, they emphasise that a unique feature of the quotative *be like* is its flexibility in introducing speech, thought, and other kinds of reported activities (Ferrara & Bell, 1995: 286), consequently helping speakers to increase their eloquence.

Besides the literature on quotatives in American English, there are studies on quotatives in other varieties of English. For example, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1998, 1999) investigate the quotative system of British and Canadian youth by analysing 665 quotative tokens from British English narratives and 612 quotative tokens from Canadian English narratives. Since the two papers are very similar even in their title

and analysis, I focus more on reviewing Tagliamonte and Hudson's more recent paper from 1999. Their multivariate analysis demonstrates that the quotatives *be like*, *go*, *say*, and *think* are used according to different patterns in the two corpora. The findings reveal that in both British and Canadian English *say* is the most frequently used quotative, followed by *go*, *be like*, and then *think* in British English and *go* and *zero* in Canadian English (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999: 157-158). This attests that *be like* and *think* are less frequent in Canadian than in British narratives. Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999: 161) report that *say* is favoured by males and *be like* by females in British English, whereas males favour *go* and women favour *say* and *think* in Canadian English. The quotative *go* in Canadian English is similar to what Butters (1980) reports: *go* is associated with the speech of male American speakers. With respect to grammatical person, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999: 162) report that quotatives *go* and *say* have different patterns in the two varieties as *go* mainly occurs with third-person subjects and *say* with first-person subjects in Canadian English, whereas in British English, the results show no preferences for *go* but *say* is favoured in the third-person contexts. Concerning the distribution of the quotative *be like*, speakers of both British and Canadian English favour *be like* in the context of first-person subjects. Thus, their results differ from the finding in Ferrara and Bell (1995) that *be like* is increasingly used with third-person subjects. As for gender differentiation, they claim that gender correlates with the rate of usage in the sense that the further the quotative *be like* spreads, the more likely it is to differentiate female and male speech (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999: 167). Another interesting finding is that British speakers differ from Canadian speakers in their use of the quotative *go* as the data demonstrate a correlation with direct speech in British English and a correlation with thoughts in Canadian English. However, the speakers of both varieties are similar in their use of *be like* to introduce sounds and thoughts and *say* to introduce direct speech (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999: 163). To track the developmental stages of the quotative *be like* in both British and Canadian English, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) compare their results on *be like* with the findings in Ferrara and Bell (1995). The comparison reveals that the developmental pathways in the two varieties are very similar to American English in many respects. Tagliamonte

and Hudson (1999: 168) submit that, like in American English, the spread of *be like* into British and Canadian English shows its systematic diffusion to other varieties of English across the globe.

Dailey-O'Cain (2000) carries out a sociolinguistic and an attitudinal study of *like* in its use as a focus marker and quotative. The first analysis is based on 95 quotative tokens taken from 30 American speakers in informal conversations. The data show that *like* is most frequently used to mark thoughts and is sometimes used as a marker for direct quotes. The data also reveal that the most frequent users of this quotative form are speakers below the age of 30, but there is no significant variation across gender (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000: 66-67). This corroborates the findings in previous studies such as Ferrara and Bell (1995), and Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999). The second study on attitudes towards the quotative *like* is based on 40 participants who are middle to upper-middle class, and all are highly educated (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000: 68). The study shows that 39 out of the 40 participants agree overwhelmingly that younger people are the most frequent users of this quotative form. On the perceived gender distribution, the vast majority of the participants believe that females use *be like* more than males, although this difference is not statistically significant in the first study. Interestingly, most of the participants indicate an abundance of very strong negative opinions with respect to how they feel about the quotative *be like*, even though both younger and older women admit that they use it somewhere between 'sometimes' and 'rarely' (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000: 69). On the sociolinguistic stereotypes associated with *be like*, the majority of the participants find it 'attractive', 'cheerful', 'friendly', and 'successful' (Dailey-O'Cain, 2000: 73). However, Dailey-O'Cain (2000: 77) submits that the findings of her study may be influenced by the particular class of well-educated participants she used and subsequently suggests that further research is necessary to investigate the behaviour of this variant among less formally educated or working-class individuals.

Buchstaller (2002) focuses on investigating how quotatives such as *be like*, *go*, *say*, and *think* are used to mark the degree of hypotheticality that is, how speakers express the general probability of the realisation of an action, event, or state of affairs. The study is based on two corpora: *The Switchboard Corpus* with 542

speakers within the age range of 20 to 60, and *The Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken English* with 52 speakers within the age range of 17 to 70. She distinguishes between realis quotes at one pole of the hypotheticality continuum, situational quotes on the other pole, and the body of the continuum is bridged by hypothetical quotes (Buchstaller, 2002: 6). In explaining realis, situational, and hypothetical quotes, she presents the following examples:

(1) *Being mistaken for a woman*

A: The other day I went into a bar and this guy asked me to dance,

B: @@@ [@@@

A: [and all he saw my hair,
And **he goes** “do you wanna dance”?
I turn around and **go** “what”?

B: @@@hhh

A: And **he goes** “do you wanna dance”?
I go “no no”.
He goes “oh oh I’m sorry”.
I go “yeah you better be”,
[**I go** “you better be”.

B: [that’s hilarious

(2) *Plastic bags*

B: Yeah, in fact, I have one today,

A: ri[ght

B: [the only problem with those is sometimes they got holes
in the bottom

A: Yeah [they...

B: [and @@ **it is like** “whoops there goes my chips,

A: [Yeah

B: [okay fine”.

(3) *Cooking*

B: So I enjoy you know cooking thinks to take over to her
hou[se or-

A: [oh that is nice,

B: Yeah and it is fun for me to do that,
It is something I enjoy doing,

It is funny though **it is like** “I don’t really want to cook for
us” @[@

A: [jeh @@

(Buchstaller, 2002: 6-7)

She explains that realis quotes “are real productions of past occurring speech acts. When produced, they are most frequently embedded in a defined and plausible communicative situation” (Buchstaller, 2002: 6). Here, the situation is defined by the contextual factors of speaker, hearer, and time since a quoted realis speech act is required to be uttered aloud and is subject to a response. In (1), the dialogue is in a question and answer scenario and the quotes introduced by the quotative *go* are embedded in a real communicative situation. In this case, the existence of the second pair of the dialogue depends on the existence of the first pair of the dialogue which classifies the quotes as real speech (Buchstaller, 2002: 6).

The quote in (2) is reminiscent of Chafe’s (1994) “verbally uncommitted thought”, and its status as verbal or non-verbal, or the combination of both is left open (Buchstaller, 2002: 7). This suggests that if uttered out aloud, it has the potential to put into words the thoughts going on in the mind of the respective person at the time of the quote. Ferrara and Bell (1995: 279) claim that a clear boundary between speech and thought is difficult to draw, mainly because speakers do express their opinion wrapped in the form of reported speech in order to make it more vivid to the hearers. By the stretch of speech in (2), the main function of hypothetical quotes is to make the inner state available to hearers so as to span the whole spectrum of hypotheticality (Buchstaller, 2002: 7).

Concerning situational quotes, Buchstaller (2002: 7) argues that there is “no communicative situation in the past but in the present, the interlocutors being the current speaker and the current hearer. The moment of speaking is in the deictic now and becomes the quote”. Thus, there are no past events or reproduction, as the quote can be understood as a comment on the present situation wrapped in the format of a quote. In (3), the quote introduced by the quotative *be like* is in between a description of a situation and between the interlocutors in the now. The quote indexes a speaker-infused rendering of the situation (Buchstaller, 2002: 7), which indicates that the standpoint is that of the current speaker.

However, Buchstaller (2002: 8-9) observes that *say* is the most frequently used quotative with realis quotes, followed by *go*, *be like*, and then *think*, whereas the opposite is the case with hypothetical quotes. The second most important context for the quotative *think* is its occurrence with situational quotes, which is less frequent for *be like* and *say*. She also notes that the quotative *go* does not introduce situational quotes since it has no equation function between a quote and a situation, rather it needs a real communication situation, if only a hypothetical situation. In her analysis of priming effects, the findings reveal that the quotative *be like* can co-occur in the surroundings of speech, thought, and various types of verbs, which confirms it as an “anything goes-item” (Buchstaller, 2002: 10). While quotative *go* is more associated with realis quotes as it frames real occurring speech, *say* as a verb most frequently introduces speech, and the introspective *think* most frequently occurs with verbs of thought (Buchstaller, 2002: 10). Based on the presentation of the study, the general priming effect indicates that speakers are likely to use words that have already occurred in a conversation than introducing completely new ones. The data also show that quotatives are used to enquote sound effects of all sorts and gestures, or mimetic enactment (Buchstaller, 2002: 14). While *be like* is nearly as often used for enquoting mimetic performances, *go* is commonly most frequently used to enquote mimetic enactment, and both can be used to enquote sounds. The quotative *say* is used half of the time, with mimetic performances being the most frequent dialogue introducer, and *think* occurs even less with mimesis (Buchstaller, 2002: 14). Thus, she claims that speakers who choose to use the quotatives *go* and *be like* take advantage of their

indeterminacy between speech and thought. Finally, the study examines how speakers index how they feel towards a quote, and how they want to re-enact and represent the enquoted material (Buchstaller, 2002: 16).

The diffusion of quotatives into British English is given further attention in Macaulay (2001). This study investigates the further spread of quotative forms to the speech of adolescents (aged 13-14) and adults (aged 40+) recorded in Glasgow in 1997. The findings reveal that the most frequently used quotative among Glasgow adolescents is *go* followed by *say* and then *be like*. This is contrary to the finding in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999: 157-158). Macaulay observes that working-class women are the most frequent users of the quotatives *be like* and *go*. While middle-class girls show the highest percentage of using *be like*, middle-class boys do so with respect to the use of *go*. The data suggest that while adolescents use the quotatives *be like* and *go* more freely than the undergraduate students in the study by Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), the adults prefer *go*, and that is mostly among the working-class women. He also observes that in the speech of the adolescents, quotative *say* is favoured in the present tense, whereas *be like* and *go* are more frequent in the past tense (Macaulay, 2001: 9-13). Contrary to the finding in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999: 161) that *be like* is preferred in first-person subjects in British English, Macaulay (2001: 10) reports that Glasgow adolescents use all three quotatives most frequently with third-person subjects.

Interestingly, in the data for this study, there is the occurrence of mixed forms such as *go like that* and *be like that*, which suggests that there is the evolution of the quotative *be like* or simply some distortion in the transmission or assimilation process, as in (4):

- (4)(a) The thing that **goes** “dong”.
- (b) And **I am going** “oh no”.
- (c) And **she went** “I would think so”.
- (d) She **went like that** “fuck you you wanker”.
- (e) Because I thought everybody would **go like that** “you cradle snatcher”.

-
- (f) We **were like that** “sit doon sit doon”.
 - (g) I **was like that** “shit”.
 - (h) And I **am like** “woops”.
 - (i) I **was like** “oh my God”.
 - (j) He **is like** “Harry fucking run”.
 - (k) And I **was** “oh so this is Helen”.
 - (l) You **were** just kind of “mm-mm”.

(Macaulay, 2001: 15-16)

Macaulay (2001: 15-16) explains that in the beginning, the Glasgow adolescents adopted the quotative *go* (imported from America) mainly for expression of non-speech sounds as in (4a) and strong emotions as in (4b) but later extended the use to all kinds of quoted expressions as in (4c). In the next stage, they imperfectly introduce the use of the *be like* (presumably from America) but decide to combine it with *go*, particularly for the expression of strong emotion as in (4d) and (4e). In expressing attitude rather than action, the verb *go* is dropped, leaving the deictic pronoun as in (4f) and (4g). Then, the deictic pronoun is dropped, leaving the form of *be like* familiar in America. They use it to express non-speech sounds as in (4h), express strong emotion as in (4i), and convey animated utterances as in (4j). In the last stage, the form *like* is dropped, leaving the verb *be* as in (4k), and sometimes there is a hedge as in (4l). These stages represent a development for the process of grammaticalisation, especially with respect to the movement from a more referential construction to a less referential one: “go > go like that > be like that > be like > be” (Macaulay, 2001: 15-16).

Singler (2001) investigates quotative use in the New York City area, with a focus on *be like*, *go* and *be all*. The data that form the basis of his study come from sociolinguistic interviews carried out by undergraduate students in 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1999 and the speakers are divided into five different age groups viz., 9-15, 18-24, 27-33, 36-42, and 45-51 (Singler 2001: 258). In the presentation of findings, Singler (2001: 266-269) reports that the quotatives, predominantly *be like*, are most frequent among young speakers, whereas speakers over 35 use them with relative infrequency.

Singler discovers that *all like* and *be like* occur in third-person contexts, especially among college students. The findings also reveal that *be all* is favoured by female Asian-Americans and it often occurs in the present tense. Similar to the findings in Butters (1980) and Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), the quotative *go* is favoured by male speakers. On the other hand, women favour the use of the quotative *be like*, especially when holding conversations with other women. The findings further reveal that the subject *he* or *she* is very frequent for the quotative *go* in present tense contexts and that *be like* is not frequently used in negation and questions. With respect to the grammaticalisation of the quotatives which is in progress, Singler (2001: 272-275) argues that it has not achieved its completion based on the available data.

In a study of quotatives in real- and apparent-time data from African Americans and whites living in the rural community of Springville, Texas, Cukor-Avila (2002) addresses the ethnic diversity gap in the literature on quotatives. She focuses on speech in recorded narratives from 14 rural African American informants aged between 20 and 95 and 3 rural white informants with a total of 3,202 tokens of quotatives. The recordings collected in the early 1990s from Springville show that whites use the quotative *go* but African Americans never use it. This contradicts, at least for this particular speech community, the hypothesis by Butters (1989) that quotative *go* has spread from whites to African Americans. However, for the recordings collected from 2001, while the whites frequently use quotative *go* in their speech, African Americans rarely use it (Cukor-Avila, 2002: 8-9). This suggests that there is no clear evidence for the diffusion of the quotative *go* in the speech of African Americans in Springville. Regarding zero quotative, African Americans of all age groups frequently use it. The findings further reveal that the discourse and grammatical distribution for the quotative *be like* is similar to that in the previous study on American English spoken by middle-class whites (Romaine & Lange, 1991) and to that in British and Canadian English speakers (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999) that “*be like* is used primarily by speakers born after 1970; it occurs more frequently in first-person contexts; and it is favoured before internal dialogue and non-lexicalised sounds” (Cukor-Avila, 2002: 19-20). The Springville data also suggest

that quotative *say* is favoured when quoting direct speech or constructed dialogue. In addition, the findings reveal that the discourse and grammatical constraints for the quotative *say* remain constant over time.

Winter (2002) analyses 218 tokens of quotatives in adolescent speech in Australian English. The study focuses on the discourse meanings of the quotatives and contexts of their realisation. The findings reveal that the quotative *go* is the most frequently used form among the speakers, which is similar to the finding in Macaulay (2001) on Scottish speakers. Winter (2002: 10) reports that *go* is followed by *say*, *zero*, and then *be like* which constitutes less than ten percent of the total quotatives. This finding, especially with regard to *be like*, which appears less frequent in Australian English, is contrary to the distribution of quotatives in previous studies (e.g. Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Macaulay, 2001). However, the analysis shows that *go* and *be like* occur mainly in the contexts of historical present, i.e. contexts in which present morphology has past temporal reference, whereas *say* equally occurs in both historical present and past tense contexts. With respect to grammatical person, all three major quotatives *be like*, *go*, and *say* mostly occur with third-person subjects (Winter, 2002: 11-13). Winter (2002: 19-20) submits that the Australian English adolescents seem to embrace the quotative *be like* but its implementation in the system is constrained by discourse meanings. Consequently, as a result of this restriction, *be like* cannot serve the discourse role of the voices and expression of solidarity which the adolescents frequently express using *go* and *say*.

Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004) conduct an analysis of quotatives among Canadian youth between 10 and 19 years old and compare the findings with Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999). In this study on the diffusion of *be like*, Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004) focus on addressing the interface between real and apparent-time with an emphasis on how age-grading is involved. The data for the analysis come from a half-million-word corpus of Toronto Youth English, which were collected by second-year students who interviewed members of their families and social networks in the autumns of 2002 and 2003 (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004: 487). The findings reveal that among the total of 2,058 tokens, *be like* is the most

frequently used form, accounting for 58 percent of the total number of quotatives, followed by *zero*, *say*, *go*, and then *think*. A comparison with the overall distribution of quotatives in Canadian English (cf. Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999) shows that there is a great increase in the use of *be like*, whereas the other quotatives have decreased in frequency. This suggests that the perspective of real-time provides a significant display of linguistic change. In apparent-time, the results demonstrate a sharp rise in the use of *be like* among Canadian youth aged 15-16, and this frequency remains constant (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004: 501-503). The real-time comparison shows that as the frequency of *be like* increases, the sex effect becomes more marked, whereas in the current materials speaker sex is significant across the board, “the more frequent *be like* is, the stronger the effect of sex becomes” (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004: 508). With regards to grammatical person, *be like* is favoured in the first-person contexts, and this supports the findings in the earlier study by Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999). The consistency of the effect of grammatical person across varieties of English – American English (Blyth et al., 1990; Ferrara & Bell, 1995), British and Canadian English (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), and in real-time among African Americans in the rural south (Cukor-Avila, 2002) demonstrates that it is the defining feature of *be like* (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004: 509). With respect to content of the quote, contrary to the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), the data from Toronto show that speakers aged 17-19 prefer to use *be like* to introduce direct speech instead of inner monologue or thought. This is evidence that *be like* is expanding more into direct speech (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004: 509). Moreover, with regards to the question of age-grading, the findings corroborate the real-time findings in Cukor-Avila (2002) where speakers in their mid-teens have the highest frequency of *be like*. The data show that the rates remain high, especially through first-year university, which suggests that if age-grading is involved, this effect extends well past the teenage years (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004: 510). Generally, this study sheds some insight into the mechanisms of change.

While Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004) concentrate on examining quotative usage among female and male adolescents in Toronto, D’Arcy (2004) investigates the quotative system of young girls in St. John’s Newfoundland. Similar to the findings

in Toronto in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), *be like* is the most frequently used quotative based on the analysis of 184 tokens in the speech of young girls in St. John's Newfoundland (D'Arcy, 2004: 31). In addition, D'Arcy (2004: 33) reports the frequent occurrence of *it + be like* in her data which she suggests that its use across corpora indicates a greater degree of grammaticalisation of the quotative *be like*. The data also show that tense of the quotative is a strong factor that contributes to the probability of *be like*, which is favoured in present tense contexts, whereas historical present is restricted to co-occurrence with *be like*. Furthermore, the findings reveal that the content of the quote is a stronger factor that contributes to the probability of *be like*, and this supports the findings in the previous study with regard to its direction of effects. Contrary to the findings in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), the data from St. John's Newfoundland show that grammatical person is not a significant factor and *be like* is often used in third-person contexts (D'Arcy, 2004: 34-36). With regard to the quotative *say*, similar to the finding on Canadian English in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), but contrary to the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), the data show that the use of *say* in first-person contexts is significant. The findings also reveal that the quotative *say* is favoured to introduce direct speech in the past tense, which corroborates the findings in Blyth et al. (1990) and provides evidence that the choice of *be like* and *say* correlates with tense (D'Arcy, 2004: 37). Thus, both the content of the quote and the tense of the quotative prove to be significant factors. While this study is situated within the quotative system of Canadian English, it also highlights the status of Newfoundland English as a local variety, which differs from the national variety.

In 2005, another study appears in Barbieri (2005) which focuses on the effect of register on the choice of quotatives in American English. This study examines the frequency of use and grammatical association patterns of *be all*, *be like*, *go* and *say* in four registers, viz. academic office hour consultations, casual conversation, university service encounters and workplace conversation, and university students' study groups. These registers are based on four sub-corpora of spoken American English: three subsets of the TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language corpus and a subset of the Longman Spoken and Written English (LSWE) corpus (Barbieri,

2005: 230-231). The analysis of 1,813 tokens of quotatives shows that while *be like* has a higher frequency than *say* in the corpus of university service encounters and workplace conversation, *say* occurs more frequently than *be like* in the corpus of casual conversation, whereas both *be like* and *say* are almost equally common in the corpus of university students' study groups. In casual conversation, *go* is the third most frequent quotative, while in other subsets, *go* shares equal distribution with the quotative *be all* (Barbieri, 2005: 239). The findings also reveal that in all four subsets, *say* in the past tense is the most frequent quotative, followed by *be like*. While the corpus of academic office hour consultations is favoured by *say* in the present tense, the casual conversation has an equal frequency for *be like*, *go*, and *say* in the present tense, whereas the corpus of university service encounters and workplace conversation is dominated by *be like* in the present tense (Barbieri, 2005: 240). Concerning the differences between present tense and past tense, the results support the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), and D'Arcy (2004). With regard to content of the quote and grammatical person, the analysis is based on the subsets of casual conversation. For the content of quote, the findings reveal that *go* and *say* are mainly used to introduce direct speech with both first-person and third-person subjects, whereas *be like* is predominantly used to introduce inner speech with first-person subjects, but direct speech with third-person subjects (this corroborates the findings in Blyth et al. (1990)). With respect to the grammatical person, the data further show that the quotative *be like* occurs almost as frequently with first-person subjects as it occurs with third-person subjects and this supports Ferrara and Bell's (1995) findings (Barbieri, 2005: 243-245). Remarkably, this study establishes that there is significant variation in the use of quotatives across registers and consequently supports the hypothesis that quotatives are expanding in American English.

Buchstaller (2006a) conducts a cross-variety investigation of *be like* and *go* in apparent- and real-time. The analysis reported in her study is based on the corpora collected from American and British English. For American English, the data come from the Switchboard Corpus (SWB). For British English, the data come from the corpora collected in the urban city of Derby and Newcastle by Milroy, Milroy, and Docherty (1997), which was used for the project '*Phonological Variation and*

Change in Contemporary Spoken British English' (Buchstaller, 2006a: 6). The data show that for *be like*, age is highly significant in both American and British English and the distribution of age across the two varieties is similar. The difference between the two datasets is that the speakers of American English from the age of about 35 years onwards demonstrate slightly higher frequencies than the speakers of British English in the same age group (Buchstaller, 2006a: 9). The apparent-time analyses of *be like* in both American and British English reveal falling frequencies with increasing age, and dip for the adolescents, a pattern which is interpreted as a change in progress (Buchstaller, 2006a: 10). In a real-time comparison with the results of the study by Singler (2001), which was based on the corpora collected in New York City between 1995 and 1999, Buchstaller (2006a: 10) observes that the development of *be like* appears to be a change in progress. Thus, this suggests that in the comparison between the two datasets, the trend found in the SWB corpus continues and even accelerates across time. Concerning the quotative *go*, the data show greater differences between American and British English, specifically across age groups beyond adolescence. The findings in the British corpus reveal that *go* frequencies rise to a peak in the age group 16-17, and then there is a decrease in the use of the variable with increasing age (starting after adolescence), followed by a slight increase among the age groups 51-61 and 62-79. The dipping frequencies in the use of *go* among the middle-aged speakers coupled with a renewed interest in the use of the variable among the oldest speakers has been interpreted as evidence of age grading (Buchstaller, 2006a: 13). In the data in the American corpus, *go* is mainly a feature of younger speakers' speech. In apparent-time, frequencies of the use of *go* fall in the age group 14-23, reach a plateau for speakers in the age group 24-35, then rise again to a peak in the age bracket 36-41, and finally fall for the oldest age groups (Buchstaller, 2006a: 14). This pattern corroborates the findings in Blyth et al. (1990) that *go* is favoured by the youngest age group. Comparing the frequencies of *go* and *be like*, Buchstaller (2006a: 17) suggests that the undulating patterning of *go* might be due to an interaction effect, "importantly, the fall in the frequency of *go* takes place in exactly the same age group in which *be like* comes to speed in the quotative system".

Despite the close interplay between *go* and *be like* in the American corpus, the data do not show any evidence where *be like* acts as a replacement for *go*.

In another corpus-based study of quotatives, Barbieri (2007) investigates the effects of the external variables ‘speaker age’ and ‘speaker sex’ on the use of *be all*, *be like*, *go*, and *say* in spoken American English. The study is based on a sub-corpus of American English conversations which is a component of LSWE representing a wide range of speakers across America. The sub-corpus used in this study includes conversations from 107 speakers ranging in age from 16 to 87; 62 females and 45 males (Barbieri, 2007: 32). The findings reveal that while the quotatives *be all*, *be like* and *go* are all favoured by the youngest female speakers aged 16-26, the traditional quotative *say* is favoured by females over 40 and this corroborates the findings in Romaine and Lange (1991). Females over 40 also use *be like* and *go* frequently and this is consistent with the findings in Singler (2001: 227). Among males, those aged 27-40 produce the largest number of quotatives and they also display a marked use of *be like* and *go*. Interestingly, while young males aged 16-26 use *be like* and *go* much less frequently than young females, males aged 27-40 use *be like* and *go* far more often than females of the same age group do. The increase in the use of *be like* and *go* by males demonstrates a sharp decrease in the use of the traditional *say* (Barbieri, 2007: 35-36). Based on these findings, Barbieri (2007: 43) speculates that the patterns of female and male speech “might be a reflection of the socialization and dating practices of men and women that have often been documented in survey data and evolutionary psychology research”. In sum, the findings in this study present a twist since women are not in the lead across all generations which suggests that the effect of ‘speaker age’ and ‘speaker sex’ on the use of quotatives is more complex than has been observed in the previous studies.

Rickford et al. (2007) examine the distribution of the quotative *be all* and its competitor variants such as *be like*, *go* and *say*, and show how the constraints on *be all* have changed in recent years. This study is based on four sets of data viz. the *Stanford Tape-Recorded Corpus* (STRC), the *Wimmer/Fought Tape-Recorded Corpus* (WFTRC), the *Multisource ‘All’ Corpus* (MSAC), and the *Google Newsgroups Corpus*. The WFTRC (388 quotatives) collected in 1990 and 1994 in

California serves as a comparative base for STRC (544 quotatives) collected in 2005 to examine how much the quotative system of California young adults has changed across time. While the *Google Newsgroups Corpus* (354 quotatives) also studies variation in the use of *be all* across time, MSAC (253 quotatives) provides further support in the analysis (Rickford et al., 2007: 6). The findings reveal that in the earlier corpus of the 1990s, *be all* is the most frequently used variant and its significant linguistic constraints are the ‘tense of the quotative’ and ‘type of quote’ (speech/thought). Young speakers mostly use *be all* in present tense contexts to introduce reported speech. This is similar to the finding in Singler (2001), although *be all* is infrequent in Singler’s data. In contrast, *be all* is much less frequent in the later corpus of 2005 and there is a change in the constraint ranking during the 10 years, especially as tense did not appear as a significant constraint for the occurrence of *be all* (Rickford, 2007: 14-16). The findings further reveal that *be like* dominates the quotative system in the 2005 corpus more than in the 1990s corpus, while *be all* is less frequent and the frequency of *go*, *say*, and other quotatives remains stable across time. As the data in *Google Newsgroup Corpus* indicate a decreasing frequency of *be all*, Rickford et al. (2007: 19) hypothesise that “after a brisk rise in the 1990s, the overall use of quotative (*be*) *all* is in decline”. Further support for this hypothesis is that by the 2005 corpus, *all like* (a combination of *be all* and *be like*) has become the primary sequence in which *be all* is used as a quotative form and the only one used by California young adults (Rickford, 2007: 21). This study demonstrates that the quotative system of California young adults has witnessed changes across time, and this suggests that the quotative system is unstable and subject to change.

Tagliamonte & D’Arcy (2007) perform a quantitative analysis of the quotative system of a cohesive Canadian speech community in order to track the developmental path of the quotative *be like* as well as to investigate the underlying mechanisms of change taking place in the quotative system. This study is based on 1.5 million-word *Toronto English Corpus* which consists of interviews with 199 speakers, aged 9 to 87, from whom they extract 6,364 tokens of quotatives (Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2007: 202). The findings reveal that *be like* overshadows all other quotative forms among speakers under 30 years and *say* is favoured by speakers over 40 years.

Interestingly, among the 30-year-olds, the results show that the frequency of *be like* is equal to that of *say* (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007: 204). The findings further reveal that while *be like* is mainly used to introduce internal dialogue rather than direct speech, the grammatical person constraint appears to be stable with first-person subjects favouring *be like*. Except among the 30-year-olds, female speakers favour the use of *be like* more than male speakers. With regards to the tense and temporal reference, which is the most influential factor, the findings reveal that *be like* is frequently used in historical present and this is similar to the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), Winter (2002), and Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), especially among younger speakers (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007: 205-207). Based on these findings, they suggest that *be like* is part of the grammar of Toronto and that the way of using this quotative form shifts subtly from one generation to the next. In addition to this developmental path, they consider the effects of 'content of the quote', 'tense and temporal reference', and 'grammatical person' comparing speakers under and over 40 and discover that *say* has a completely different profile than *be like* (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007: 209-210). Contrary to the speculation in Ferrara and Bell (1995), this suggests that *be like* is not a replacement of the traditional *say*. In sum, this study demonstrates that the development of the quotative *be like* is a case of ongoing generational linguistic change rather than age-grading, and if compared with Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), the data suggest that it represents communal change (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007: 213) as speakers are expected to increase the use of *be like* as they grow older.

Interpreting the crossroads in the contemporary population of Toronto is made more complex by the fact that *be like* was only incipient in the system prior to the 1980s. Speakers over the age of 40 never had it in the first place because the point at which their grammar stabilized either predicted or coincided with the introduction of *be like* to the quotative repertoire. The 30-year-olds are on the frontier, and from that point onward there is ongoing generational change. There is simply too much stability across the population for *be like* to be a passing fancy.

(Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007: 213)

Buchstaller (2008) examines the local processes that are involved in the adoption and negotiation of *be like* and *go* and their impact in two geographically discrete varieties based on two corpora, one from America and the other from Britain (these are the same corpora used in Buchstaller, (2006)). With respect to global similarities, both American and British data reveal that *be like* and *go* are mainly used to introduce expressive or mimetic quotes, i.e. quotes that contain sounds or gestures. The two sets of data also show that both *be like* and *go* are frequently used to frame purely linguistic quotes as well as mental activity, i.e. reported speech and thought. However, speakers of the two varieties differ in many respects. For instance, *be like* in the American corpus does not pattern by gender but it significantly patterns by social class, and it is frequently used among the working-class speakers, whereas *go* on the hand is not significantly constrained by gender and social class. In the British corpus, *be like* does not have a gender or social class effect, whereas *go* patterns by both gender and social class. Interestingly, both *be like* and *go* pattern by age as they are favoured by younger speakers in both American and British varieties just as previous studies have shown (Buchstaller, 2008: 23-33). Here, while age is the only constraint that holds globally, *be like* and *go* have a rather different social reality in both American and British corpora. In addition, the data also show cases in which the two varieties have taken on a locally specific pattern with regard to the ability of *go* to encode a surface addressee. Buchstaller (2008: 26) points out that a prototypical quotative frame usually takes the sequence exemplified in (5), and that an alternative way to report past behaviour results in the sequence in (6) which encodes the addressee of the quoted speech act in the quotative frame.

(5)	Speaker	Quotative Verb	Quote	
	Mary	said	“hello”.	
(6)	Speaker	Quotative Verb	Addressee	Quote
	He	told	<i>my mum</i>	“she is crazy”

(Buchstaller, 2008: 26)

The surface addressee is encoded in the noun phrase *my mum* in (6). Applying these structural parameters to the quotative *go*, the data show that the sequence ‘speaker *go* quote’ occurs in both varieties as exemplified in (7) and (8). On the other hand, the sequence ‘speaker *go* addressee quote’ is found only in the British corpus as demonstrated in (9) and (10) occurring with a first- and third-person addressee, respectively.

- (7) **America:** And she *goes* “oh um I was just setting (...) some lemons”.
- (8) **Britain:** And everybody was *going* “Emma who are you going on holiday with?” She is *going* “her boyfriend”.
- (9) And she is *going to me* “w-well will you speak to her today?”
And I am going “well yeah”.
- (10) I mean now they would just *go to the police* “ehhhh” you know?
(Buchstaller, 2008: 27)

Furthermore, the data show that speakers of the two varieties vary in their preferences for the collocation of *like* with other verbs of quotation. For instance, in American English, where *like* collocates with British variety of verbs of quotation, the most prevalent collocant is the verb *feel*. In Britain, *like* co-occurs much with the verb *say*. Examples (11) and (12) demonstrate these prototypical cases.

- (11) **Prototypical case America: FEEL LIKE**
I have got a few plants here but I am not really knowledgeable.
I feel real good if I water them and they continue to grow.
You know I *feel like* “oh I have accomplished something”.

(12) **Prototypical case Britain: SAY LIKE**

They are saying now “but why this this is this and why this is that”, Well, you see them, and then you **say like** “well what am I supposed to do, if I had money in my pocket, if I went out and looked for work”. (Buchstaller, 2008: 31)

In sum, the findings of this study on the global transmission of the two linguistic variants demonstrate that “the globalization of *be like* and *go* goes hand in hand with the development of locally specific patterns, both on the linguistic and social plane” (Buchstaller, 2008: 15). This suggests that while speakers participate in global trends adopting the quotatives, they tend to do so in an idiosyncratic and locally specific way.

Hansen-Thomas (2008) focuses on examining the use of quotatives among female adolescent speakers of Chicana English in Texas. She also highlights the relationship between quotative usage and constructs of identity to determine whether a change in the use of quotatives over time could be identified. The analysis of the ‘identity interview data’ is based on 149 quotative tokens collected in 2001 and 2003 from 6 female participants who share certain characteristics, including a degree of bilingualism in English and Spanish, similar age, and lower-middle-class socio-economic status (Hansen-Thomas, 2008: 21-24). The findings reveal that *go* is the most frequently used form, followed by *be like* and then *be all*. The data also reveal that while *be like* and *go* are often used with first-person subjects, *be all* is used more with third-person subjects. The data further show that, throughout the two years, only the use of *be all* appears to increase sharply, whereas the other forms are relatively evenly distributed (Hansen-Thomas, 2008: 27-29). After presenting each participant’s use of quotatives with respect to their self-generated representations of identity, Hansen-Thomas (2008: 30-33) reports that no significant relationship is found between quotative use and identity, and no definite change in the use of quotative is discovered, except for the shift in the use of the quotative *be all*.

Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) extend the comparative cross-variety analysis of *be like* based on datasets from three geographical settings: North America,

England, and New Zealand. The analysis is based on data from three corpora with a total of 4,407 quotative tokens representing the three varieties viz., the *Switchboard Corpus* (1,096 tokens) collected from 1988 to 1992 representing North America; the *Derby and Newcastle Corpus* (2,042 tokens) collected in 1994 and 1995 (Milroy, Milroy & Docherty, 1997) representing England; and the *Canterbury Corpus* (1,269 tokens) collected in 1994, 1995, and 1996 representing New Zealand (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 301). The findings reveal that the frequency of *be like* is higher among younger speakers than it is among older speakers and the rate of other forms is high as well, except for *think* in American English and the miscellanea category ‘other’ in British English. While *be like* is almost non-existent in the speech of older speakers in the three corpora, the quotative systems of older speakers are dominated by *say* (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 301).

The multivariate analysis of the three datasets tests the effects of four linguistic constraints (content of the quote, grammatical person, mimetic re-enactment, and tense) and two extra-linguistic constraints (speaker sex and socio-economic status). The results show that the ‘content of the quote’ (thought over speech) constraint, the ‘grammatical person’ (first over third) constraint, as well as the ‘mimetic re-enactment’ (mimesis over none) constraint share the same direction of effect across the three varieties and these three constraints are selected as significant across the board. This corroborates the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999: 162) which reveal that in both British and Canadian data, the content of the quote and the grammatical person constraints are significant with thought favoured over speech and first persons favoured over third persons (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 306). Thus, this suggests that, at least in the early stage of the spread of *be like* beyond American English, content of the quote and grammatical person may be universal constraints defining the feature of this form. While Ferrara and Bell (1995) suggest that the grammatical person effect was levelling in American English in the period between 1990 and 1994, Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004) suggest that the factor of grammatical person is the main constraint operating on *be like*. However, in all three varieties in this study, speakers use *be like* to quote themselves and use other quotatives to quote other speakers (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 306-307). The

results for tense, socio-economic status, and speaker sex show that these constraints operate in locally distinct ways in each variety (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 309). This matches the finding in a related study (Buchstaller, 2006a) which shows that social attitudes about *be like* are different in the US and the UK. This study demonstrates that the adaptive process of *be like* is global but its functional and social constraints are re-created by groups of speakers in a locally specific way.

To identify how ethnic and social distribution intersects with regional distribution in the quotative system of North Carolina, Kohn and Franz (2009) investigate the quotative system norms within African American communities and Latino communities in two cities, Durham and Hickory. The analysis is based on 618 quotative tokens from sociolinguistic interviews conducted with 27 African Americans and 35 Latino participants aged between 9 and 21. While the data indicate that both ethnic groups show an overwhelming preference for *be like*, followed by *say*, and then zero-marked quotative, *go* occurs only three times in the data and is therefore classified in the category ‘other’ because of its low frequency (Kohn & Franz, 2009: 265-269). This low frequency of *go* corroborates the finding in a similar study of African Americans (Cukor-Avila, 2002). This suggests that *go* is not common in the quotative system of African American speakers. Interestingly, *be like* tokens include ‘the traditional AAVE features’, specifically copular absence and invariant *be* as exemplified in (13) and (14). Note that these features occur in the speech of both African Americans and Latinos. In addition, there are instances of ‘bare *like*’ without the copula or repeating a subject as in (15).

(13) My sister \emptyset just like “What’d she say? What’d she say?”

(14) She *be like* “Stop, I cannot breathe.”

(15) I cussed him out
He said “What you say?”
Like, “You heard me”.

(Kohn & Franz, 2009: 269-270)

The findings also indicate that African American speakers use zero-marked quotative significantly more than Latino speakers. Furthermore, the findings reveal that among Latino speakers, *be like* is favoured by females with first-person subjects. These trends appear to be fairly consistent with previous studies of *be like* constraints in American English (e.g. Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Barbieri, 2005). Among African American speakers, gender is not a significant factor for *be like*, and the results demonstrate a more equal favouring effect between third-person plural and first-person subjects. With respect to time reference, African Americans use *be like* and *say* at about the same rate with historical present, followed by present tense, and then past tense (Kohn & Franz, 2009: 276-281). Comparing the distribution of quotatives across ethnicity and gender categories, Kohn and Franz (2009: 281) submit that an unusual pattern emerges as the Latina females in Hickory differ from all other groups. Also, the African American females in Hickory differ from all groups except for the Latina females and African American males in Durham. Thus, the way these female speakers differ from each other indicates an interesting contrast in that the Latina females in Hickory favour the use of *be like*, while the African American females show increased diversity in the use of other quotative forms. This suggests that the importance of gender seems to be more locally defined than previously discussed in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999). This study also demonstrates that global quotatives, especially *be like* develop differently once introduced into a particular community.

Another ethnicity-based study is carried out by D'Arcy (2010). The study investigates how Maori and Pakeha English speakers in New Zealand use the resources of English quotatives to construct dialogue. The data for this study come from the *Maori English Corpus* (265 quotative tokens) and the *Canterbury Corpus* (241 quotative tokens), which include samples from the speech of men in their twenties and the sampling periods are 2006, and 2005 to 2008 respectively. The findings reveal that in both varieties, *be like* is the most frequent form though it occurs more among Pakeha speakers, whereas *zero quotative* occurs significantly more in the speech of Maori speakers. While the traditional quotatives *say* and *think* occur at comparable frequencies in both varieties, quotative *go* occurs at equivalent rates (D'Arcy, 2010: 68). In her multivariate analysis of the datasets for the two

varieties, the results indicate that *be like* is favoured in the past tense in Maori English, whereas it is preferred in the historical present in Pakeha English. This finding in Maori English is contrary to the New Zealand findings in Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009: 303) in which *be like* is favoured in historical present contexts. With respect to ‘content of the quote’, ‘grammatical person’ and ‘mimetic re-enactment’ constraints, *be like* is favoured in its traditional domain in both varieties (Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009: 70-72). However, concerning the intersection of ‘tense and temporal reference’, in Maori English, the main quotative for encoding the historical present is *go*, whereas, in Pakeha English, the historical present is correlated with *be like*. The results also show that the overall rate of mimetic re-enactment is similar in both datasets, though it appears that mimetic re-enactment is a significant constraint on the use of quotatives among Maori speakers but an insignificant constraint among Pakeha speakers (D’Arcy, 2010: 74-75). In a real-time comparison of data for Maori English sourced from the *Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English* (collected between 1988 and 1994) and data for Pakeha English sourced from the *Canterbury Corpus* (collected in 1994), the analysis indicates that the difference between Maori and Pakeha English in the twenty-first century is not as a result of the emergence of quotatives, especially *be like*. The results also show that while zero quotative is the most frequent form among Maori English speakers in the older dataset, it rarely occurs in the older data for Pakeha English (D’Arcy, 2010: 76-77). This suggests that the use of zero quotative continues to surface as a major point of differentiation between the two varieties.

Buchstaller (2011) reports on real-time changes in the quotative system in the Tyneside area in North-Eastern England based on the *Diachronic Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English* (DECTE), which consists of sociolinguistic interviews collected in the 1960s, the 1990s, and late 2000s (Buchstaller, 2011: 62). The findings reveal that the quotative system in the 1960s is not constrained by age. With respect to socio-economic class, more than half of the working-class speakers frequently use *say*. The findings also show that gender is a significant constraint for quotative choice, indicating that females prefer *say* and *think*, whereas men prefer zero quotative. Furthermore, the data indicate that *be like* is favoured by younger speakers

by the 1990s, whereas older speakers maintain high frequencies of *say*. The study reports that while the difference between the conservative older and innovative younger speakers is statistically significant, socio-economic class is not a significant constraint in the overall choice of quotatives. Contrary to the stereotypes (Butters, 1980; Buchstaller, 2006b), *go* is favoured by middle-class speakers (Buchstaller, 2011: 70). In the data in the late 2000s, the use of *be like*, which is exclusively favoured by younger speakers, has increased. The quotative *go* is also favoured by the younger speakers in the late 2000s, though at a much lower frequency than in the 1990s (see also Buchstaller, 2006a). The quotative system in the late 2000s is also constrained by gender and socio-economic class as young middle-class females (also young working-class females) adopt *be like*, whereas working-class males stick to *say*. On the other hand, *go* has lost its gender effect even among the younger speakers because of a decrease in frequency. Moreover, the data show that, except in the 1960s, *think* is never constrained by gender or socio-economic class. In addition, only in the 1990s do younger speakers produce higher rates of *think*, which might be interpreted as a change in progress (Buchstaller, 2011: 73). However, with regard to the grammatical person constraint effect for *be like* and *go* (third-person over first-person), there is no change across time in Tyneside English. In the 1960s, *say* is favoured by first-person subjects but shifts to third-person subjects by the late 2000s. The content of the quote constraint of *be like* (thought over speech) remains stable across time. With respect to tense and temporal reference, *think* mainly occurs with the present tense in the 1960s but gradually shifts to past tense in the 1990s and late 2000s, whereas zero quotes are not marked for tense or aspect. By the same time, while *say* is favoured by the conversational historic present (CHP), *go* and *be like* are favoured in the past tense contexts (Buchstaller, 2011: 78-82). This study demonstrates that Tyneside English speakers participate in the globalisation process that has been described in detail in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) but with locally specific practices and outcomes.

Fox (2012) investigates the sociolinguistic profile and discourse functions of the newest quotative *this is + speaker* and other quotatives in London. The analysis is based on 1,652 quotative tokens (370 for older speakers and 1,282 for younger

speakers) extracted from a subsample of speakers from the project *Linguistic Innovators: The English of Adolescents in London*. The project investigates language use in two locations in London, one inner-city (Hackney) and one outer-city (Havering) borough, although the focus of this study is mainly on language use in the inner-city borough of London (Fox, 2012: 232). The findings reveal that the traditional *say* is the most frequently used quotative form among the older speakers, followed by *zero*, *go* and then *think*, whereas the adolescents have a much wider range of these quotatives used by the older speakers in addition to *be like*, *this is + speaker*, and few instances of *tell* (Fox, 2012: 235). It is not surprising that there is no instance of *be like* in the speech of older speakers since the use of this form is reported to have emerged in the United Kingdom among younger speakers only in the 1990s (see Macaulay, 2001; Buchstaller, 2006a). The findings also reveal that the gender effect is statistically significant among adolescents, with females having a higher frequency in the use of *be like*. With respect to grammatical person, *be like* is favoured in first-person contexts and this supports the finding in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999). Concerning content of the quote, *be like* is strongly favoured with non-lexicalised sounds and gestures, slightly favoured with direct quotes, and strongly disfavoured with internal dialogue. This is in line with Ferrara and Bell's (1995: 279) submission of a developmental continuum, emerging as a quotative marker to frame 'non-lexicalised sounds', 'gestures', and 'internal dialogue', and then diffusing into an introducer of direct quotes as it grammaticalises. Interestingly, the data show that past tense, present tense, and conversational historical present all favour the use of *be like*, which suggests that there is no strong favouring or disfavouring effect (Fox, 2012: 237-243).

Turning now to the newest quotative *this is + speaker*, the findings reveal that the gender effect is statistically significant, with females leading in the use of this form.⁴ With respect to grammatical person, this new form is favoured in first-person contexts. Concerning tense, *this is + speaker* is strongly favoured in conversational

⁴ This finding on *this is + speaker* is not surprising, which supports the prediction by Ferrara and Bell (1995) that innovation in the English quotative system would likely be introduced and used more by females than males in the early stage.

present tense contexts. In addition, *this is* + *speaker* is used categorically to introduce direct quotes (Fox, 2012: 346-347). Furthermore, Fox (2012: 254) points out that this new quotative fulfils the discourse function of introducing speech at the dramatic peak of a narrative. The constructions in (16 a-f) demonstrate how *this is* + *speaker* is used among inner-city borough of London adolescents:

- (16) (a) *This is them* “what area are you from. What part?”
 (b) *This is me* “I am from (Inner London)”.
 (c) *This is her* “that was my sister”.
 (d) *This is him* “don’t lie. If I search you and if I find one I’ll kick your arse”.
 (e) *This is my mum* “what are you doing? I was in the queue before you”.
 (f) *This is my mum’s boyfriend* “put that in your pocket now”.
 (Fox, 2012: 244)

Up to this point, Gardner et al. (2020) is the most recent study in the series of research on English quotatives. They study quotative *be like* and its co-variants in apparent-time and at two separate points in real-time in two different communities, Toronto, Canada, and York, United Kingdom. Their data is drawn from the *Toronto* and the *York English Archives* of informal spoken English and group the corpora into two ‘eras’ of data collection viz., Era 1 (1996-2004), and Era 2 (2006-2013). The analysis is based on 15,871 quotative tokens (8,797 in Toronto data and 7,074 in York data) extracted from 525 individual speakers (Gardner et al., 2020: 10). Their findings reveal that *be like* dominates the quotative system in the two communities. Also, in both Toronto and York, *go*, *think* and *zero* quotatives appear to be relatively stable across age groups, while *be like* and *say* are not. Using a subset data of the study (e.g. Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), previous findings suggest that *go* grows rapidly in use alongside *be like*. However, the combination of apparent-time and real-time data indicates that this rapid increase in the use of *go* was short-lived (Gardner et al., 2020: 11). A multivariate analysis of *be like* shows that the following constraints

are statistically significant in Toronto data: content of the quote (internal dialogue), grammatical person (first-person subjects), tense and temporal reference (historical present), and sex (women). Turning to York, the analysis shows an almost identical pattern, except in the content of the quote, which indicates that there is not a significant contrast between internal dialogue and direct speech. This finding is consistent with the findings in Rodriquez (2013) and Tagliamonte and Denis (2014) in which this constraint operates inconsistently on *be like* (Gardner et al., 2020: 24-28). They also report that the attestations of *be like* in their data are from York, not Toronto, adding that “the generational breaks dividing age-cohorts with significantly different proportions of *be like* are at near-identical points in apparent time” (Gardner et al., 2020: 30). This suggests that as *be like* diffuses through the communities at different rates, Toronto, Canada, has a more rapidly changing quotative system compared to York, United Kingdom.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the concept of quotatives and other relevant terms. I have also presented an overview of different quotative forms as well as the social and linguistic constraints that condition their occurrence across different varieties of English. The previous studies discussed above have yielded a rich and diverse knowledge-base of the English quotatives in a wide range of varieties. Of the different quotative forms discussed in the literature, *be like* has been most emphasised (e.g. Romaine & Lange 1991; Blyth et al., 1990). Most of these studies have generally focused on identifying how several social and linguistic factors constrain the use of quotatives in a number of varieties of English. The findings in different strands of investigation established that although different varieties of English participate in the globalisation process of the acquisition of quotatives, each variety is defined by locally specific practices and outcomes. Interestingly, there is a general agreement in the literature that adolescents are very productive users of quotatives. To sum up, this chapter has pointed out that, to date, most studies on English quotatives are done across native varieties. In the present study, I begin by looking at quotatives in a non-native variety, specifically Nigerian English. This study is a first

attempt at documenting the acquisition and spread of English quotatives in the speech of NE speakers.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Foundation

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical background against which this study is set. The first part of this chapter offers a critique of Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007) and its underlying claim that Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs) grow into the proposed developmental phases. I argue that the model is an explanatory and comprehensive account of some postcolonial varieties of English but not a comprehensive model for Nigerian English (NE). The second part of this chapter introduces Variationist Sociolinguistics (Labov 1963, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2012) as a conceptual framework for the analysis of quotatives. This part opens with a discussion on the evolution of variationist sociolinguistic theory and stresses the importance of its methods in the analysis of language variation and change, and their social meaning.

3.2 The Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes

With its rapid spread and increasing use for international purposes, English has attained the status of a universal language (Kachru, 1983: 51), essential for cross-cultural communication in today's international community. Several attempts have been made to classify English according to the ways it is employed in different countries across the globe (e.g. Görlach, 1990; McArthur, 1998). Kachru (1985, 1992) provides a comprehensive model of the global spread of English. Kachru's World Englishes model encompasses three concentric circles of English usage known as the Inner Circle (e.g. Australia, Canada, United Kingdom, and United States of America), the Outer Circle (e.g. India, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Singapore), and the Expanding Circle (e.g. Egypt, Germany, Japan, and Russia). Each of these circles represents different functions and patterns of acquisition of the language in a diversity of cultural contexts (Kachru, 1996: 2). Building on Kachru's influential model, Schneider (2007) proposes the Dynamic Model, which looks at the varieties of English that emerged as products of colonisation or what he calls Postcolonial Englishes (PCEs).

The Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes attempts to explain how PCEs developing in different geographical areas undergo a uniform developmental process despite their historical circumstances. This model operates within the confines of language contact situations in general, with a focus on the evolution and growth of English in postcolonial environments, specifically in sixteen different countries across the globe (i.e. Australia, Barbados, Cameroon, Canada, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, and Tanzania). One major weakness of this model is that it does not fully capture the complex realities of the spread of English. Seargeant (2012: 155) describes it as “primarily varieties-based, and thus does not examine some of the ways in which the language exists in other parts of the world (i.e. the Expanding Circle)”. The model suggests that a PCE is the product of contact between two “strands”, or simply two sets of people: the STL strand (English settlers) and the IDG strand (indigenous groups). Crucially, this model proposes five phases through which PCEs progress, viz. foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation – and each of these phases is defined by four parameters: socio-political background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects (Schneider, 2007: 29-31). Table 3.1 below presents the phases in combination with the different parameters.

Table 3.1: Schneider's five phases of PCE with the different parameters

	Sociopolitical Background	Identity Construction	Sociolinguistic Condition	Linguistic Effects
Phase One: Foundation	-English is brought in the new territory (non-English speaking) by the STL through military forts/trading outposts.	-a clear-cut distinction between the two strands ('us' vs 'them'). -IDG regard themselves as the rightful owners.	-reduced contact between the STL and the IDG (few members, few purposes) -marginal bilingualism develops.	- koineization - pidginization -toponymic borrowing
Phase Two: Exonormative Stabilisation	-STL communities stabilise (colonies are created). -English is regularly spoken and formally established as the language of administration. -IDG seek to expand contact with SLT to secure status.	- the identity of SLT and IDG undergo a slight shift. -segregational elitism occurs. -mixed marriages take place.	-IDG develop bilingualism. -STL's English considered as norm/standard.	-STL's English moves towards local variety (bits of IDG's vocabulary is adopted). -IDG acquire the second language. -Code-switching occurs.
Phase Three: Nativisation	-STL's ties with 'land of origin' weaken. -a movement towards independence.	-the gap between SLT and IDG reduced. -both groups view themselves as belonging to the territory.	-pressure on IDG to acquire STL's English. -some of the STL accommodate special features of the IDG language. -complaints of 'corrupted' form emerge.	-heavy lexical borrowing. -IDG's English shows a marked local accent. -huge changes in phonology, morphology, and syntax.
Phase Four: Endonormative Stabilisation	-stage of cultural self-reliance (Political independence).	-members of the SLT community see themselves as part of the new nation. -ethnic boundaries redefined for IDG. -time of nation-building.	-existence of new language form recognised (end of stigmatization). -literary creativity emerges.	-linguistic homogeneity. -codification of new norms.
Phase Five: Differentiation	-established nation -state of stability, free from external threat. -room for Internal differentiation (based on economic status).	-citizens no longer feel the need to define themselves as a single entity. -they define themselves as members of smaller groups (e.g. ethnic, gender, city, etc).	-group-internal linguistic markers. (Interaction and mutual identification result in group-internal linguistic accommodation).	-regional speech variation. -ethnic dialect markers. -markers of ethnic pride. (However, no monolingualism in English).

According to the model, NE as a postcolonial variety is currently placed in phase three, i.e. in the nativisation stage. This model posits that “there is a correlation between social and linguistic clines of contact intensity, respectively: the closer the contact and the higher the degree of bi- or multilingualism in a community, the more likely are strong contact effects” (Schneider, 2007: 22). In other words, while weak contact may lead to lexical borrowing, stronger contact results in morphosyntactic transfer and by extension achieves other contact-induced changes by a variety of mechanisms, from code-switching to code-alternation to acquisition strategies. Central to this model is the notion of social identity construction by symbolic linguistic means. According to Jenkins (1996: 4), identity is defined as “the systematic establishment and signification, between individuals, between collectives, and between individuals and collectives, of relationships of similarity and difference”. This suggests that the concept of identity entails both individual identification and social classification. Besides, this concept involves the relationship between groups, especially how those groups define or delimitate themselves by a shared set of beliefs, values, and the forms of linguistic expression.

3.2.1 Nigerian English and the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes

In the past decades, NE has been discussed comprehensively and classified within different models by different scholars (Brosnahan, 1958; Banjo, 1969; Bamgbose, 1982; Awonusi, 1987; Kachru, 1996), but there has been less discussion of the Dynamic Model of PCEs (Schneider, 2007), which I now adopt as a focus of the present study concerning NE. Ugorji (2015) attempts to evaluate the relationship between the formation and development of NE and the phases proposed by Schneider (2007) with a focus on the twin conditions: sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects as proposed in the model. In his article, Ugorji (2015: 44) submits that “whatever growth or development NE (or indeed any other variety) has achieved, whatever the gains are shown in research efforts and the updates provided, the fact remains that we are dealing with a continuing process, without buying the myth of maturation”. My point of departure is the re-evaluation of the positioning of NE on the developmental scale of the model, paying attention to all four parameters: socio-

political background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects. I take up this development and argue that, as regards NE, there are areas that are unclear in Schneider's model as a research tool for PCEs from the perspective of contact-induced change and therefore those areas need to be re-evaluated.

In Schneider's description of the evolution of new Englishes, which claims to indicate phase by phase certain properties of NE, the foundation phase establishes contact between the English settlers (STLs) and the indigenous groups (IDGs), which is usually motivated by economic or political forces at home, i.e. Nigeria in the early 19th century during colonisation and missionary activities by Europeans (Spencer, 1971). On the part of the settlers, the language contact is limited at this stage while an insignificant number of the indigenous groups may become bilingual. And this may mark the beginning of marginal bilingualism where features of the settler language begin to diffuse through daily interactions and ultimately result in the acquisition of the settler language by the indigenous people. At this stage, the settlers feel that they are still part of their home country and their stay in the new territory is only temporary. At the same time, the indigenous groups regard themselves as the rightful owners of the territory. According to Schneider (2007: 35), "three processes are worth observing at this stage: koineisation, incipient pidginisation, and toponymic borrowing". In the process of koineisation, speakers adjust their lexical usage and pronunciation to facilitate understanding, which Schneider (2007: 35) describes as the emergence of a relatively homogenous 'middle-of-the-road' variety. Incipient pidginisation, which is considered a reduced code, likewise emerges in a situation where there is new contact between people who do not share a language. Toponymic borrowing is common in a variety of situations, "which geographically and historically are quite far apart but which have resulted in outcomes which in that respect are astoundingly similar" (Schneider, 2007: 36). These effects are largely confined to informal and oral contexts.

In the exonormative stabilisation phase, colonies of the settlers tend to stabilise politically under foreign dominance. As soon as colonial status is established, English becomes the hallmark of the new environment. Over time, the colonies require a growing occupation of land which results in geographical expansion. And this

geographical expansion motivates the indigenous people to seek contact with the foreign settlers to secure status or advance their economic prosperity (Schneider, 2007: 38). In this stage, the identity of the settlers and the indigenous groups slightly shifts, and mixed marriages take place. Segregational elitism also occurs, especially as knowledge of the English language becomes a source of pride. For the indigenous groups, the command of English gradually becomes an asset and bilingualism develops in the process. At this stage, members of the settler community encounter various types of learners' interlanguage. The cross-cultural language contact motivates more changes in the linguistic system of English as used by the two communities on the levels of lexis, syntax, and morphology (Schneider, 2007: 39). The settler group gradually modifies its spoken English to conform to the cultural context of its new environment.

The nativisation phase is described as the most vibrant one, as it is the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation (Schneider, 2007: 40). In this phase, the STLs strive towards increasing cultural and linguistic independence from a distant mother country. It is argued that this phase is marked by a new identity that reflects the current state of affairs, combining the old and the new. Over time, circumstances cause economic and political ties between the STLs and their land of origin to weaken. Characteristically, at this point, political debates take a new dimension between a party that wants changes implemented immediately and a party for whom any change of status seems unthinkable.

In the former British Empire, this stage has found a conventional political expression, useful to both sides and conforming to the perception of their mutual relationship, in the form of the 'Commonwealth of Nations', especially in its early phase.

(Schneider, 2007: 41)

As a result of the movement toward economic, political, and psychological independence, there is a kind of 'semi-autonomy' (Schneider, 2007: 41), which affects the identity constructions of the parties involved. At this point, the gap

between the STLs and the IDGs decreases as both parties now consider themselves as belonging to the same territory. Schneider (2007: 41) suggests that “differences in cultural backgrounds, ethnicity, language, prosperity, and lifestyle, and also status and political power are not wiped away all of a sudden, but they are gradually reduced in importance”. Thus, a certain degree of accommodation is employed as both groups realise and accept the fact that they must accommodate to each other for good. At this stage, the pressure on the IDGs to accommodate to the settlers increases and this leads to widespread bilingualism. At the same time, some of the STLs incorporate some elements of local culture in their identity construction and subsequently borrow indigenous language vocabulary. Consequently, disagreements about the “corrupted” form of English emerge between innovative and conservative speakers within the community of English-speaking settlers. The settlers with a conservative norm orientation tend to reject local adjustment and insist that “the only acceptable way of using English is the metropolitan, conservative linguistic norm, which by this time is clearly an external one” (Schneider, 2007: 43). The speech of the indigenous groups is marked by a local accent as a result of mother tongue influence. Changes in morphology and syntax conform to developing constructions peculiar to the respective territory, for example, “*instead of him to travel home*” in Nigeria and “*us two’s bread*” in Fiji (Schneider, 2007: 44). This stage is of great interest as it illustrates how linguistic systems change in the process of linguistic evolution. Here, my position is that Schneider’s Dynamic Model (2007: 199-212) provides valid arguments about how NE has developed deeply into phase three.

The endonormative stabilisation phase is typically the stage of cultural self-reliance as it relates to the new identity construction that follows indigenous groups’ political separation from the settlers. Also, this phase presupposes political independence, especially as it becomes necessary for a local community to decide its language policies on its own. In this stage, the STLs now perceive themselves as members of a newly born nation, which includes the identity construction shared with the IDGs. Schneider (2007: 49) explains that “the new identity construct will give greater prominence to a group’s territory of residence, now understood to be permanent, than to historical background”. At this point, there is a birth of a new

nation and the existence of a new local form of English is recognised. Once stigmatised by British norms, this form is now evaluated as positive. Eventually, the IDGs decide that the new local norm, which is distinct from the norms of the original colonisers, will be accepted in formal usage (Newbrook, 1997: 236). With this high degree of cultural and linguistic independence, literary creativity in English emerges, rooted in the new culture and the features of the new variety (Schneider, 2007: 50). In addition, this phase is characterised by the codification of the new norm to strengthen the distinct national and linguistic identity.

In the differentiation phase, the nation is established and free from external control and orientation which brings a feeling of secure self-existence. Here, the focus of a citizen's identity construction narrows down to the immediate community level. Schneider (2007: 53) emphasises that "the citizens of a young nation no longer define themselves primarily as a single social entity in relation to the former colonial power but rather as a composite of subgroups, each being marked by an identity of its own". The main sociolinguistic conditions within this phase are determined by the group's internal linguistic markers or social networks. This phase marks the beginning of regional speech variation and increased markers of ethnic pride. With this background in mind, updating NE can be discussed in relation to phases four (endonormative stabilisation) and five (differentiation) of this model.

3.2.2 Rethinking Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes: non-linear development in Nigerian English

English holds a special status in Nigeria, as it plays an important role as an ethnically neutral tool for everyday formal communication. The United Kingdom granted Nigeria independence on October 1, 1960. However, as early as 1914 when the northern and the southern protectorates were amalgamated, British colonial masters under Governor Lord Lugard had developed the famous "indirect rule" policy of overseeing Nigeria through a local power structure, whose members had to be educated beforehand (Wolf, 2001: 67). Thus, English became established as the language of education, administration, and the law. With independence, this state of affairs did not change in Nigeria, because the development of the economy was more

striving with the presence of large numbers of Whites “who continued to find employment in Nigeria, in education, construction-work, the oil business, etc.” (Jowitt: 1991: 15). One important point to note here is that English is more associated with the minority population that holds power and runs the country.

Schneider’s phase four (endonormative stabilization) sees “the acceptance of a new indigenous identity resulting in the gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English as a means of expression of that new identity, a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence” (Schneider 2007: 49). From a political point of view, it can be argued that Nigeria has reached the stage of political stabilisation in the sense of “self-reliance”, which is a property of phase four. The key indication here is the general acceptance of an emerging local norm, especially as Nigeria now formulates its language policies without any external control. The concept of “one Nigeria” has been enthusiastically pursued since independence, even though this is not too clear when it comes to the issue of tribal rivalries versus national unity in Nigeria. Judging by the acceptance of the local norm and positive attitudes toward it, it is safe to assume that a self-image of NE-driven modernity has been fused into the national identity concepts. It is interesting to note that a British accent is no longer aimed at, as it is now seen as un-Nigerian or “affected and arrogant” (Gut, 2004: 817). In addition, Nigerians now see NE evolving as a national language, specifically for its neutral role as a lingua franca in the highly multilingual Nigerian environment.

Another notion of Schneider’s phase four that has been attested in Nigeria is the use of NE as the language of expression in literary creativity, reflecting the Nigerian experience. Nigerian literature in English, without any doubt, is flourishing. Notable among Nigerian writers who employ NE in their literary works are Wole Soyinka (a Nobel Prize laureate), the author of *The Trials of Brother Jero* (1983), *The Interpreters* (1985), and *Of Africa* (2012), Chinua Achebe, the author of *Things Fall Apart* (1958), *Arrow of God* (1964), and *Anthills of the Savannah* (1987), and Ken Saro-Wiwa, the author of *Sozaboy* (1985), *A Forest of Flowers* (1986), and *The Singing Anthills* (1991).

Linguistic homogeneity in NE starts from the recognition of NE as an independent variety in the research community. This is in addition to the sense of

satisfaction among Nigerians in knowing that they now have their own variety of English.⁵ However, the codification of NE through dictionaries and grammars has been initiated and is still ongoing (see chapter 1.2.3.1). Certainly, NE has satisfied all the properties of phase four as stipulated in the model.

Schneider's conditions for phase five are primarily the stabilisation of national identity, linguistic stability, and regional speech variation or linguistic diversification. However, there are some features of these conditions in NE, for example, regional speech variation and internal differentiation, which have been attested much earlier than homogeneity, which is a property of phase four.⁶ Besides, these relevant indicators may not be considered strong enough to merit any conclusive statement yet. Nevertheless, despite the apparent evidence of properties of phases four and five in NE, their emergence is not in the linear order as claimed by the model, especially as the parameters of diversification and homogenisation appear to be in a reversed order.

With the explanation above, it is evident that phases four and five appear to be indistinguishable with respect to NE, especially as a PCE could move from phase three to phase five, bypassing phase four. It is in view of observations such as this that Ugorji (2015: 41) suggests that "the issue may be addressed possibly by relaxing the linearity condition, essentially by permitting parametric preferences; such that certain varieties of English (or indeed of any other language) may prefer certain routes in their developmental processes". This is because, in the Nigerian experience, the parameters proposed by Schneider appear rather non-hierarchical, and to accommodate NE in this model, phases 4 and 5 must be merged.

Another key fact which limits the applicability of this model to NE is that Nigeria, unlike South Africa, and some parts of East Africa, was never a nation of white settlement. According to historical records, an 'STL strand' is hard to identify

⁵ This is at the level of general consciousness.

⁶ This may not be surprising, given that the model is based on the history of American English. Meanwhile, the endonormative stabilisation and the differentiation phases seem to fit better a situation where speakers of different Englishes come together as in the case of North America rather than a Nigerian type of situation. In a very linguistically heterogeneous country like Nigeria, the very different native languages of the majority IDG population are bound to give rise to variation in any developing NE from the start.

in Nigeria - “the government officials, teachers, and missionaries who set the exornomative stage standard during the colonial era rarely identified with Nigeria rather than with Britain, even if they stayed in Nigeria long enough - they were always ‘expatriates’” (Jowitt, 2019: 192). Therefore, the concept of the ‘STL strand’ could be adjusted to influence the model’s acceptability.

In sum, an important aspect of Schneider’s model is that its account of the history of Nigeria is rich, and it also gives space to Nigerian Pidgin English. But then, my position is that it is not an explanatory model that accounts for NE, especially concerning the claim that the model is linear or quasi-linear. In this respect, the analysis of NE expressions in the present study follows the theoretical position of *sub-varieties* (Jowitt, 2019), which classifies the English language according to “ethnic” and “educational” parameters, with “occupational” as a possible extra. The sub-varieties in the ethnic parameter are proposed to correlate with the major ethnic groups in Nigeria which are distinguished as “Hausa English”, “Igbo English”, and “Yoruba English”. This kind of differentiation is notable in the earlier work of Jibrin (1986), although his specification was just two such sub-varieties “Hausa English” (predominant in Northern Nigeria) and “Southern English” (now Igbo English and Yoruba English). The ethnic parameter has been identified to be interested mainly in the area of phonetics and phonology, hardly at all in lexis and semantics, and not at all in morphology and syntax (Jowitt, 2019: 19). On the “educational” parameter, sub-varieties have been proposed that correlate with educational attainment and can be distinguished according to “levels” of usage (Brosnahan, 1958), which builds on four different levels (see chapter 1.2.3). More details about these parameters are presented in the next chapter, but it is worth adding here that the specifications in the educational parameter suggest the linguistic items that are in the direction of a developing Standard Nigerian English, which may turn out to be still the same as the exornomative British standard.

3.3 Variationist Sociolinguistics

3.3.1 The evolution of variationist sociolinguistics

Variationist sociolinguistics, also known as the Language Variation and Change (LVC) paradigm (Labov 1963, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2012), is a core theory in sociolinguistics, which attempts to explain linguistic variation and the effect of social patterns such as age, gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status on linguistic variables, which represent change in progress in different speech communities around the world. This theory evolved from the studies of language variation and change that began in the 1960s, specifically Labov's 1963 and 1966 studies of *The Social Motivation of a Sound Change in Martha's Vineyard* and *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. These studies analysed patterns of language variation and change based on social differentiation.

In his study of social dialects in Martha's Vineyard, an island off Massachusetts, on the Northeast coast of America, Labov (1963) was interested in phonological variation when he observed a change in the realisation of /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs and he focused on their centralisation in two sets of words: *out*, *house* and *trout*, and *while*, *pie* and *night*. "He observed that the first parts of the diphthongs in such words were being centred: /au/ and /əu/ and /ai/ to /əi/, with centring more noticeable in the first set of words than in the second" (Wardhaugh, 2006: 198). Labov called the variable in the first set the (aw) variable (/au/ or /əu/) and the variable in the second set the (ay) variable (/ai/ or /əi/).

The population of Martha's Vineyard, which was 5,500 (Labov, 1972: 5) was divided into three major groups: English Yankee settlers, aboriginal Indians, and newcomer Portuguese settlers. The eastern part of the island is referred to as down-island, more densely populated and favoured by visitors during summer months. Up-island is the western end of the island and is strictly rural with more original inhabitants, especially around Chilmark, which has a good population involved in farming and fishing. To get a representative sample, Labov interviewed 69 informants drawn from different areas, occupational and ethnic backgrounds, and age levels within the island. Labov acknowledges that:

The point of view of the present study is that one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs. Or to put it another way, social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an immanent social force acting in the living past.

(Labov, 1972: 3)

A key indication of Labov's conception of the interaction between "social force" and individual behaviour in speech comes as a result of his description of the declining status of the traditional trades on the island, specifically fishing as the major part of the economy, and the rise of tourism. Labov (1963: 28) clarifies that "these economic pressures must be clearly delineated in order to assess the heavy psychological pressures operating on the Vineyarders of old family stock". This suggests that the economic pressures are closely linked to the resulting dependence on the tourist trade since there is no industry on Martha's Vineyard, and this might have the potential to influence linguistic practice on the island.

Labov is able to provide solid quantitative evidence as he demonstrates that the centralisation of the /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs is influenced by the social patterns of age, location, and socio-economic status of the speakers. Labov (1972: 33) noted that the age group from 31 to 45 has a very high degree of centralisation. Young men who actively sought to identify themselves as Vineyarders, who resented the encroachment of tourists, are the heaviest users of this type of pronunciation. The Portuguese-descent group that mainly lived down-island shows very regular use of centralised /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs, much more than the other two groups of English-descent and aboriginal Indians. Labov (1972: 36) claims that "when a man says /rəit/ or /həus/, he is unconsciously establishing the fact that he belongs to the island: that he is one of the natives to whom the island really belongs". One key limitation of this study "stems from the fact that the variable selected is not salient. This limitation, coupled with the small size of the Vineyard population, made it impractical to explore thoroughly the subjective response of native speakers to

centralized diphthongs” (Labov, 1972: 40). The techniques Labov developed from this study were later refined and subsequently applied to a much more complex situation in his investigation of the social stratification of /r/ in New York City.

In his study in New York City, Labov (1966) takes a more objective approach to the systematic use of rapid and anonymous observations in a study of the sociolinguistic structure of the city, testing his theory on a bigger population of 7.8 million New Yorkers (Labov, 1972: 50). Labov begins his study of the social stratification of postvocalic /r/ in New York City with the general hypothesis that “if any two subgroups of New York City speakers are ranked in a scale of social stratification, then they will be ranked in the same order by their differential use of /r/” (Labov, 1972: 44). This hypothesis was a result of several exploratory interviews he conducted. However, with regard to the study of the New York department stores, Labov (1966: 65) specified his hypothesis as follows: “salespeople in the highest-ranked store will have the highest values of /r/; those in the middle-ranked store will have intermediate values of /r/; and those in the lowest-ranked store will show the lowest value”. The three department stores selected were (a) Saks Fifth Avenue (highest-ranking), (b) Macy’s (middle-ranking), and (c) S. Klein (lowest-ranking). These department stores were differentiated by their different social status and the social stratification of their clients. In addition to the locations of the department stores, Labov also illustrates the social ranking based on the price policies of the stores where he compared the prices for women’s coats (Saks: \$90, Macy’s: \$79.95, and Kleins: \$23), which clarified the ranking of the stores (Labov, 1972: 46).

Labov acting as the interviewer started his experiment in a rapid anonymous survey by approaching the informants in the role of a customer asking questions that elicited the response “fourth floor” in a casual style. The interviewer then leaned forward and asked, “excuse me?” pretending not to hear the initial response and he would obtain another response “*fourth floor*” but in an emphatic style.

Labov conducted 264 interviews; 68 in Saks, 125 in Macy’s and 71 in Kleins, and the total interviewing time was approximately 6.5 hours. The independent variables in this study are the store, floor within the store, sex, age, occupation [floorwalker, sales, cashier, and stock boy], race, and foreign or regional accent. And

the dependent variable is the use of /r/ in four occurrences: casual: *fourth floor* and emphatic *fourth floor* (Labov, 1972: 49).

As the hypothesis predicted, the findings of this study reveal that (r) was stratified by socio-economic status where informants from the highest-ranked store (Saks) used the prestigious rhotic /r/ most frequently, followed by the middle-ranked store (Macy's). The informants in the lowest-ranked store (Kleins) used it least, likely because it reflected their own frequency of use in their communities, and because they identified more with their working-class clients. Labov had expected the results to reflect prestige, but there was a shift between the casual and emphatic pronunciation of /r/, especially in Saks which suggests other factors at work. Labov decided to carry out a follow-up study and looked at the use of /r/ in different styles of speech by different social classes in the Lower East Side.

With his survey of the Lower East Side of New York City, Labov was able to establish a correlation of patterns of linguistic variation and social stratification. He carried out an experiment by conducting a series of face-to-face, tape-recorded interviews with informants based on a random sample. Labov concluded that the higher the socio-economic status of a speaker, the more likely the speaker would pronounce the rhotic /r/ in speech, and the lower the socio-economic status of the speaker the lower the frequency of rhotic /r/ realisations (Labov, 1972: 44). In other words, speakers' linguistic variation is conditioned by their membership in a particular socio-economic group. In his variationist studies, Labov claims that to understand linguistic variation, there is a need to understand the way that members of a given community view the social space. This explains why individual speakers tend to shape their linguistic performance to match their own identities or the social identities they desire.

Labov's breakthrough variationist studies of Martha's Vineyard and New York City have influenced numerous studies in the field of sociolinguistics. Trudgill (1974) in his study of *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich* applied the principles and methods of sociolinguistic enquiry established by Labov (1963, 1966). Trudgill (1974) investigated sixteen different phonological variables in different socio-economic groups and different speech styles in Norwich, England. One of the

variants is 'ing' with its standard and prestigious velar variant /ŋ/ and the non-standard alveolar variant /n/. The findings are similar to Labov's: the higher the socio-economic status of the speaker the more frequent the use of the prestigious variant (ŋ) as in *singing* (Trudgill, 1974: 92). In addition to the socio-economic groups, the data also suggest that females, regardless of socio-economic group membership, show a greater preference for the prestigious variant /ŋ/ than males. According to Trudgill (1974: 182-183), women use forms that are associated with the prestige standard more frequently than men because they may be more status-conscious and because they have less well-developed social networks than men. This implies that women have a much greater need to use standard language in their speech to signal their social status than men do. Labov (1963, 1966) and Trudgill (1974) laid the foundation of the pattern for quantitative studies of language variation.

Tagliamonte (2012) presents a comprehensive overview of issues central to analysing sociolinguistic problems from the perspective of variationist sociolinguistic theory with practical implications as they were assumed by researchers in this field of study. The numerous well-chosen examples presented in her book are dominated by variationist studies by scholars like Labov (1963, 1966, 2001), Trudgill (1974, 1983, 2000), Tagliamonte (2001, 2007, 2009), Romaine (1984, 1994), Milroy (1987), Patrick (1999), etc. These scholars propose universal laws for variationist studies. Tagliamonte (2012) explores the ways language variation works. She examines in a new and more dynamic way how social patterns are reflected in linguistic variation as envisioned through a series of previous studies.

I define "classic" research in sociolinguistics as that conducted by William Labov, Peter Trudgill, Walt Wolfram, Ralph Fasold, and Lesley Milroy. This early research exposed persistent, regular sociolinguistic patterns that have given rise to "sociolinguistic principles." This will be my departure point.

(Tagliamonte, 2012: XV)

Tagliamonte has succeeded in adding new insights to many approaches to variation, specifically with regards to analysing quantitative data. The book tackles quantitative methods of variationist research and explains how analytical tools such as Goldvarb 2.0 (Rand & Sankoff, 1990) and Rbrul (Johnson, 2009) have become essential in variationist sociolinguistics. These tools have familiar variationist traits as well as the ability to conduct mixed effect models (Tagliamonte, 2012: 138). Tagliamonte (2012) can be considered as a key to the conception of the modern study of language variation, delving deeply into many core issues of variationist sociolinguistics. For the methods of the present study, I employ the variationist sociolinguistic theory as a conceptual framework. In the following, the core concepts of the variationist sociolinguistic framework are discussed.

3.3.2 The linguistic variable

Variationist sociolinguistic research begins with the observation that language is inherently variable (Tagliamonte, 2012: 2). The concept of the linguistic variable was established by Labov (1966: 33) when he described it as “a class of variants which are ordered along a continuous dimension and whose position is determined by an independent linguistic or extra-linguistic variable”. The concept was articulated much more straightforwardly by Sankoff (1980: 55) as “two or more ways of saying the same thing”. In order to study the linguistic variable, the key methodological step is the identification of two or more different expressions of a common underlying form. The linguistic variable can occur at different levels of linguistic analysis, ranging from phonology to morphosyntax, and from phonetics to discourse or pragmatics. The linguistic variable is relatively straightforward at the level of phonology but can be tricky at other levels of linguistic analysis. At the level of morphosyntax, alternation of forms may involve different processes where variants may have different lexical sources or entirely different histories in the language. At the level of discourse or pragmatics, the notion of semantic equivalence may make it even trickier. Various variables are illustrated in the following:

- (1) (a) TH-fronting (/ð/ and /θ/ realised as /d/ and /t/ or /f/ and /v/).

-
- (b) H-dropping and H-insertion (as in [aus] *house* and [hɒnə] *honour*).
- (2) (a) Past tense doublets (as in *dived/dove*, and *awaked/awoke*).
 - (b) Lexical items (as in *chesterfield* vs *couch* vs *settee*).
 - (c) Possessive *have got* vs *have* (you *have [got]* money here).
- (3) (a) Quotatives (such as *be like*, *go*, *say*, *tell*, and *think*).
 - (b) Discourse markers (such as *I mean*, *you know*, and *you see*).

In (1a), *TH* refers to *th* and is realised as a dental fricative, either as a lenis [ð] or as a fortis /θ/ in RP, as in *this* [ðis] and *thin* [θin]. In many cases, speakers realise these sounds as alveolar plosives /d/ and /t/ as in *this* [dis] and *thin* [tin]. However, *TH* is subject to variation and TH-fronting occurs when *th* is realised by labiodental fricatives /f/ or /v/ involving the replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ as in *thief* [fi:f] and *with* [wiv] respectively (Wells, 1982: 328). In his study, Trudgill (1986: 54) reports that TH-fronting is prevalent among young working-class speakers in Colchester, Ipswich, and Norwich (East Anglia). In a more recent study, Kerswill (2003: 8) reports that the merger of /θ/ and /ð/, and /f/ and /v/ has now spread to Northern England and is very common among working-class speakers, specifically in Hull. The variable in (1b), concerns the dropping and inserting of the initial-position glottal /h/ which does not occur with RP-speakers. For instance, a few speakers of non-standard NE do not realise the /h/ where RP-speakers would as in *house* [aus]. When speakers of non-standard NE overcompensate, they engage in hypercorrection; they try to speak like RP-speakers and end up inserting /h/ in words in which it is not normally pronounced in RP as in *honour* [hɒnə]. These are instances where features of the linguistic variable are evident at the level of phonology.

The variants illustrated in (2a), (2b), and (2c) occur at the levels of morphology and syntax. Here, speakers may vary among various uses of past tense forms (they may choose between *dived* and *dove*, and *awaked* and *awoke*); choice of words that convey the same meaning (they may choose among *chesterfield* or *couch*

or *settee*); and how they structure their expressions (they may choose between “you *have got* money here” and “you *have* money here”). The variants illustrated in (3a) and (3b) suggest that the choices of quotatives and discourse markers are potential linguistic variables that can be analysed at the level of discourse or pragmatics. In this respect, the linguistic variable can be said to be an abstraction the features of which must exist in some linguistically meaningful subsystems of the grammar (Tagliamonte, 2006: 76). However, another important feature of the variable is that it co-varies, correlating with social and/or linguistic patterns.

Linguistic variables inevitably involve variants that have social meaning. These are typically called “sociolinguistic variables.” Sociolinguistic variables are those which can be correlated with “some non-linguistic variable of the social context: of the speaker, the addressee, the audience, the setting, etc.” (Labov 1972c: 237). One variant might have an overt social stigma, e.g. “*I ain’t got it*”, another might entail authority, e.g. “*You must listen*”, or prestige, e.g. “*I shall tell you a story.*” Yet another variant may be neutral, e.g. “*I have it.*” These social evaluations may differ markedly from one community to the other, from one country to the next, from one variety to the next, from one social situation to the next. (Tagliamonte, 2012: 6)

In sum, the linguistic variable is a central object of investigation in variationist sociolinguistic studies. I adopt this theoretical approach to demonstrate relevant correlations of linguistic patterns as the dependent variables with social patterns as the independent variables.

3.3.3 The principle of accountability

In quantitative approaches to studying language, the principle of accountability (Labov, 1966: 49) is a methodological foundation which requires that not only tokens of the variant of interest should be considered in an analysis, but also all occurrences of the tokens of other variants must be taken into account. This means that in order to

understand the meaning of the variable under investigation, we have to examine how it functions by calculating the frequency of its occurrence as a proportion out of the total number of relevant constructions in a sample. According to Labov (1982: 30), the key requirement of this principle stipulates that “all occurrences of a given variant are noted, and where it has been possible to define the variable as a closed set of variants, all non-occurrences of the variant in the relevant circumstances”. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 137) explain that “analysts should not select from a text those variants of a variable that tend to confirm their argument, and ignore others that do not.” The idea is that the analyst can only gain access to how a particular variant functions by way of considering it in the context of the subsystem in which it belongs.

Central to the concept of the principle of accountability is “circumscribing the variable context” (Tagliamonte, 2012: 10), which focuses on the place in the classification that is variable. According to this task, it is necessary to identify the context in which two or more variants are interchangeable. However, defining “circumscribing the variable context” for morphosyntactic variables is often not an easy task and the key concern here is whether different structures mean “different things”. For instance, in the case of relativisation, i.e. when and why speakers use the relative pronoun *that* instead of *who* or *zero*. Consider the following example:

- (4) (a) The man *that* we left in Manchester has arrived.
(b) The man *who* we left in Manchester has arrived.
(c) The man ___ we left in Manchester has arrived.

In (4), the context is the relative pronoun system. The variant in (4c) is *zero* which makes it particularly difficult to spot whether it is the variant *that* or *who* that is required in the blank space. Inevitably, in some cases, some contexts may appear ambiguous, and there are possible instances where the same form can have different meanings depending on the usage. For example, *that* can function as a relative pronoun, a complementizer, a locative, or an expletive pronoun (Tagliamonte, 2012: 10). However, noting the rigour of his key requirement, Labov modifies the description of the principle of accountability:

There are a number of variables that can be studied now by noting only each occurrence, but not each non-occurrence. Studies of the aspect markers of the Black English Vernacular, like the variant *be* are still at this stage. The same is true for the distribution of relative clauses, where we cannot yet define the set of possible choices that the relative is selected from. Here quantitative work is confined to tracing the relative frequency of occurrence in some globally defined section of the speech, controlled for length by an independent measure like number of sentences, pages or hours of speech.

(Labov, 1982: 87)

Following this modification, Tagliamonte (2012: 19-20) illustrates the importance of accountable methods, calculating the proportion that *be like* as a quotative represents out of all quotative types in a set of data as presented in (5) and (6).

- (5) Count of all quotative types with *be like* as a quotative.

	%	N
Indirect speech	24	186
Direct speech	69	533
Sound/gesture	2.8	22
Hypothetical	3.8	30
Writing	.25	2
Total number of <i>be like</i>		773

- (6) Distribution of *be like* according to type of quotative, i.e. viewed as a proportion of the total of each type.

	%	N
Indirect speech	69	186/268
Direct speech	56	533/955
Sound/gesture	55	22/40
Hypothetical	39	30/77
Writing	39	2/17
Total <i>be like</i> tokens		773
Total quotative contexts		1357

The type of quote as shown in (5) and (6) is a key factor that influences the choice of *be like*. For instance, *be like* as a quotative marker can be used to report something that was said by the speaker himself or by another person, and it can also be used to report gestures. The results in (5) were established after counting the number of times *be like* was used in a set of data and then dividing the counts of *be like* according to the types of quotes in the set of data. This type of counting explains the number of *be like* tokens for each of the different types of quotes. It is important to note that not all quotatives (e.g. *go*, *say*, *think*) were included in this counting and that is why the results did not explain the patterning of *be like* with regard to the type of quote. Tagliamonte (2012: 20) explains that, to determine how a type of quote influences the use of *be like*, a different type of count is required. There is the need to count all the quotatives and then count how often *be like* (as opposed to *go*, *say*, *think*, *go* or some other quotative) occurred for each type as shown in the results in (6). In sum, these measures further highlight that variationist sociolinguistics is not interested in individual occurrences of linguistic features, but requires a systematic study of the alternate choices an individual, group or community makes. In this respect, to examine how different types of quotes function in the set of data for the present study, I follow Tagliamonte's (2012) theoretical approach.

3.3.4 The observer's paradox

The goal of every sociolinguistic study is to obtain and analyse natural speech data that represent the speaker's actual speech under investigation in a given speech community without any influence of the presence of the observer. The concept of the 'observer's paradox' was introduced by Labov (1972: 209), establishing that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed, yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation". Earlier, the major focus of attention of Labov et al. (1968) was the vernacular acquired by and used among African American speakers in South Harlem, and the efforts to observe how they use the language without being observed created this paradox. It is a paradox because the interviewer is trying to elicit informal speech in a formal context. In his description, vernacular "is the style in

which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech” (Labov, 1972: 208). Milroy (1987: 12) defines the vernacular as a “speaker’s least overtly careful speech”. The vernacular is simply the study of “real language in use”, “everyday speech”, “informal speech” or “spontaneous speech reserved for intimate or casual situations”. In addition, the vernacular is regarded as a variety “free from hypercorrection and style-shifting, which are considered to be overlays of the original linguistic system” (Tagliamonte, 2006: 8). In other words, the vernacular is assumed to be the most colloquial variety in a speaker’s linguistic repertoire.

The major challenge any sociolinguist faces is how to obtain naturally occurring data by getting the informants to talk freely in a recorded interview without them noticing that they are being observed, the outcome of which distorts the originality of the data as a result of possible hypercorrection or style-shifting. This suggests that how to overcome the paradox is central to the methodological problem. Labov claims that the ‘observer’s paradox’ can never be completely overcome but he also suggests that the problem is not insoluble.

One way of overcoming the paradox is to break through the constraints of the interview situation by various devices which divert attention away from speech and allow the vernacular to emerge. This can be done in various intervals and breaks which are so defined that the subject unconsciously assumes that he is not at the moment being interviewed. We can also involve the subject in questions and topics which recreate strong emotions he has felt in the past, or involve him in other contexts.

(Labov, 1972: 209)

In devising this method, the attention of the informants may divert from the recording, and they will subconsciously engage in more casual speech, which reduces the possible effects of observational circumstances. However, naturally occurring speech, which is the interest of sociolinguists can be obtained only when a speaker

pays least attention to his speech since the dimension of formality is what creates the observer's paradox.⁷

3.3.5 Social factors

Variation in language use is intrinsically correlated with a wide range of social factors that have been under investigation, arguably since the pioneering variationist studies by Labov (1963, 1966) and Trudgill (1974). Amongst these factors are age, sex or gender, social class, and region and ethnicity. These social factors influence the way language is used in society. According to Sankoff (1988a: 157), "it is the mechanisms which link the extra-linguistic with patterned linguistic diversity which are the goals of sociolinguistic understanding". In the following subsections, the core social factors which are relevant to the present study are explained.

3.3.5.1 Age

Since the earliest work by Labov (1963, 1966), age has been established as a major demographic category in the study of language variation and change, and as such is generally considered as an independent variable. Age, which is determined by birth cohort, is simply a social variable that concerns how speakers of different age groups or generations tend to use language for different conscious or subconscious reasons. A person born in 1960 may not speak the same variety of English as a person born in 2010 because of generational differences that result from innovations, which spread gradually and new forms tend to replace older ones. The crucial question is why people of different age groups differ in their speech. This is figured out using variationist methods as sociolinguists have been able to use age-based data to analyse patterns of language variation and change.

A central concern in examining age-based variation is defining meaningful ways of grouping and comparing subjects that can take different approaches. For

⁷ It can be argued that the presence of today's tiny recording equipment may not automatically trigger participants into formality in the same way that Labov's huge reel-to-reel recorders would have, but then the tiny size of today's recording equipment cannot completely divert the attention of the participants from being recorded. If the observer's paradox is not mitigated, the participants may not engage in casual speech all through.

instance, Eckert (1997) sketches a three-way approach to dividing life stages, distinguishing childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. She reports that adolescents tend to lead in the use of innovative forms, a trend that may be related to their engagement in constructing identities independently of their elders (Eckert, 1997: 163). Because of adolescents' stylistic exuberance and innovative potential, there is a belief among linguists that vernacular features are only ever found in the speech of present-day adolescents. This could also be a result of being hyper-attentiveness to adolescent speech. Evidence for this belief comes from several sources, notably Payne's (1980) study in Philadelphia which showed that the children of out-of-state parents were able to acquire ongoing language changes in the local communities that their parents did not use (see Tagliamonte, 2012: 50).

Conversely, researchers have seen the language of the middle-aged speakers as a standard against which the language of younger speakers can be measured. Eckert (1997: 157), confirming the vitality of middle aged, points out that "only the middle aged are seen as engaging in mature use, as 'doing' language rather than learning it or losing it". The claim here is that middle-aged adults tend to exhibit more conservatism in their speech than younger speakers and are often more conservative even than older speakers. As Eckert (1997: 155) notes, "age has significance because the individual's place in society, the community, and the family changes through time". Her approach to age is based on life stages rather than simple chronology.

Another perspective that concerns age patterns in the analysis of variation comes from the apparent time hypothesis. In an apparent time study, differences across generations of speakers are compared at a single point and are "used to make inferences about how a change may have taken place in the (recent) past" (Tagliamonte, 2012: 43). In other words, the principle of apparent time upholds that speakers of different age groups can be considered as representing different times. Thus, the speech of a 60-year-old today represents the speech of an earlier period than does the speech of a 40-year-old or a 20-year-old. In comparing these speakers synchronically, the researcher will be able to draw diachronic inferences about developments over the last 40 years or so (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 35). This approach has become a keystone of variationist sociolinguistics (Labov, 1963, 1966)

and has been applied in many sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Britain 1992; Bailey, 2002). However, in the present study, the categorisation of age will not be motivated by any of the life-stage perspectives above. I will refer to clusters of age strata as ‘age groups’ and will simply divide my participants according to arbitrary age cohorts, which are nevertheless sensible timeframes of 5, 10, and 20 years (e.g. 15-20, 21-30, 31-50, 51 and above).⁸

3.3.5.2 Sex (or gender)

Sex (or gender) is a typical social factor that describes variation in the speech behaviour of males and females concerning the frequency of using certain variants. The concepts of sex and gender have been used interchangeably across disciplines. To clarify the distinction between these concepts, Tagliamonte (2012: 64) submits that “sex refers to the physiological distinction between males and females. Gender on the other hand refers to the social and cultural roles that individuals appropriate depending on their opportunities, expectations, and life experiences”. This suggests that sex is a biological category that distinguishes males and females on the basis of their genetic make-up or anatomical differences, as opposed to gender which is a socio-cultural category with a defined distinction between feminine and masculine based on roles an individual can belong to.

In the study of language variation, it can be complicated to figure out whether a person’s use of language is influenced by innate sex or by the way the person is socialised. Reviewing recent developments in studies on language and gender, some sociolinguists (e.g. Eckert, 1989; Eckert & Rickford, 2001) argue that gender should not be treated as a binary contrast between males and females, “but rather as a continuum where speakers situate themselves socially between two reference points” (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 100). Thus, gender as a product of socialisation provides a more accountable explanation of language variation than the binary contrast. Straightforwardly, gendered language behaviours differ largely from culture to

⁸ The four age groups in this study are simply labelled as adolescents (15 - 20), young adults (21 - 30), middle-aged adults (31 - 50), and older adults (51 and above). These labels make the grouping very similar to Eckert’s categories.

culture, from group to group, from place to place, living at the intersection of other aspects of social identity. For example, in a sociolinguistic study in a Detroit high school, in the United States, Eckert (1989) observed that there were greater differences between different groups of boys and girls (Jocks vs. Burnouts) than between boys and girls generally. This study emphasised how important it is to check an individual's behaviour within the broad category of gender and other social categories "to determine if, and where parallels exist across individuals" (Tagliamonte, 2012: 64).

Furthermore, in sociolinguistics, a distinction can be drawn between "gender-exclusive" and "gender preferential" features in a language (Meyerhoff, 2019: 228). So-called exclusive features are associated with speakers of a particular gender. We can think of some aspects of kinship terms as being gender-exclusive. For example, *aunt*, *mother*, and *niece* (female), and *uncle*, *father* and *nephew* (male) are gender-specific contrasted with *cousin* (a male or a female), which is gender-neutral. The kinship terms that mark a referent's gender differ in languages or cultures that have a number of mutual contacts. For instance, "in German, *Enkel* is gender-neutral, but the English equivalents are the gender-specific terms *grandson* and *granddaughter*". The English pronoun *you* is gender-neutral but the Hausa equivalents are gender-specific: *kai* (you) for a male and *ke* (you) for a female. On the other hand, preferential features are associated with speakers of both genders but used more frequently by one gender than the other. For example, standard forms are used by both genders, but some generalisations imply that men tend to use more non-standard forms than women and by definition, women use more standard forms than men do.

Beyond simple generalisations that say women favour these forms and men favour those forms, Labov formulated three principles of gender and linguistic variation that identify the role of women or men in the use of certain standard or non-standard forms:

Principle 1 (stability): for stable sociolinguistic variables such as the *ing* variable or the *th* and *dh* variables or negative concord, women generally seem to use standard forms more frequently than men do.

Principle 2 (change from above the level of awareness): women tend to adopt innovative and positively evaluated forms within the speech community at a higher rate than men do. A famous example of this kind of variable is the use of /r/ in final or pre-consonantal position in New York City (see chapter 3.3.1).

Principle 3 (change from below the level of awareness): in this kind of change in progress, these are variable with little or no clear evidence of style-shifting. In such cases, women use higher frequencies of incoming, non-standard variants than men do. A famous example is the innovative variable *be like*.

(Labov, 2001: 266-293)

In the first two underlying principles, the circumstances identify women as more likely to lead men in the use of standard-like variants, and in the last principle, the circumstances identify women as leading men in the use of non-standard variants. It is important to notice that when taken all together, there is an essential paradox in male-female speech behaviour, the gender paradox (Labov, 2001: 291). Disputing the gender paradox theory, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999) argued that the gender paradox is only a paradox if it can be proven that the women who lead in the use of standard variants are the same women who use more of the non-standard variants. However, Meyerhoff (2019: 247) noted that the methods used by social dialectologists to calculate the median rates for use of standard and non-standard variants make it impossible to know whether this is the case or not. In the present study, since the interpretation of gender and the use of standard or non-standard variants differ from one community to the next, I will use sex, which is a more straightforward concept, to refer to males or females.

3.3.5.3 Social class

Social (or socio-economic) class is one of the social factors that play a prominent role in the study of language variation. It stratifies society into a hierarchy of distinct classes or status groups so that members belonging to a particular class have the same

relative status. The nature and definition of social class have been controversial, with different scholarly positions often reflecting opposing views. The notion of social class has its intellectual basis in theories of social and political economies associated with sociologists like Karl Marx and Max Weber. Marx's distinctions were based on a common relationship to the means of production between those who produce capital or resources (the proletariat, i.e. the working class or those who are ruled) and those who control the production of capital produced by others (the capitalist class, i.e. the middle class or those who rule). Weber's distinctions were more than simply ownership of capital but based on an individual's economic situation theorised in terms of their social actions (see Meyerhoff, 2019: 176). Opposing Marx's simple definition of social class, Weber argued that the influence of the individual's economic status is tempered by their lifestyle and life chances, and these three define a person's status in society. Thus, Weber's distinctions between social classes were more organised as they considered an interplay between class, status, and power, and an individual's participation in a set of associated behaviours (including speech). This conceptualisation of class also captures the significance of an individual's aspirations and attitudes.

Contrasting the views of both Marx and Weber's class divisions, the functionalist sociology which underlies variationist analysis, as discussed by Rickford (1986) and Milroy and Milroy (1992), treats social class "as a product of shared values and broad social consensus" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 95). The functionalist view here does not expect any agreement on the number and composition of social classes; distinctions between social classes are most commonly drawn based on occupation and are seen as arbitrary. Hence, social class is rather vaguely said to be a structure of relationships between groups where people are classified often based on sharing similar occupations and incomes, lifestyles and beliefs.

Identifying social class as an independent variable in variationist research, sociolinguists have tried to use several social index scores to classify individuals within a social system depending on the speech community. Some of the scales used are education, occupation, and household/family income. For example, in North America and Britain (e.g. Labov, 1990; Macaulay, 1977), occupation has been the

chief indicator that is considered to correlate closely with language variation. Eckert (2000: 164) opines that the correlations emerge simply because occupation “is an indication of the adult’s actual forms of participation in the standard language market, while education is primarily a preparation for this participation”. On the other hand, most sociolinguistic studies in Arabic-speaking communities (e.g. Abu-Haidar, 1989; Al-Wer, 1997) consider education as the chief indicator of class. Al-Wer (1997) notes that there is a clear relationship between a speaker’s pattern of language variation and the speaker’s change in social networks when he or she becomes educated. She opines that the education indicator is accurate because “in most cases, college and university education involves leaving one’s hometown and interacting with speakers from different linguistic backgrounds. Educated speakers appear to be leading linguistic changes, most often in the direction of urban and koineized regional standards” (Al-Wer, 1997:259). This explains the significance of education in the Arabic-speaking world as a good indicator of social class and how it is related to language variation. In the present study, the term “social class” will be used more in the sense of Weber’s notion as a composite of a person’s status measured in terms of lifestyle and life choices in addition to measures of economic wealth, education, and occupation. Since the ranking of professions differs in different communities (Meyerhoff, 2019: 184), the participants will be assigned a particular socio-economic label according to their level of education or occupation and their parents’ level of education or occupation (in the case of adolescents) based on local status (see chapter 4.4.1.4).

3.3.5.4 Ethnicity

Ethnicity is one of the social categories identified by Labov (1966) where he reports how Irish, Italian, and Jewish ethnic groups participate in various vowel shifts in New York City. Giles (1979: 253) defines an ethnic group as “those individuals who perceive themselves to belong to the same ethnic category”. Members of an ethnic group share common ancestral, cultural, linguistic, or social characteristics. Therefore, the concept of ethnicity can be considered as a social construct because of its role in how people structure their social world. This category, which creates

borders between people has been an object of study in its own right, especially in the field of sociolinguistics. Much of research on language variation and ethnicity has focused on the variety of English spoken by African-Americans (e.g. Labov, 1966; Wolfram, 1974; Feagin, 1997; Fought, 2003; etc.). Wolfram (1974) in his study of African-American English reported that there was clear evidence of African-American influence on Southern European-Americans concerning copula absence (as in *she my sister* instead of *she is my sister*). Similarly, Feagin (1997) found that lack of post-vocalic /r/ in the speech of Southern European-Americans was influenced by the speech of African-Americans. Also relevant is Bailey and Thomas (1998), which reported on the increased use of post-vocalic /r/ among speakers of African-American ethnicity in Texas. Many of the studies found that people of African descent have higher rates of simplification than those of European descent (Tagliamonte, 2012: 38).

Studies on language variation and ethnicity from other parts of the world have focused on investigating how boundaries between different ethnicities are locally constituted (e.g. Horvath, 1985; McCafferty, 2000; Kerswill et al., 2008; etc). McCafferty (2000), for example, reports that the ethnolinguistic boundary in Northern Ireland is a case of division between “Catholics” and “Protestants”. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 114) point out that “it is quite possible (even commonplace) in Northern Ireland for an ethnic Catholic to be a non-believer, or conversely for an English or Scottish migrant who identifies as an adherent of the Catholic religion to be categorized as Protestant”. It is perhaps fair to say that since the terms “Catholic” and “Protestant” refer to ethnicity in Northern Ireland, religion is, therefore, a culturally accepted indicator of ethnicity. However, in the case of the present study, as emphasised in chapter 1.2.1, Nigeria has complex linguistic geography due to multilingualism. Broadly speaking, there are two major regions in Nigeria, i.e. the north and the south, and within each of the regions, there are sub-regions that link ethnic units (see chapter 4.4.1.3). Therefore, the term “ethnicity” will be replaced

with “regional origin” and the participants will be simply stratified according to their regional origin, i.e. the north or the south.⁹

3.3.6 Linguistic factors

Variationist sociolinguists seek to uncover how social factors such as age, ethnicity or regional origin, sex, and social class are reflected in linguistic variation. The previous section has discussed the social aspects of this pursuit, and I turn now to its linguistic aspects. This section discusses relevant linguistic patterns that underlie variation, specifically grammaticalisation, lexical change, and semantic change. These linguistic patterns provide a window into the variable grammar and the omnipresent mechanisms (Tagliamonte, 2012: 71) in the linguistic system.

3.3.6.1 Grammaticalisation

The concept of grammaticalisation in its commonly used definition is the type of change “whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalised, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 18). From this, we can infer that grammaticalisation is typically a type of semantic change that derives possible changes from inferencing, specifically when particular lexical items develop functional roles and consequently are placed into pragmatic domains. Grammaticalisation involves four interrelated mechanisms (Heine et al., 1991), which relate to different levels of grammar, specifically morphosyntax, phonetics, pragmatics, and semantics. Tagliamonte briefly defines the mechanisms as follows:

1. Desemanticisation: loss of semantic content or “bleaching” of meaning;
2. Extension: generalisation of forms to new contexts;

⁹ Note that regional origin here is used as a geographical distinction, rather than a proxy for “ethnicity”. This has been explained more in chapter 4.4.1.3.

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3. Decategorisation: morphological reduction or loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of the source forms, e.g. clitic, affix;
 4. Erosion: phonetic reduction, e.g. loss of phonetic segments, suprasegmental features, phonetic autonomy, adaption to adjacent units, simplification.

(Tagliamonte, 2012: 88)

These mechanisms of grammaticalisation play critical roles in interpreting trends in the evolution of forms. Romaine and Lange (1991: 261) in their model of the evolution of *like* illustrate how the grammatical category of *like* is characterised by its “syntactic detachability and positional mobility” as it changes from preposition to conjunction (decategorisation and recategorisation; Heine et al., 1991). Vandelanotte (2012: 188) clarifies that the initial ‘prepositional’ meaning of *like* “weakens and gives way to a more grammatical meaning (semantic ‘attrition’ or desemanticization; cf Lehmann, 1982, 1995), which is also more subjective on the cline from non-subjective (prepositional) to subjective (speaker-centred) and intersubjective (addressee-centred)”. Building on Romaine and Lange’s (1991) account of *like*, Siegel (2002) addresses its semantic aspects and argues that in sluicing sentences and existential “there” constructions, *like* affects basic semantic attributes which include truth-conditions and the weak/strong distinction more generally. She claims that this variable can “occur grammatically anywhere in a sentence”, and despite its role in syntactic-semantic processes, *like* is pragmatically conditioned (Siegel, 2002: 64). From this point, in order to illustrate the pragmatic inferences encoded in quotatives in Nigerian English, I adopt the paradigm of grammaticalisation for the analysis of discourse aspects of the quotatives, building on the work of Hopper and Traugott (2003).

3.3.6.2 Lexical change

Lexical change is the easiest type of linguistic change in the study of language variation. When interacting in different situations, people tend to be conscious of the

words they use, especially when a common lexical item differs from one place to another, e.g. where speakers of British English use *holiday*, *lift*, *lorry*, *post code*, and *solicitor*, speakers of American English use *vacation*, *elevator*, *truck*, *zip code*, and *attorney*. Lexical change is in operation when a word is substituted for another word, for instance, “a *carbonated soft drink* might be called *pop* in the inland North and West of the United States, *soda* in the Northeast, *tonic* in Eastern New England, and *cold drink*, *drink* or *dope* in various parts of the South” (Carver, 1987: 268). This type of change is also in operation when a word changes its form and meaning, e.g. *adore*, *adoring*, *adorable*, *adorbs* (Tagliamonte, 2016: 59). Because of their association with taboos, some words have been replaced by new ones, e.g. in American English, the word *cock* has been replaced with *rooster*. Word choice is even more notable when there are generational differences. For instance, in the early twentieth century, Canadian English *chesterfield* was avant-garde but young people in Canada do not use it because it is so rarely used at the beginning of twenty-first century (Tagliamonte, 2016: 59). This demonstrates that lexical change can be in the form of lexical loss or creation of a new lexical item which can be manifested in different lexical classes of a language such as adjective, adverb, noun, and verb. As an aspect of geographical differences, I adopt the concept of lexical change to describe the lexical similarities and differences in the use of quotatives between the two major regions in Nigeria and subsequently distinguish the speech of different social classes as well as age groups in the present study.

3.3.6.3 Semantic change

Semantic change is fairly straightforward. Every word in a language may have a variety of senses and connotations which can be added to, removed, or altered. Semantic change shifts the meaning of words so that they acquire new or broader meanings (Hock & Joseph, 1996: 228). This type of change is defined by a number of different mechanisms and the foremost of these are metaphor and metonymy:

In metaphorical extension, words shift from one domain to another based on similarity – *a calm lake – lake as calm as glass*. In metonymic

extension, one word is used for another within the same domain based on some relationship or association between them – *the crown of a queen – crown = queen*. These are typical examples found in textbooks; in real life, mundane examples are everywhere.

(Tagliamonte, 2012: 84)

As metaphor involves similarity across domains, metonymy involves shifts within domains (Traugott & Dasher, 2002: 78). Despite the straightforwardness of this type of change, there is a methodological difficulty concerning the objective measuring of semantic variation (Weiner & Labov, 1983: 31). Romney et al. (2000) in a work based on the field of quantitative anthropology address the issue of intercultural differences to represent various cultural domains. The work relies on applying a statistical treatment to semantic similarity judgements as performed by speakers between words belonging to a particular semantic domain. Hasan (2009) establishes a comprehensive approach to semantic variation in a series of large-scale studies dealing with patterns of conversation across social class lines. The results from the studies show that there are clear differences in the way young children and their mothers from middle-class vs working-class families frame their speech in casual conversations. The results also establish that the usual mode of teachers' conversation with children is mainly an exaggerated version of the ways of "meaning" of the typical middle class (see Hasan, 2009). Hasan's (2009) argument is that from a sociolinguistic perspective, variation in meaning-making must be considered as the primary factor in the understanding of the role of language in society. However, the analysis of semantic variation in the present study follows the theoretical position of Tagliamonte (2012) as I establish that there is evidence of different mechanisms of semantic change in the use of quotatives by speakers of Nigerian English.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has critically discussed the two major theoretical frameworks against which the present study is set. Based on the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007), I discussed Nigerian English (NE) with a focus on re-

evaluating its positioning on the developmental scale of the model. The section touched all five phases proposed within the model, viz. foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation, as well as the four parameters that defined each of the phases: socio-political background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects (Schneider, 2007: 29-31). Though the model provides a rich account of the history of Nigerian English and rightly gives space to Nigerian Pidgin English, it is unclear in some areas. For instance, I argued that Nigeria was never a country of white settlement, and even the missionaries and government officials who set the exonormative stage were always in Nigeria as expatriates, not permanent settlers. I also questioned the linearity of the model and suggested that for the model to be widely accepted, the linearity condition must be relaxed, especially as all the parameters set for phases four and five (which are indistinguishable for NE) are evident in NE even as it is placed in phase three by the model. With respect to the variationist sociolinguistic framework (Labov, 1963, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2012), I discussed the evolution of the framework and also stressed the importance of its methods in the analysis of language variation and change, and its social meaning. I also discussed the relevant concepts of the framework and explain how I employed some of them in the present study. More details are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Fieldwork and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the type of data collected and the methods and techniques employed in the study. It provides details of the preparation as well as the procedure of the fieldwork carried out in Nigeria. It also presents the statistical procedures used for quantification of the data as well as the analytic discourse-pragmatic qualitative method employed for the analysis in chapter five. This chapter further discusses research ethics and subject anonymity during interviews.

4.2 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was carried out in two bouts of data collection, the first was from April to June 2019 and the second was in December the same year.¹⁰ The first bout that lasted for three months gathered data from 150 participants in sociolinguistic interviews while the second bout that lasted for only one month collected data from 50 participants tallying 200 altogether. In preparation for the fieldwork, I contacted many friends, family members, and old colleagues to help with mechanisms that would mobilise potential participants for the interviews. These friends, family members, and old colleagues (most of whom participated in the interviews) helped me in building a diverse network of participants across Nigeria. I also contacted some organisations and communities to secure permission to establish contact with potential participants within their domains. Besides, I am familiar with the Nigerian environment, especially the northern part of it, and this helped greatly in identifying likely participants for the interviews. The interviews were conducted at different locations such as recreational centres, bookstores, university campuses, restaurants, mosques, churches, cafes, grocery stores, private homes, and many more. However, for various reasons, out of the 200 interviews, only 180 were suitable for inclusion in the sample that forms the basis of the quantitative analysis in chapter five. For

¹⁰ In advance of travelling to Nigeria for my fieldwork, I contacted the NSD (Norwegian Centre for Research Data), which assessed my project plan in accordance with its conditions and subsequently granted the approval to commence the data collection on 19th March 2019.

instance, a number of the excluded interviews have few instances of quotatives in them and others are not up to the required length due to interruptions during the recording.

4.3 Sampling method

Sampling simply involves choosing the right participants when collecting data for our research. Rasinger (2008: 47) identifies *population*, the *sample*, and *sampling technique* as the basic concepts underlying a valid and reliable study. According to him, the population defines the group of people we are generally interested in. He also points out that “populations can be of significantly different sizes and shapes, they all have one thing in common: they are usually too large to be studied in their entirety” (Rasinger, 2008: 47). For instance, it is impossible to collect quotative data from every single speaker of Nigerian English living in Nigeria. Therefore, there is the need to break down the population into smaller groups in order to have a group size known as the *sample* that the researcher can realistically work with. In his description, “a sample is a part of our population, and crucially, the sample must be an adequate reflection of our population” (Rasinger, 2008: 47). In other words, the *sample* is *representative* of the *population* in research. It is on this basis that researchers usually target “some people in the group in such a way that their responses and characteristics reflect those of the group from which they are drawn... this is the principle of *sampling*” (De Vaus, 2001: 60). In addition, it is this *representative sample* that reflects the population of smaller groups in terms of their linguistic and social characteristics, and further lends itself to generalisations beyond the scope of the study.

Since Labov’s pioneering work, sampling has become one key area in which methodologies commonly practiced have developed quite dramatically (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 24). Over the past five decades, variationists have treated sampling issues in different ways in order to acquire sufficient amounts of language data as well as to take into account the social context in which the data are collected. The commonly used sampling methods in sociolinguistic research include random (or probabilistic) sampling, convenience (or opportunity) sampling, stratified random

sampling (judgement or quota sampling), ethnographic sampling, and snowball (or social network) sampling.

According to Rasinger (2008: 48), *random* or *probabilistic sampling* is the most valid sampling technique. This type of sampling technique is based on the assumption that every member within the *sample frame* has an equal chance of being selected to be included in the research. De Vaus (2001: 60) argues that “the surest way of providing equal probability of selection is to use the principle of random selection. This involves listing all members of the population (this list is called a *sample frame*) and then ‘pulling their names out of a hat’”. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 25) define the term *sample frame* as “any list which enumerates the relevant population, simple examples being electoral registers and telephone directories”. They add:

Any sample frame is likely to be biased in some way; for example, an electoral register excludes all persons under voting age and those not registered – but where this kind of bias is known, it can be taken into account. The sample is drawn by some mechanical procedure such as assigning random numbers to the names on a list or selecting every *n*th individual from the frame.

(Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 25)

However, this type of sample, also known as the *name-in-a-hat-technique* (Rasinger, 2008: 48), can be similar to drawing lots. For instance, we can assume that the population of speakers of Nigerian English in Nigeria comprises 120 people, 60 males and 60 females, and the researcher has concluded that he wants a sample size of 30. We write 120 names on separate pieces of paper and mix them, and then draw 30 names out of the 120. In this case, all the 120 speakers have an equal chance to be drawn, which makes it unlikely to maintain the same proportions of 15 males and 15 females. De Vaus (2001: 64) points out that the problem with this type of random sampling is that “it requires a good sampling frame. While this may be available in some populations (e.g. organisations such as schools, churches, unions), adequate

lists are often not available for larger population surveys of a city, state, or country". Therefore, a more practicable way of sampling representatively is to create a *systematic sampling* frame.

In *systematic sampling*, the researcher compiles a list of the population and selects according to certain criteria based on the required sample size, e.g. the researcher decides to choose every tenth name from the list without paying attention to whom they select (Rasinger, 2008: 48-49). Another example is that if the population is 5,000, but the researcher is only interested in 100 people, the researcher can decide to select one person out of every 50 ($5000/50 = 100$). Here, the systematic selection is more feasible than a genuinely random selection.

Interestingly, since probability sampling is often not reliable, in small-scale projects, researchers resort to non-probability sampling, which is non-random. In this method, not all members of the population have an equal chance of being selected into the sample because "membership is based on some kind of deliberate selection by the researcher" (Rasinger, 2008: 51). However, while *probability methods* strive for representativeness in a statistical sense, *non-probability methods* "cannot be used to make statistical inferences about the population from which they are drawn" (Rice, 2010: 232). This suggests that to adopt non-probability methods such as single case studies, the researcher must accept the fact that statistically rigorous representativeness is not a primary issue in the research design.

Another popular non-random sampling is *convenience sampling*, also known as *opportunity sampling* (Sapsford & Jupp, 1996), where researchers deliberately choose participants bearing not only representativeness in mind but also based on who is accessible at a given time. This type of sampling is commonly used in pilot studies because it allows the researcher to conveniently survey the field before constructing a more elaborate sample. Student volunteers are usually the most frequent subject pool in this type of sampling. *Snowball* or *social network sampling* is also a sub-category of the non-random sampling technique (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 32), which is discussed in 4.3.2. The various sampling methods currently employed in sociolinguistic research suggest:

Researchers are now more relaxed than they once were about methodological issues such as whether or not their account should be technically representative or whether strict random sampling procedures should be used. This shift in attitude has come with the maturing of sociolinguistics as a field of research, and it enables researchers to select more freely from a range of methods those which, within a defensible theoretical framework, will best enable them to achieve their goals.

(Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 47-48)

When researchers deal with sampling, there is always a possibility of *sampling error*, which Rasinger (2008: 49) sees as “the phenomenon whereby our sample does not have the same characteristics as our population, for reasons that only skilled mathematicians can explain”. In other words, *sampling error* is the difference between sample and population values. For instance, our population of speakers of Nigerian English in Nigeria comprises 120 people, 60 males and 60 females, and the intended sample size is 30. If we draw a random sample and get 20 males and 10 females instead of 15 males and 15 females, such a sample does not reflect reality as it does not represent the population. Here, we have a small sampling error and limited representativeness. If we draw a random sample and get 30 males and no females, we have a very serious error and no representativeness. However, advice on what to do with sampling errors depends on the research question. If the research question is interested in differences between males and females, the researcher may like the sampling error to be as small as possible. If sex is not a relevant factor, the sample might be acceptable, but it is important to have an awareness of the sampling error (Rasinger, 2008: 50). Tagliamonte (2006: 17) emphasises the connection between sampling technique and research questions stating that “at the outset, a sociolinguistic project must have (at least) two parts: (1) a (socio)linguistic problem and (2) appropriate data to address it”.

However, the present study is based on a sample of 180 sociolinguistic interviews. The participant sample usually involves two major decisions, viz., the size

of the sample, and the procedure for selecting the sample. Since it is neither desirable nor feasible to interview the whole population of speakers of Nigerian English in Nigeria, a sampling method is necessary based on a sample of speakers who represent the larger linguistic and social contexts of the Nigerian community. Therefore, my participants were selected using a combination of stratified random sampling (judgement or quota sampling) and snowball or social network sampling methods.

4.3.1 Stratified random sampling (judgement or quota sampling)

The participants were selected using stratified random sampling, a technique that “modifies the random sampling methodology along lines more amenable to the data required for variation analysis” (Tagliamonte, 2006: 23). Although the original idea of this kind of sampling was based on sampling within each social class stratum, Sankoff (1988: 900) claims that later sociolinguistic studies have suggested that the aim of sampling is not to be a “miniature version of the population but only that we have the possibility of making inferences about the population based on the sample”. This suggests that the sample does not reflect the overall population but is only representative of a cross-section of the population in the focal area. An early example of a city-wide study that employed this approach is Macaulay’s study of Glasgow speech, using 54 speakers: “on the judgement of a member of the Education Department a total of seventeen schools were selected as being representative of the schools in Glasgow” (Macaulay, 1977: 20). Macaulay’s study illustrates that it is possible to make important generalisations about linguistic variation in a community without having to encounter the practical difficulties of employing random sampling with linguistic analysis.

However, the sample for the present study is carefully determined and stratified based on different social factors, specifically age, regional origin, sex, and social class. The key positive effect of this type of sampling is that it allows me as a researcher to identify in advance the types of participants to recruit for the study and then seek out a quota of participants who fit the specified categories. In addition to this technique, I also employed snowball or social network sampling.

4.3.2 Snowball or social network sampling

In filling the quotas for the judgement sample technique, I employed snowball or social network sampling method by way of using networks of participants to approach other potential participants that matched the intended sample as described in the predefined social categories above. This type of technique is also called the *friend-of-a-friend approach* by Milroy (1992), who recruited her participants by being referred from friend to friend and other networks in Belfast.

During my fieldwork, this method of sampling helped create a base of trust and willingness to participate in the interviews, especially as the participants were less likely to decline a request to participate since I had been referred to them by a friend, family member, or acquaintance. I simply asked my networks to recommend other people around them who might be willing to participate in the interview. Another positive side effect of network sampling is the possibility to minimise the relative degree of formality, which “tends to increase in direct proportion to the number of social differences between the participants” (Chambers, 2003: 4). This helped participants to pay less attention to their speech during the interview which further reduced the effect of the observer’s paradox (see chapter 3.3.4). Obviously, my knowledge of the Nigerian community was useful to me when I was conducting interviews with my participants. Table 4.1 presents a sampling grid showing how all the social factors pattern in the sample.

Table 4.1: Sampling grid by age, social class, sex, and regional origin

Age and social class	North		South		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
15-20 (lower class)	7	3	7	4	21
15-20 (middle class)	3	8	3	6	20
15-20 (upper class)	1	-	1	3	05
21-30 (lower class)	6	3	3	6	18
21-30 (middle class)	5	7	8	2	22
21-30 (upper class)	-	2	1	3	06
31-50 (lower class)	1	6	3	2	12
31-50 (middle class)	6	1	2	6	15
31-50 (upper class)	4	4	5	3	16
51 and above (lower class)	-	2	2	2	06
51 and above (middle class)	2	1	2	1	06
51 and above (upper class)	10	8	8	7	33
Total	45	45	45	45	180

4.4 Data collection and interview design

Once the participant sample has been identified by the researcher, the next step is obtaining good data based on the research objectives. Sankoff (1974: 21-22) suggests that the need for good data imposes three different kinds of decisions about data collection on the researcher: (a) choosing what data to collect, (b) stratifying the

sample, and (c) deciding on how much data to collect from how many speakers. Sankoff stresses that “good data is defined as language materials of sufficient type and quantity, as well as materials which take into account the social context in which the language data is gathered. This is referred to as defining the sample universe”.

Early variationist studies (e.g. Labov, 1963, 1996, 1972; Wolfram, 1969; Trudgill, 1974) are entirely based on a “sociolinguistic interview” which also provides a blueprint for current methods of doing sociolinguistic research. According to Wolfram (2010: 302), the sociolinguistic interview is the “methodological heart of the sociolinguistic movement” since it defines in many ways the methodology of data collection for sociolinguistic research. The main aim of the sociolinguistic interview is to obtain “natural speech” in a conversation, i.e. the language people use in ordinary, everyday interactions with all the variability that this entails (Meyerhoff et al., 2012: 123). In other words, sociolinguists are interested in the “natural speech” people use in an everyday style that is often called the vernacular.

However, natural speech can only be obtained through direct observation and here the researcher is faced with what Labov refers to as the “observer’s paradox”, that is the “inescapable fact that speakers are more aware of what they are saying and how they are talking as soon as you begin recording them” (Meyerhoff et al., 2012: 123). As the observer’s paradox cannot be completely resolved, sociolinguists have developed two basic strategies to reduce its effects: (a) influence the content of the interview, and (b) modify the dynamics of one-on-one interviewing.

When people are emotionally involved (excited, angry, fearful, etc.) in a discussion, they are more concerned with what they say than with how they say it. Following this logic, interviewers can obtain less self-conscious speech by asking questions that bring about such emotional reactions.

(Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 64)

With this in mind, the data collected in Nigeria for this study was collected via audio-recorded face-to-face sociolinguistic interviews. I opted for this method owing to the

fact that “interviews have traditionally been the most common approach to data collection among sociolinguists” (Milroy & Gordon, 2003: 57). In addition, this approach provided me with the opportunity to extract required linguistic variables by engaging the participants in free conversations and controlling the context in which the variables occur, especially as interview protocols are flexible. As my interviews concern storytelling, I tried as much as possible to employ “optimal techniques”, that is what Tagliamonte (2006: 37) describes as “those questions which elicit ‘narratives of personal experience’, stories that people tell you about their lives”. This strategy was mainly used to engage the participants in producing vivid recollections rich in quotatives.

The 180 interviews conducted were structured into modules organised into what Labov (1984) refers to as *conversational networks*. The basic modules employed are dreams, family, fights, games, peers, and school for adolescent and young adult participants and family, marriage, politics, school, and work for middle-aged and older participants. Remarkably, all the four age groups for this study spoke fondly of their childhoods and had much to say about their present ways of life. However, there is no fixed order to guide the transition through the modules and the questions for elicitation of quotatives depend on the participants’ willingness to narrate experiences or talk about a particular topic. In fact, the list of the modules was only used as a rough guide, ensuring that all participants were dealing with similar topics. To stimulate the participants’ interest and make them appear compatible with the situation, I carefully followed their main interests and ideas wherever they go while I played the role of an interested listener.¹¹

4.4.1 The participants

Participants are the most important element in a sociolinguistic study. Hence, selecting the appropriate participant sample is very central where the size and method of sampling have to be decided upon. Target participants for this study were speakers of Nigerian English living in Nigeria and they have been recruited according to their

¹¹ My knowledge of the Nigerian community and the use of the snowball technique in approaching the participants helped in introducing different topics during the interviews.

social profile. The participants were handed a copy of the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) to inform them about the general research goal, that is, the acquisition of English quotatives in Nigerian English. The PIS also described the different variables under investigation which gave the participants an idea of what quotatives are. All the participants engaged in this study expressed their willingness to be recorded, especially as participant anonymity was assured.

4.4.1.1 Age of participants

As discussed in 3.3.5.1, age which is determined by birth date is simply a social variable that concerns how speakers of different age groups or generations tend to use language for different conscious or unconscious reasons. Age as a prominent social variable in variationist research is fairly straightforward in this study. The participants were divided into four different age groups: adolescents (15-20), young adults (21-30), middle-aged adults (31-50), and older adults (51 and above).¹² As I have explained in 3.3.5.1, the division is according to arbitrary age cohorts with sensible timeframes of 5, 10, and 20 years. However, 46 participants were under 20 years of age, 46 between 21 and 30, 43 between 31 and 50, and 45 participants were 51 years of age and above. The central concern in examining age-based variation in this study is defining meaningful ways of comparing the participants who take varying approaches as a result of generational differences.

4.4.1.2 Sex (or gender) of participants

Sex (or gender) too is a straightforward social variable in this study. I have discussed the concepts of “sex” and “gender” and how they have been used interchangeably across disciplines in 3.3.5.2. As in most sociolinguistic studies, my participants are grouped simply as males or females and the sample comprises 90 males and 90 females. While collecting data, I considered sampling my participants according to “sex” which is a biological category that distinguishes males and females based on

¹² I classified 51 years plus as “older adults” because of a demographic reason of current life expectancy in Nigeria which is 55.2 years. This information was sourced from the latest data published by World Health Organisation (WHO) accessed from <https://www.worldlifeexpectancy.com/nigeria-life-expectancy>.

their anatomical differences. For data analysis and interpreting sex-related variation, I retained “sex” as a relevant social category being a more straightforward term. Meanwhile, in using the term “sex” as the social variable in this study, my participants are labelled as males or females.

4.4.1.3 Regional origin of participants

As explained in 3.3.5.4, my participants are simply stratified according to their regional origin and the two major regions in Nigeria are the north and the south. Administratively speaking, Nigeria consists of 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The northern region comprises 19 states and the southern region comprises 17 states. All the participants who come from any of the 19 states of the northern region are simply labelled as “north” and all those from any of the 17 states of the southern region are labelled as “south”. The sample comprises 90 participants from the north and 90 from the south, totalling 180. Coincidentally, none of the 180 participants was identified as a citizen of the FCT, Abuja, even though some participants were interviewed in the capital city. This was possible because almost all the residents of Abuja come from the 36 states of the country. Meanwhile, this does not pose any challenge in dividing the participants across the two major regions because the focus is on regional origin rather than area of residence. Figure 4.1 below shows the northern region coloured green and the southern region coloured white. The cosmopolitan FCT, Abuja which is arguably part of the north, is in yellow.



Figure 4.1 Regional map of Nigeria

4.4.1.4 Social class of participants

Social (or socio-economic) class is the key social factor that stratifies society into a hierarchy of distinct classes or statuses so that members belonging to a particular class have the same relative status (see chapter 3.3.5.3). I grouped participants into three broad categories: upper class, middle class, and lower class. It is a common practice that when sociolinguists want to establish a relationship between language use and society, they usually relate the variety of language under investigation to quantifiable criteria such as education, income, and occupation. In a society like Nigeria, the social stratification of people is based on education and occupation although priority is always placed on education.

In terms of education, the members of the upper class are prominent professionals such as academics, educationists, publishers, senior civil servants, and other university graduates in various fields. Those who are college graduates and those with secondary school education are considered as middle class. Those who are primary school leavers and those with no formal education are considered as lower class. Where occupation is concerned, categorisation of people's jobs ranges from low-paid labourers with minimal or no education through to well-educated

professionals, government officials, and business people. Top political appointees, chief executive officers, employers, general managers, contractors, and university lecturers fall into the upper class. School teachers, technicians, journalists, accountants, supervisors, researchers, and private business owners fall under the middle class. Gardeners, cleaners, drivers, hawkers, salespersons, guards, and maids fall under the lower class.

However, adult participants for this study are assigned social class label according to their level of education, which reflects the classification made by Brosnahan (1958: 97-110), which builds on levels: (i) the variety used by those with no formal education (Pidgin English), (ii) the variety used by those with only primary education, (iii) the variety used by those with secondary education, and (iv) the variety used by those with university education (see chapter 1.2.3). Here, I considered levels (i) and (ii) as lower class, level (iii) as middle class, and level (iv) as upper class. For adolescents who might be hard to stratify, I used the socio-economic background of their parents to stratify them, specifically the highest-ranked parent. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 display the profile of the participants according to the relevant social factors in the order of regional origin, sex, age, and social class. The Tables also show the participants' pseudonyms coded by combining the initials of the social factors. The figures in the third column represent the number of participants who have the same profile. For instance, we have NFAL1, NFAL2, and NFAL3, and SFAL1, SFAL2, SFAL3, and SFAL4 respectively.

Table 4.2: Participants' profile (North)

Participants' profile (North)	Code	Number
North, female, adolescent, lower class	NFAL	3
North, female, adolescent, middle class	NFAM	8
North, female, middle aged, lower class	NFML	6
North, female, middle aged, middle class	NFMM	1
North, female, middle aged, upper class	NFMU	4
North, female, older adult, lower class	NFOL	2
North, female, older adult, middle class	NFOM	1
North, female, older adult, upper class	NFOU	8
North, female, young adult, lower class	NFYL	3
North, female, young adult, middle class	NFYM	7
North, female, young adult, upper class	NFYU	2
North, male, adolescent, lower class	NMAL	7
North, male, adolescent, middle class	NMAM	3
North, male, adolescent, upper class	NMAU	1
North, male, middle aged, lower class	NMML	1
North, male, middle aged, middle class	NMMM	6
North, male, middle aged, upper class	NMMU	4
North, male, older adult, middle class	NMOM	2
North, male, older adult, upper class	NMOU	10
North, male, young adult, lower class	NMYL	6
North, male, young adult, middle class	NMYM	5
Total		90

Table 4.3: Participants' profile (South)

Participants' profile (South)	Code	Number
South, female, adolescent, lower class	SFAL	4
South, female, adolescent, middle class	SFAM	6
South, female, adolescent, upper class	SFAU	3
South, female, middle aged, lower class	SFML	2
South, female, middle aged, middle class	SFMM	6
South, female, middle aged, upper class	SFMU	3
South, female, older adult, lower class	SFOL	2
South, female, older adult, middle class	SFOM	1
South, female, older adult, upper class	SFOU	7
South, female, young adult, lower class	SFYL	6
South, female, young adult, middle class	SFYM	2
South, female, young adult, upper class	SFYU	3
South, male, adolescent, lower class	SMAL	7
South, male, adolescent, middle class	SMAM	3
South, male, adolescent, upper class	SMAU	1
South, male, middle aged, lower class	SMML	3
South, male, middle aged, middle class	SMMM	2
South, male, middle aged, upper class	SMMU	5
South, male, older adult, lower class	SMOL	2
South, male, older adult, middle class	SMOM	2
South, male, older adult, upper class	SMOU	8
South, male, young adult, lower class	SMYL	3
South, male, young adult, middle class	SMYM	8
South, male, young adult, upper class	SMYU	1
Total		90

4.4.2 The corpus

Each of the recordings lasted for 45 minutes which is the standard set for this study. All the recordings were made in an environment familiar to the participants, maintaining as much as possible the same linguistic situation. A portable tape recorder was used to capture the recordings, which were transferred to a computer.¹³ In a few cases, I used the recorder on my android mobile phone in conducting the interviews and immediately transferred the files to my computer. Each recording has a corresponding ‘interview report’ and a participant record form that captured speaker identity codes for both linguistic (dependent) and extra-linguistic (independent) factors.

4.4.2.1 Transcription conventions

The data collected were transcribed manually, using the minimal transcript formats developed by Bijeikiene and Aurelija (2013: 110). Since my research goal is mainly the relevant content of the interaction, only instances of quotatives were included in the transcription. This choice reflects Johnstone’s (2000: 117) position that “transcribers have to decide what information to include and what to leave out”. I tried as much as possible to maintain the transcription protocols which formed the basis of my transcription. According to Tagliamonte (2006: 676), the transcription protocol “is a reference document of transcription practice. It is a permanent record that ensures consistent representation of words, phrases, features of natural discourse, and features particular to the data within and across all the transcriptions in a corpus”. Bijeikiene and Aurelija point out that in most cases, transcription protocols address the following:

- a. Orthographic and spelling conventions (capitalization, spelling, contractions, numbers, hyphenated words and compounds, abbreviations, acronyms, spoken letters, and punctuations).

¹³ Olympus digital voice recorder WS-853 with 8GB, two directional microphones, and a microSD. It connects directly to a computer via the built-in USB connector. The screen size is 1.5 inches. Item dimensions LxWxH: 4.4 x 0.7 x 1.5 inches.

- b. Dysfluent speech (filled pauses, hesitation sounds, partial words, restarts, mispronounced or non-standard words, etc.).
- c. Additional, paralinguistic information (unclear speech, interjections, etc.)

(Bijeikiene & Aurelija, 2013: 110)

All my transcriptions are processed in Excel spreadsheets which show a heading section that includes metalinguistic information about the participants and other relevant information. The information included with the transcriptions includes speaker code, sex, age, age range, social class, regional origin, quotative verb, subject, tense of the quotative, type of content, and content of the quote. Figure 4.2 below displays a portion of the transcription as processed in the Excel spreadsheets.

Recording	Speaker	Sex	Age	Age Range	Class	Region	QV	Subject	Tense	Content	Quote	
3	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Ask	W	A	S	'We asked, "please we are looking for where we want to buy food to eat"
4	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	H	A	S	'The staff there was like "there is no network."
5	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	I	A	G	I was like, "ahh..."
6	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	I	A	S	I was like, "I do not want to go to NCE, I do not want a diploma, all I want is a degree"
7	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	I	A	S	I was like, "is this how the school is, there is nobody in the school?"
8	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	I	A	S	I was like, "kai, let me just come and visit"
9	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	I	A	T	I was like, "what will I do today, how am I going to do and it is night"
10	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	S	A	S	She was like, "oh, some have graduated and some students are on holiday."
11	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	S	A	S	she was like "are you a degree student?"
12	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	S	A	S	She was like, "please sister, did you know any lady that is called Bashir's wife in this school?"
13	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	S	A	S	She was like, "okay, how are we going to do now?"
14	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	S	A	S	She was like, "if you tell her something that this thing you are doing is not good"
15	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	S	A	S	My mum was like, "Gusau that they used to say that Gusau is not okay Gusau is not this..."
16	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Be like	W	A	S	We were still like, "oh, accommodation, let us go and... so that we will know where to sleep"
17	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (cal	I	P	S	I do normally call her, "how are you"
18	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (cal	S	A	S	When she called me, "wow... your admission is out"
19	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (cal	T	P	S	They do normally call, "how are you, how is school"
20	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (dei	I	A	S	I now decided, "no I do not want to stay again all my friends are just moving forward..."
21	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (dei	I	A	S	So I just decided, "Why not just go for the NCE instead of wasting more time"
22	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (dei	I	A	S	I decided, "ok, me too I have to go and know what brought me to the school"
23	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Other (dei	I	A	S	I just decided, "okay let me apply in this school"
24	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Say	H	A	S	He said, "okay."
25	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Say	H	A	S	The bikeman said, "Tudunwada"
26	S001	NFAM1	F	19	A	M	N	Say	I	A	S	I said, "okay, no problem."

Figure 4.2: A screenshot of the Excel spreadsheets

Besides the orthographical transcription of the participants' speech, other paralinguistic information was encoded in the transcripts. For instance, gestures are simply (*gesture*), sighs are (*sigh*), interjections are in many forms (e.g. *ah*, *ahh*, *ehn*,

ehhnn, oh, wow... etc.), and many more. The following transcripts (1 a-h) are extracted from my data:

- (1) (a) NFAM4: I was like *shakes head*.
 (b) NFML3: My uncle will be like “ah, ah, ah, why are you staying long in school?”
 (c) NFYM3: The wife came to me and said “ehn do not worry just sew”.
 (d) NMAM3: He said “ehhn see this kid”.
 (e) SFYL2: I was like “hmmm”.
 (f) SMAM3: The girls will be crying “*cries* ahh it is not fair, it is not fair”.
 (g) SMOU1: I saw him “Kamba what is it nah?”
 (h) SMYL1: I have been thinking “oh, this is how I want it”.

While all instances of indirect quotation were excluded, it is important to note that a few instances where a quotative is accompanied by the complementizer *that* in reported speech constructions were included in the transcription. Such reported speech constructions are always determined based on their context preserving original expressiveness. Consider the examples in (2 a-b):

- (2) (a) NFYU2: The main advice that she used to give us; she will tell us to hold ourselves, we should not misbehave. We told her *that* “we want to be like you”. She will be telling us “you guys should protect yourselves”.
 (b) SMAM3: She was like, “Godswill, please can I have a second with you?” Then she told me *that* “Godswill, I am sorry”. Then I said, “okay, it is okay”.

4.4.2.2 Coding the data

Schleef and Meyerhoff (2010: 12) propose two ways to code sociolinguistic data, “you could just read through your transcripts and mark your linguistic variable where

it occurs, or you could compile a searchable corpus and later run a search for particular linguistic item”. In coding my data, I found it easier to employ both ways to facilitate accurate quantitative and qualitative analyses. The following factors were built into the coding scheme, including independent variables representing social factors (i-iv) and linguistic factors (v-vii), and dependent variables (viii):

- i. Age group: adolescents, 15-20 (A), young adults, 21-30 (Y), middle-aged adults, 31-50 (M), and older adults, 51 and above (O).
- ii. Sex: male (M) or female (F).
- iii. Regional origin: north (N) or south (S).
- iv. Social class: upper class (U), middle class (M), and lower class (L).
- v. Grammatical person: first-person singular (I), first-person plural (W), second-person singular or plural (Y), third-person singular (H for “he” or S for “she”), third-person plural (T), and neuter (N).¹⁴
- vi. Tense/time reference of the quotative: future time (F), past tense/anterior (A), and present tense (P).
- vii. Content of the quote: gesture (G), speech (S), and thought (T).
- viii. Dependent variables: these are basically the quotatives and they are encoded in straightforward terms as they do not require any specific coding. The relevant quotatives include *be like* (including *be all*, and *be all + like*), *go*, *say*, *tell*, *think*, *zero* (quotatives with no overt introducer), and other (e.g. *advise*, *alert*, *announce*, *answer*, *apologise*, *argue*, *ask*, *call*, *claim*, *complain*, *cry*, *decide*, *explain*, *feel*, *pray*, *promise*, *reply*, *respond*, *scold*, *scream*, *shout*, *state*, *that is + person*, *warn*, and *whisper*).

Each of the recordings was coded by a combination of initials of regional origin, sex, age, and social class of the speaker. Where two or more speakers have the same profile, I assigned numbers to each speaker to distinguish their identity (see Tables

¹⁴ All instances of non-animate ‘it’ are considered as neuter.

4.3 and 4.4). All the coded data were transferred to Excel spreadsheets for statistical analysis purposes.

4.5 Quantitative analysis

My analysis relied largely on the quantitative approach because my set of data was quantified into numbers, figures, or graphs which enabled me to investigate the frequencies of use of different variables. In addition, I processed the data using statistical procedures. The quantitative analysis for this study was conducted using Rbrul (Johnson, 2009), a special program developed for data analysis in sociolinguistic research, specifically variationist analysis. This version of the statistical software was accessed from <http://cran.r-project.org/> and it was compatible with both Macintosh and Windows. I opted for this program because it can provide frequency statistics and multivariate analysis for different variables through cross-tabulations and logistic regression analysis. In blunt terms, Rbrul (which can identify many significant factors) is merely used as an analytical tool in this study primarily to determine the significance of factor groups or calculate p-values, compute weightings of selected factors, carry out logistic regression as well as multivariate analysis.¹⁵ Other straightforward statistical analyses were carried out using the Excel spreadsheets software. I used the Excel spreadsheets for entering, sorting, and filtering my data quickly and efficiently. I also used it to carry out basic arithmetic and create charts and graphs reasonably quickly. Another relevant statistical test I applied for my analysis is chi-square.

The data for the quantitative analysis were extracted focusing only on occurrences of the relevant linguistic variables which resulted in 4,053 tokens of different quotative forms that formed the basis of the analysis. Extraction of all tokens from the tapes began at position 0:03:00 of each recording, i.e. three minutes into the interview and this was a strategy I employed to mitigate the observer's paradox. Listening to the recordings, I entered the relevant quotative forms into Excel

¹⁵ I used the most recent version of the Rbrul program, which has been redesigned from a text-based menu interface to a browser-based shiny app. This recent version updates models automatically each time the user makes adjustments, and it has the ability to recode, collapse as well as un-collapse different categories with ease.

spreadsheets with the content of the speech they introduced. Each quotative form was further annotated for selected social factors, i.e. age, sex, regional origin, and social class of the speaker as well as linguistic factors of tense/time reference, and grammatical subject associated with it. The combination of these factors was carefully tabulated and entered into the Rbrul program for analysis.¹⁶

4.6 Qualitative analysis

While the quantitative analysis in this study is interested in how much quotatives are used, the qualitative analysis basically deals with the question of how these quotatives are used, which includes patterns and contexts of their occurrence. After I had completed the statistical analysis, I needed to find explanations for some phenomena using qualitative evidence. Levon (2010: 90) points out that “*statistical* significance and *real-world* significance are not always the same thing”. Therefore, to refine my quantitative findings and check their “real-world significance”, the qualitative approach was necessary.

Consequently, the data extracted for qualitative analysis in this study were the same set of data used in the quantitative analysis though the emphasis here was placed on the context of occurrence. Thus, the discourse analytic qualitative method was employed in the qualitative analysis mainly to address the question of how and why different quotative forms have specific discourse-pragmatic functions in performed narratives. More details are presented in chapter five.

4.7 Research ethics and participant anonymity

Most variationist studies involve participants who contribute the linguistic material for investigation, using either observation method or recording of conversations. Therefore, variationist studies face ethical concerns, which requires researchers to adhere to institution-based ethical guidelines. Tagliamonte (2006: Kindle location 432-439) points out that, “the main ethical guidelines for collecting informal interviews remain constant: (1) consent for recording, (2) guaranteed anonymity, (3)

¹⁶ I sincerely thank Prof. Daniel Ezra Johnson who guided me in using the shiny app version of the Rbrul program.

voluntary participation, and (4) access to researcher and research findings". This suggests that participants have the right to be provided with information about a research project and the kinds of procedures they are involved in to enable them to give informed consent to participate or not.

In accordance with the above guidelines, all the 180 participants engaged in this study were handed a copy of the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) before the interview. As assessed and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) in March 2019, the PIS covered such issues as: (1) the purpose of the research; (2) participant involvement in a voluntary interview; (3) the need to record the participant during the interview; (4) the methods of data collection and analytical tools; (5) the anonymity of the participant; (6) the name and contact details of the researcher; and (7) the right to give consent to participate or withdraw. I provided my participants with the basics of my research project before I sought their consent to participate in the interview. I have attached a copy of the PIS in Appendix A.

To guarantee the anonymity of my participants, each recording included in my corpus for analysis has been assigned a pseudonym labelled by a combination of the initials of the regional origin, sex, age, and social class of the participant. For instance, if a participant is from the north, female, adolescent, and belongs to the lower class, the pseudonym is NFAL, and if the participant is from the south, male, old, and upper class, the pseudonym is SMOU. Where two or more participants have the same profile with NFAL or SMOU, then numbers are added and we can have NFAL1, NFAL2, NFAL3 or SMOU1, SMOU2, SMOU3 respectively (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). For me to be able to link each recording with everything that was produced from it, I created independent files with each tape having a unique identification number from 001 to 180. With this adequate labelling, all records of participants were treated confidentially.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed methods employed in collecting quotative data from speakers of Nigerian English living in Nigeria. The sample was drawn from participants of different age groups representing major social classes within the two

major regions, the north and the south. The participants were selected using a combination of stratified random sampling and snowball or social network sampling methods. The chapter also described how the corpus of 4,053 quotative tokens was compiled and how each recording was assigned a pseudonym linked to relevant records associated with individual files. It also explained the transcription conventions and how I maintained transcription protocols which formed the basis of the transcription. The chapter further discussed how the data were analysed using a mixed-method approach that relied on both quantitative and qualitative analyses. The chapter finally detailed how participant anonymity and other ethical obligations were handled by the researcher.

CHAPTER FIVE

Results and Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the study. It explores the distributional analysis of the overall quotative forms as well as the distribution of the quotatives across independent social and linguistic factors. Results of the correlation between most frequent quotatives and different independent social and linguistic factors are also described. The chapter further discusses the results of multivariate analyses and tests of interaction between different factors. In addition, analyses of discourse-pragmatic aspects of the different quotatives in Nigerian English (NE) are explored. The findings presented are discussed in the context of similar studies conducted for other varieties of English.

5.2 Distributional analysis

Table 5.1 (shown as a bar graph in Figure 5.1) reports the overall distribution of the different quotative forms totalling 4053 tokens. The most frequently occurring quotative form is the traditional *say*, with 1620 occurrences (39.9 percent), closely followed by *zero*, with 1020 occurrences (25.2 percent). The third most frequently occurring quotative form is *be like*, with 568 occurrences (14.1 percent). *Tell* with 508 occurrences (12.5 percent) is used less than half as often as the *zero* quotative form. *Ask* with 159 occurrences (3.9 percent) and *think* with 54 occurrences (1.3 percent) are used even less. The remaining 25 quotative forms put together make up merely 3.1 percent of all quotatives in the data. They are classified in the category “other” and they have 124 occurrences as follows: *advise* (6), *alert* (1), *announce* (1), *answer* (1), *apologise* (1), *argue* (1), *call* (50), *claim* (1), *complain* (5), *cry* (3), *decide* (10), *explain* (1), *feel* (19), *go* (3), *pray* (3), *promise* (2), *reply* (2), *respond* (2), *scold* (1), *scream* (1), *shout* (6), *state* (1), *that is + speaker* (1), *warn* (1), and *whisper* (1). For the rest of the analyses, the category “other” will receive less attention.

Table 5.1: Overall distribution of quotatives in Nigerian English

Quotatives	Number	Percentage (%)
<i>Ask</i>	159	3.9
<i>Be like</i>	568	14.1
<i>Say</i>	1620	39.9
<i>Tell</i>	508	12.5
<i>Think</i>	54	1.3
<i>Zero</i>	1020	25.2
<i>Other</i>	124	3.1
Total	4053	100

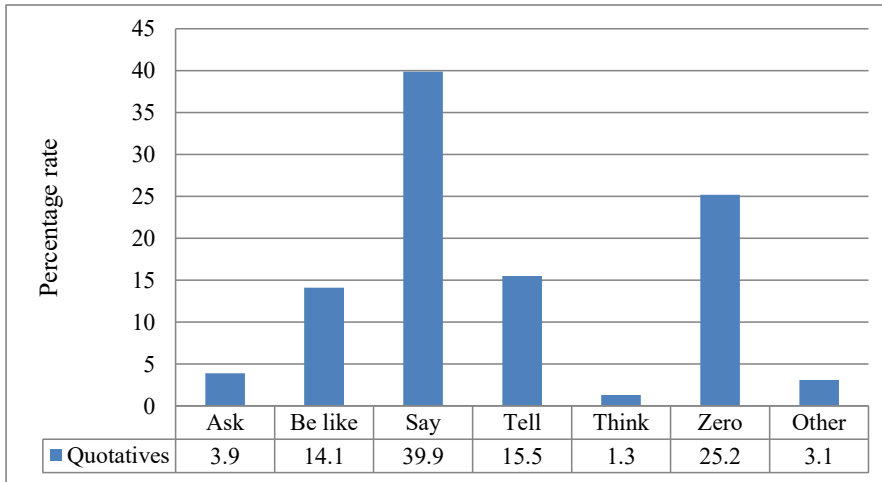


Figure 5.1: Overall distribution of quotatives in Nigerian English

These results differ markedly from the findings of many previous studies on quotatives in different varieties of English. For instance, quotative *go* is practically absent in the NE data: it occurs only three times and is therefore classified in the category “other” because of its low frequency. In contrast, *go* is robust in Scottish English being the most frequently used quotative form among Glasgow adolescents,

accounting for 26 percent, just ahead of *say* with 24 percent (Macaulay, 2001: 10). Quotative *go* is the second most frequently used quotative form, accounting for 18 percent, after *say* with 31 percent in Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999: 158) findings for British English, and it is also frequently used among London adolescents, accounting for 11.7 percent, ahead of *tell* with only 1.9 percent in Fox's (2012: 235) study. In Canadian English, *go* is the second most frequently used quotative form, accounting for 22 percent, after *say* with 36 percent in Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999: 158) survey. In Australian English, Winter (2002: 10) reports that *go* is the most prominent quotative form followed by *say* and *zero*. Although quotative *go* has an important presence in American English (e.g. Barbieri, 2007; and Hansen-Thomas, 2008), the data from African American speakers in Cukor-Avila (2002) and Kohn and Franz's (2009) studies reveal that *go* is infrequent in the speech of African Americans. However, the low frequency of quotative *go* in my data for NE suggests that the diffusion of *go* in non-native varieties of English is at a slow pace. And this differ from Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999) submission that *go* grows rapidly in use alongside *be like*.

The results for *zero* as the second most prominent quotative form in NE, just after the traditional *say*, differ from Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999) findings for British English, where *zero* accounts for only 10 percent, lower than *say*, *go*, *be like*, and *think*. The results also differ from Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999) findings for Canadian English, where *zero* is less frequent than *say* and *go*. My results for *be like* as the third most frequently used quotative form in NE, after *say* and *zero*, differ from Singler's (2001) findings, where *be like* is the most frequently used quotative form among speakers of American English in New York City. The results also differ from Tagliamonte and D'Arcy's (2004) study, where *be like* is the most frequent form, accounting for 58 percent of the total number of the quotatives for Canadian youth. Similarly, the results for *be like* differ from D'Arcy's (2010) survey, where *be like* is the most frequently used quotative form in New Zealand. Furthermore, my results for *be like* are contrary to the findings in the most recent study on quotatives by Gardner et. al. (2020), where *be like* is found to be the most frequently used quotative form in both Canadian English and British English. However, the results for *say* as the most

frequently used quotative form in NE are not unexpected as they corroborate the findings from many studies on English quotatives (e.g. Tannen, 1986; Buchstaller, 2002; Barbieri, 2005; and Fox, 2012). In addition, quotative *ask* has an important presence in my data, even more than quotative *think*.

Let us now take a closer look at the distribution of different quotative forms and how they correlate across independent social and linguistic factors. In the following sections, emphasis is placed more on the four most frequent quotative forms, viz. *be like*, *say*, *tell*, and *zero* because of their high frequency of use.

5.2.1 Distribution of quotatives across independent social factors

5.2.1.1 Age

Table 5.2a presents the distribution of different quotative forms by the factor age. The Table reveals that quotative *ask* is represented in all four age groups although it is favoured by middle-aged speakers (N = 48, 30.2 percent) based on the total occurrences. While adolescents and old speakers have an equal distribution (N = 38, 23.9 percent each), *ask* is less frequent among young adults (N = 35, 22 percent). With 32.1 percent (N = 182), the young adults frequently use *be like* twice more than the old speakers with only 14.4 percent (N = 82). The young adults age group is followed by the adolescent speakers (N = 153, 26.9 percent) and closely followed by the middle-aged speakers (N = 151, 26.6 percent).

Table 5.2a: Distribution of quotatives by age

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	38	23.9	153	26.9	430	26.5	133	26.2	16	29.6	318	31.2	36	29
Young adults	35	22	182	32.1	391	24.2	105	20.6	14	25.9	201	19.7	34	27.4
Middle aged	48	30.2	151	26.6	391	24.2	131	25.8	13	24.1	236	23.2	24	19.4
Older adults	38	23.9	82	14.4	408	25.1	139	27.4	11	20.4	265	25.9	30	24.2

For quotative *say*, the findings reveal that the adolescent age group favours the use of this form (N = 430, 26.5 percent) which is closely followed by the old speakers (N = 408, 25.1 percent). On the other hand, the young adults and the middle-aged speakers have an equal distribution (N = 391, 24.2 percent each) for the use of *say*. Quotative *tell* occurs most frequently with the oldest age group (N = 139, 27.4 percent), closely followed by the adolescent age group (N = 133, 26.2 percent), followed by the middle-aged group (N = 131, 25.8 percent), and then the young adults (N = 105, 20.6 percent). *Think* is mostly used by the adolescent age group (N = 36, 29.6 percent), followed by the young adults (N = 14, 25.9 percent), followed by the middle-aged group (N = 13, 24.1 percent), and then the oldest age group (N = 11, 20.4 percent). *Zero* quotative is commonly used among the adolescent speakers (N = 318, 31.2 percent), followed by the oldest age group (N = 265, 25.9 percent), the middle-aged group (N = 236, 23.2 percent), and then occurs least among the young adults (N = 201, 19.7 percent). For the category ‘other’, the adolescent age group are the most frequent users (N = 36, 29 percent), followed by the young adults (N = 34, 27.4 percent), followed by the oldest age group (N = 30, 24.2 percent), and then the middle-aged group (N = 24, 19.4 percent).

Discussing these findings in the context of previous studies on quotatives, my results for *be like* corroborate the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), Romaine and Lange (1991), Ferrara and Bell (1995), Dailey-O’Cain, (2000), and Barbieri (2007) that *be like* is most frequently used in the speech of young people in America. My results for *be like* also corroborate the findings in Macaulay (2001) for Scottish English, Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007) for Canadian English, Buchstaller (2008) for both American and British English, Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) for datasets from three geographical settings: North America, England, and New Zealand, Buchstaller (2011) for Tyneside English in North-Eastern England, and Fox (2012) for British English. This suggests that there is a wide consensus in previous literature on quotatives about the influence of the factor age on *be like* use, which is favoured by young people. However, my findings differ slightly from the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), Ferrara and Bell (1995), Dailey-O’Cain (2000), and Fox (2012) where they report that *be like* is almost non-existent in the speech of speakers over 40 (see chapter 2.3). In contrast,

my data show that *be like* is not limited to adolescents and young adults, but also common in the speech of speakers above 40.¹⁷ This supports the findings in Barbieri (2007) who reports an expansion of the frequent use of quotative *be like* to speakers above 50. My results for *say* across age groups reveal that the adolescents (N = 430, 26.5 percent) favour the use of this quotative form over the old age group (N = 408, 25.1 percent). Although they occur at comparable frequencies, this finding differs slightly from the findings in Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007), Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009), Buchstaller (2011), and Fox (2012), who report that *say* is favoured by older speakers. However, my data further reveal that the quotative system of older speakers is dominated by quotative *tell*.

Table 5.2b below displays the most frequent quotatives illustrating the effect of age on quotative choice in my data. The percentages here are calculated as a fraction of the total occurrences of the individual variant (Buchstaller, 2014: 120). The analysis demonstrates that *be like* is favoured by young adults (N = 182, 20.7 percent). *Say* (N = 408, 45.6 percent) and *tell* (N = 139, 15.6 percent) are commonly used among the old age group. In the case of *zero*, the adolescent age group favours the use of this form (N = 318, 30.8 percent). The chi-square analysis reveals strongly significant differences ($p < .001$) between the four most frequent quotatives.

Table 5.2b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and age

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	153	14.8	430	41.6	133	12.8	318	30.8	1034	100
Young adults	182	20.7	391	44.5	105	12	201	22.8	879	100
Middle aged	151	16.6	391	43	131	14.4	236	26	909	100
Older adults	82	9.2	408	45.6	139	15.6	265	29.6	894	100

χ^2 (9): 60.212, $p < .001$

¹⁷ When Blyth et al. (1990), Ferrara and Bell (1995), and Dailey-O’Cain (2000) conducted their studies, *be like* was still new. Apparently, 20 or 30 years on, their adolescents and young adults are now in their 50s, and in these communities today, 50-year-olds will be using *be like*. This suggests that there is an expansion of the frequent use of the quotative *be like* just as Barbieri (2007) predicted.

5.2.1.2 Sex

Table 5.3a shows the distribution of different quotative forms by the factor sex. The Table reveals that, females (N = 83, 52.2 percent) use quotative *ask* more than males (N = 76, 47.8 percent). Quotative *be like* is prevalent in the speech of females (N = 354, 62.3 percent) and less frequent in the speech of males (N = 214, 37.7 percent).

Table 5.3a: Distribution of quotatives by sex

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	83	52.2	354	62.3	767	47.4	281	55.3	29	53.7	491	48.2	57	45.9
Males	76	47.8	214	37.7	853	52.6	227	44.7	25	46.3	529	51.8	67	54.1

The Table shows that *say* is more frequent with males (N = 853, 52.6 percent) than with females (N = 767, 47.4 percent). Quotative *tell* is favoured by females (N = 281, 55.3 percent) over males (N = 227, 44.7 percent). *Think* is more common among females (N = 29, 53.7 percent) than males (N = 25, 46.3 percent). *Zero* quotative is favoured by males (N = 529, 51.8 percent) over females (N = 491, 48.2 percent). The category ‘other’ is favoured by males (N = 67, 54.1 percent) over females (N = 57, 45.9 percent).

My results for *be like* are contrary to the findings in Blyth et al. (1990) that the quotative *be like* is used more often by males than by females. But the results corroborate the findings in Romaine and Lange (1991), Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), Singler (2001), Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2007), Buchstaller (2011), Fox (2012), and Gardner et al. (2020) for both Canadian and British English that *be like* is favoured by females, especially when holding conversations with other females. My results for *say* differ from the findings in Romaine and Lange (1991), Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for Canadian English, Barbieri (2007), and Buchstaller (2011) that females favour the use of *say*. Nonetheless, my results corroborate the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for British English, and Buchstaller (2011) that *say* is favoured by males. My results for *think* support the findings in Tagliamonte and

Hudson (1999) for Canadian English, and Buchstaller (2011) that females favour the use of *think*. However, my results for *zero* quotative support the finding in Buchstaller (2011) that males prefer *zero* quotative than females.

Table 5.3b which displays the correlation between the four most frequent quotatives and sex shows that *be like* is a higher proportion of the females' quotative use (N = 354, 18.7 percent) than the males' (N = 214, 11.7 percent). Quotative *say* is favoured by males (N = 853, 46.8 percent) over females (N = 767, 40.5 percent). While females lead in the use of *tell* (N = 281, 14.8 percent) over males (N = 227, 12.5 percent), males lead in the use of *zero* (N = 529, 29 percent) over females (N = 491, 26 percent). The chi-square analysis shows that the differences are strongly significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5.3b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and sex

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	354	18.7	767	40.5	281	14.8	491	26	1893	100
Males	214	11.7	853	46.8	227	12.5	529	29	1823	100

χ^2 (3): 41.925, $p < .001$

5.2.1.3 Regional origin

Table 5.4a presents the distribution of different quotative forms by the factor regional origin, and it reveals that quotative *ask* is more frequent in the north (N = 97, 61 percent) than in the south (N = 62, 39 percent). On the other hand, *be like* is favoured by the south (N = 354, 62.3 percent) over the north (N = 214, 37.7 percent). Quotative *say* is used by speakers in the south (N = 802, 49.5 percent) almost as frequently as the speakers in the north (N = 818, 50.5 percent). *Tell* is more frequent in the south (N = 261, 51.4 percent) than in the north (N = 247, 48.6 percent).

Table 5.4a: Distribution of quotatives by regional origin

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
North	97	61	214	37.7	818	50.5	247	48.6	30	55.6	436	42.7	55	44.4
South	62	39	354	62.3	802	49.5	261	51.4	24	44.4	584	57.3	69	55.6

The results for *think* show that it is favoured by the north (N = 30, 55.6 percent) over the south (N = 24, 44.4 percent). *Zero* quotative is favoured by the south (N = 584, 57.3 percent) over the north (N = 436, 42.7 percent). The category ‘other’ is equally favoured by the south (N = 69, 55.6 percent) over the north (N = 55, 44.4 percent).

In contrast to other social factors, regional origin has received notably less attention and has been approached in various ways. Comparable findings are in ethnicity-based studies carried out by Kohn and Franz (2009) who investigate the quotative system norms within African American communities and Latino communities in two cities, Durham, and Hickory, and another one by D’Arcy (2010) who investigates how Maori and Pakeha English speakers in New Zealand use the resources of English quotatives to construct dialogue (see chapter 2.3). My results for *be like* in the south support the findings in Kohn and Franz (2009) for Latino communities that Latino speakers favour the use of *be like*. Similarly, my results for *be like* in the south support the findings in D’Arcy (2010) for Pakeha English that Pakeha speakers favour *be like* use. My results for *zero* quotatives in the south support the findings in Kohn and Franz (2009) that African American speakers favour *zero* quotatives and this corroborates the finding in D’Arcy (2010) for Maori English. While quotatives *say* and *think* are favoured by speakers from the north in my data, *say* and *think* occur at comparable frequencies in both Pakeha and Maori English in the findings in D’Arcy (2010). My results for *say* and *think* support the findings in Kohn and Franz (2009) for African American communities that African American speakers favour the use of *say* and *think*. However, regional origin is not a strong factor in previous studies on quotatives.

Table 5.4b reports the correlation between the four most frequent quotatives and regional origin, and it indicates that *be like* is used more in the south (N = 354, 17.7 percent) than in the north (N = 12.5 percent), whereas *say* is favoured slightly in the north (N = 818 = 47.7 percent) than in the south (N = 802, 802 percent). While quotative *tell* is favoured in the north (N = 247, 14.4 percent), *zero* quotative is favoured in the south (N = 584, 29.1 percent). The chi-square analysis suggests that the differences are strongly significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5.4b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and regional origin

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
North	214	12.5	818	47.7	247	14.4	436	25.4	1715	100
South	354	17.7	802	40.1	261	13.1	584	29.1	2001	100

χ^2 (3): 34.718, $p < .001$

5.2.1.4 Social class

In Table 5.5a, we see the distribution of different quotative forms by the factor social class. The Table reports that the lower-class speakers are the most frequent users of quotative *ask* (N = 66, 41.5 percent), followed by the middle class (N = 54, 34 percent), and then the upper class (N = 39, 24.5 percent). Quotative *be like* is favoured by the middle class (N = 239, 42.1 percent), followed by the upper class (N = 183, 32.2 percent), and then the lower class (N = 146, 25.7 percent).

Table 5.5a: Distribution of quotatives by social class

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower	66	41.5	146	25.7	524	32.4	232	45.6	20	37.1	295	28.9	35	28.2
Middle	54	34	239	42.1	601	37.1	133	26.2	19	35.2	357	35	48	38.7
Upper	39	24.5	183	32.2	495	30.5	143	28.2	15	27.7	368	36.1	41	33.1

Say is commonly used among the middle class (N = 601, 37.1 percent), followed by the lower class (N = 524, 32.4 percent), and then the upper class (N = 495, 30.5 percent). *Tell* is most prevalent in the speech of the lower class (N = 232, 45.6 percent), followed by the upper class (N = 143, 28.2 percent), and then the middle class (N = 133, 26.2 percent). *Think* is favoured by the lower class (N = 20, 37.1 percent), closely followed by the middle class (N = 19, 35.2 percent), and then the upper class (N = 15, 27.7 percent). *Zero* quotative is most frequent among the upper-class speakers (N = 368, 36.1 percent), followed by the middle class (N = 357, 35 percent), and then the lower class (N = 295, 28.9 percent). The category 'other' is favoured by the middle class (N = 48, 38.7 percent), followed by the upper class (N = 41, 33.1 percent), and then the lower class (N = 35, 28.2 percent).

My results for *be like* support the findings in Cukor-Avila (2002), and Buchstaller (2011) that *be like* is favoured by the middle-class speakers. My findings for *be like* also support the findings in Macaulay (2001) but for adolescents that *be like* is favoured by the middle-class speakers in Glasgow. For speakers above 40 in Macaulay, *be like* is favoured by the working class which is contrary to my findings. In Buchstaller (2008), *be like* in the American corpus significantly patterns by social class and it is frequently used among the working class, and this is contrary to my findings for NE. In Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), the datasets for American English and British English show that the effect of social class on the use of *be like* favours non-professionals (lower socio-economic group), whereas in the dataset for New Zealand English, the effect favours professionals (higher socio-economic group). This suggests that my findings for *be like* are contrary to the findings in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) for American English and British English, but similar to the findings in New Zealand English. My results for *say* are contrary to the findings in Buchstaller (2011) that *say* is most frequently used by the working-class speakers.

Table 5.5b demonstrates the correlation between the four most frequent quotatives and social class, and the analysis reveals that *be like* is used significantly most by the middle class (N = 239, 42.1 percent) than the upper class (N = 183, 15.4 percent) and then the lower class (N = 146, 12.2 percent). While *say* is favoured by the middle class (N = 601, 45.2 percent), *tell* is favoured by the lower class (N = 232,

19.4 percent). *Zero* is favoured by the upper class (N = 368, 31 percent). The chi-square analysis reveals that the differences are strongly significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5.5b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and social class

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower	146	12.2	524	43.8	232	19.4	295	24.6	1197	100
Middle	239	18	601	45.2	133	10	357	26.8	1330	100
Upper	183	15.4	495	41.6	143	12	368	31	1189	100

$\chi^2(6): 68.515, p < .001$

5.2.2 Distribution of quotatives across independent linguistic factors

5.2.2.1 The content of the quote

Table 5.6a shows the distribution of different quotative forms by the factor content of the quote, and it reveals that quotative *ask* is limited to direct speech because it is non-existent with gesture and thought. While quotative *be like* is almost limited to direct speech (N = 546, 96.1 percent), it occurs infrequently with gesture (N = 18, 3.2 percent) and is almost non-existent with thought (N = 4, 0.7 percent).

Table 5.6a: Distribution of quotatives by the content of the quote

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Speech	159	100	546	96.1	1614	99.6	508	100	0	0	1009	98.9	123	99.2
Gesture	0	0	18	3.2	6	0.4	0	0	0	0	3	0.3	0	0
Thought	0	0	4	0.7	0	0	0	0	54	100	8	0.8	1	0.8

Quotative *say* is almost limited to direct speech (N = 1614, 99.6 percent), it occurs infrequently with gesture (N = 6, 0.4 percent) and is non-existent with thought.

Quotative *tell* is limited to direct speech (N = 508, 100 percent) since it is non-existent with both gesture and thought. Similarly, quotative *think* is limited to thought (N = 54, 100 percent) and non-existent with both direct speech and gesture. *Zero* quotative too is almost limited to direct speech (N = 1009, 98.9 percent) compared to thought (N = 8, 0.8 percent) and gesture (N = 3, 0.3 percent). The category 'other' is favoured with direct speech (N = 123, 99.2 percent) over thought (N = 1, 0.8 percent), and non-existent with gesture.

My results for *be like* are contrary to the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) that speakers of both British English and Canadian English favour the use of *be like* with 'non-lexicalised sounds' and 'internal dialogue' and less likely to use it with 'direct speech'. My findings differ from the findings in Dailey-O'Cain (2000) that *be like* is most frequently used to mark thoughts, and sometimes used as a marker for direct quotes. My findings also differ from the findings in Cukor-Avila (2002) that *be like* is favoured with 'internal dialogue' and 'non-lexicalised sounds'. Furthermore, my findings for *be like* differ from the findings in Buchstaller (2008), for both American and British English that *be like* is mainly used to introduce mimetic quotes or gestures. The results also differ from the findings in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007), Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), and Gardner et al. (2020) in Toronto data that *be like* is favoured with thought over direct speech. In Fox (2012), *be like* is strongly favoured with 'non-lexicalised sounds', favoured slightly with 'direct speech', and disfavoured strongly with 'internal dialogue'. This is in line with Ferrara and Bell's (1995: 279) submission of a developmental continuum, emerging as a quotative marker to frame non-lexicalised sounds, gestures, and internal dialogue, and then diffusing to an introducer of direct speech as it grammaticalises. However, contrary to the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), my findings for *be like* support the findings in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004) for the data from Toronto which show that speakers aged 17-19 prefer to use *be like* to introduce direct speech instead of 'non-lexicalised sounds' or 'internal dialogue'. This is evidence that *be like* has been expanding into direct speech.

My results for *say* support the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for both British English and Canadian English that *say* is favoured with direct speech. In

addition, my data support the findings in British English that *say* is never used for ‘internal dialogue’. My results for *say* are similar to Cukor-Avila (2002) for Springville that quotative *say* is favoured when quoting direct speech or ‘constructed dialogue’. My results further support the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), and D’Arcy (2004) that quotative *say* is favoured to introduce direct speech. My results for *think* corroborate the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) that quotative *think* is limited to ‘internal dialogue’, especially for Canadian English. My results for *zero* quotative differ from the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for both British English and Canadian English that *zero* favours ‘non-lexicalised sounds’.

Table 5.6b reports the correlation between the four most frequent quotatives and the content of the quote, and the analysis demonstrates that *be like* is favoured with gesture (N = 18, 66.7 percent) compared to *say* (N = 6, 22.2 percent) and *zero* (N = 3, 11.3 percent), whereas *tell* is non-existent with gesture. *Say* is favoured with direct speech (N = 1614, 43.9 percent), leading *zero* (N = 1009, 27.5 percent), *be like* (N = 546, 14.8 percent), and *tell* (N = 508, 13.8 percent). While *tell* only exists with direct speech, *zero* quotative is favoured with thought (N = 8, 66.7 percent) leading *be like* (N = 4, 33.3 percent). This Table further indicates that *say* and *tell* do not occur with thought. The chi-square analysis reveals that the differences are strongly significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5.6b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and the content of the quote

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Speech	546	14.8	1614	43.9	508	13.8	1009	27.5	3677	100
Gesture	18	66.7	6	22.2	0	0	3	11.1	27	100
Thought	4	33.3	0	0	0	0	8	66.7	12	100

χ^2 (6): 81.143, $p < .001$

5.2.2.2 Grammatical person of the quotative

Table 5.7a presents the distribution of different quotative forms by the factor grammatical person of the quotative. The Table reports that quotative *ask* occurs most frequently in third-person singular contexts (N = 68, 42.7 percent), closely followed by first-person singular (N = 58, 36.5 percent), and then third-person plural (N = 29, 18.3 percent). *Ask* occurs infrequently in first-person plural contexts (N = 2, 1.3 percent), and even less in second-person and neuter contexts (N = 1, 0.6 percent each). *Be like* is most prevalent in first-person singular contexts (N = 260, 45.8 percent), followed by third-person singular contexts (N = 188, 33.1 percent), and then third-person plural contexts (N = 75, 13.2 percent). *Be like* occurs infrequently in neuter contexts (N = 22, 3.9 percent), followed by first-person plural (N = 13, 2.3 percent), and even less in second-person contexts (N = 10, 1.7 percent). *Say* is favoured in first-person singular contexts (N = 729, 46.2 percent), closely followed by third-person singular (N = 624, 38.5 percent), and then third-person plural contexts (N = 173, 10.7 percent). *Say* occurs infrequently in first-person plural contexts (N = 36, 2.2 percent), followed by neuter (N = 21, 1.3 percent), and even less in second-person contexts (N = 17, 1.1 percent).

Table 5.7a: Distribution of quotatives by grammatical person

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First (S)	58	36.5	260	45.8	749	46.2	320	63	43	79.6	380	37.3	53	42.7
First (P)	2	1.3	13	2.3	36	2.2	12	2.4	0	0	29	2.8	4	3.2
Second	1	0.6	10	1.7	17	1.1	5	1	5	9.3	13	1.3	3	2.4
Third (S)	68	42.7	188	33.1	624	38.5	119	23.4	1	1.8	490	48	44	35.5
Third (P)	29	18.3	75	13.2	173	10.7	45	8.8	5	9.3	99	9.7	15	12.1
Neuter	1	0.6	22	3.9	21	1.3	7	1.4	0	0	9	0.9	5	4.1

Quotative *tell* occurs most frequently in first-person singular contexts (N = 320, 63 percent), followed by third-person singular (N = 119, 23.4 percent), and then third-person plural contexts (N = 45, 8.8 percent). *Tell* occurs infrequently in first-person plural contexts (N = 12, 2.4 percent), followed by neuter (N = 7, 1.4 percent), and even less in second-person contexts (N = 5, 1 percent). Quotative *think* is favoured in first-person singular contexts (N = 43, 79.6 percent), followed by second-person and third-person plural contexts (N = 5, 9.3 percent each). While *think* occurs infrequently in third-person singular contexts (N = 1, 1.8 percent), it is non-existent in first-person plural and neuter contexts. *Zero* quotative is favoured in third-person singular contexts (N = 490, 48 percent), followed by first-person singular (N = 380, 37.3 percent), and then third-person plural contexts (N = 99, 9.7 percent). *Zero* quotative occurs infrequently in first-person plural contexts (N = 29, 2.8 percent), followed by second-person (N = 13, 1.3 percent), and even less in neuter contexts (N = 9, 0.9 percent). The category 'other' is favoured in first-person singular contexts (N = 53, 42.7 percent), followed by third-person singular (N = 44, 35.5 percent), and then third-person plural contexts (N = 15, 12.1 percent). The category 'other' occurs less frequently in neuter contexts (N = 5, 4.1 percent), followed by first-person plural (N = 4, 3.2 percent), and even less in second-person contexts (N = 3, 2.4 percent). In comparing these results with findings in selected previous studies, I consider both 'first-person singular' and 'first-person plural' as simply 'first-person contexts' and this applies to 'third-person singular' and 'third-person plural' simply referred as 'third-person' contexts. This is because most of the previous studies do not distinguish between singular and plural subjects.

My results for *be like* are similar to the findings in Romaine and Lange (1991) that *be like* tends to introduce the speaker's own speech, i.e. first-person singular subjects. My results corroborate the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for both British English and Canadian English, Cukor-Avila (2002), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007), Hansen-Thomas (2008), Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), and Fox (2012) that *be like* occurs most frequently in first-person contexts. My results for *be like* further support the findings in Gardner et al. (2020) for both Toronto and York that grammatical person is

statistically significant with *be like* favoured in first-person contexts. On the other hand, these results for *be like* differ from the findings in Ferrara and Bell (1995) that *be like* is increasingly used with third-person subjects. My results also differ from the findings in Macaulay (2001) who reports that Glasgow adolescents frequently use *be like* with third-person subjects. My results for *be like* also differ from the findings in Singler (2001), Winter (2002), D'Arcy (2004) for St. John's Newfoundland, and Buchstaller (2011) for Tyneside English that *be like* occurs most frequently in third-person contexts. With respect to quotative *say*, my results differ from the findings in Blyth et al. (1990), Romaine and Lange (1991), Winter (2002), and Buchstaller (2011) for the data in the late 2000s that *say* is favoured in third-person contexts. However, my results for *say* corroborate the finding in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for Canadian English data that quotative *say* occurs with first-person subjects, whereas the results differ in British English data that *say* is favoured in the third-person contexts. My results for *say* also support the findings in D'Arcy (2004) that the use of *say* is favoured in first-person contexts.

With regard to the correlation between the four most frequent quotatives and the grammatical person of the quotative, Table 5.7b reports that *be like* is favoured in neuter contexts (N = 22, 37.3 percent), *say* is favoured in third-person plural contexts (N = 173, 44.1 percent), *tell* is favoured in first-person singular contexts (N = 320, 18.7 percent), and *zero* is favoured in third-person singular contexts (N = 490, 34.5 percent). The chi-square analysis proves that the differences are strongly significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5.7b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and grammatical person

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First (S)	260	15.2	749	43.8	320	18.7	380	22.3	1709	100
First (P)	13	14.5	36	40	12	13.3	29	32.2	90	100
Second	10	22.2	17	37.8	5	11.1	13	28.9	45	100
Third (S)	188	13.2	624	43.9	119	8.4	490	34.5	1421	100
Third (P)	75	19.1	173	44.1	45	11.5	99	25.3	392	100
Neuter	22	37.3	21	35.6	7	11.8	9	15.3	59	100

χ^2 (15): 175.886, $p < .001$

5.2.2.3 Tense/time reference of the quotative

Table 5.8a displays the distribution of different quotatives by the factor tense/time reference. The Table reports that *ask* occurs most frequently in the past tense (N = 95, 59.7 percent), followed by the present tense (N = 51, 32.1 percent), and then the future time reference (N = 13, 8.2 percent). *Be like* is favoured in the past tense (N = 440, 77.5 percent), followed by the future time reference (N = 102, 17.9 percent), and then the present tense (N = 26, 4.6 percent). Quotative *say* is most prevalent in the past tense (N = 1159, 71.5 percent), followed by the present tense (N = 297, 18.3 percent), and then the future time reference (N = 164, 10.2 percent).

Table 5.8a: Distribution of quotatives by tense/time reference

	Ask		Be like		Say		Tell		Think		Zero		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Past	95	59.7	440	77.5	1159	71.5	321	63.2	17	31.5	113	11.1	59	47.6
Present	51	32.1	26	4.6	297	18.3	135	26.6	29	53.7	852	83.5	52	41.9
Future	13	8.2	102	17.9	164	10.2	52	10.2	8	14.8	55	5.4	13	10.5

In the case of *tell*, it occurs most frequently in the past tense (N = 321, 63.2 percent), followed by the present tense (N = 135, 26.6 percent), and then the future time reference (N = 52, 10.2 percent). Quotative *think* is favoured in the present tense (N = 29, 53.7 percent), followed by the past tense (N = 17, 31.5 percent), and then the future time reference (N = 8, 14.8 percent). *Zero* quotative occurs most frequently in the present tense (N = 852, 83.5 percent), followed by the past tense (N = 113, 11.1 percent), and then future time reference (N = 55, 5.4 percent). The category 'other' is favoured in the past tense (N = 59, 47.6 percent), closely followed by the present tense (N = 52, 41.9 percent), and then the future time reference (N = 13, 10.1 percent).

My results for *be like* support the findings in Macaulay (2001), and Buchstaller (2011) that *be like* is favoured in the past tense contexts. In contrast, my results differ from the findings in Blyth et al. (1990) for the data for younger speakers, Romaine and Lange (1991), Singler (2001), D'Arcy (2004), and Barbieri (2005) that the use of *be like* is favoured in the present tense contexts. Similarly, my results for *be like* differ slightly from the findings in Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007), Winter (2002), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) for North American and New Zealand English, and Gardner et al. (2020) that *be like* is frequently used in the historical present tense, especially among younger speakers. However, my results for *say* corroborate the findings in Blyth et al. (1990) for the data for older speakers, Singler (2001), and D'Arcy (2004) that *say* is preferred in the past tense contexts. On the other hand, my results for *say* are contrary to the findings in Macaulay (2001) that *say* is favoured in the present tense contexts, especially in the speech of adolescent speakers. Similarly, my results for *say* differ from the findings in Buchstaller (2011) that *say* is favoured in the present tense contexts. Generally, tense/time reference is a strong factor that contributes to the probability of different quotative forms.

Table 5.8b reports the correlation between the four most frequent quotatives and tense/time reference of the quotative, and the analysis demonstrates that *be like* is favoured in the future time reference (N = 102, 27.4 percent). While *say* (N = 1159, 57 percent), and *tell* (N = 321, 15.8 percent) are favoured in the past tense contexts,

zero (N = 852, 83.5 percent) is favoured in the present tense contexts. The chi-square analysis reveals that the differences are strongly significant at $p < .001$.

Table 5.8b: Correlation between most frequent quotatives and tense/time reference

	Be like		Say		Tell		Zero		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Past	440	21.6	1159	57	321	15.8	113	5.6	2033	100
Present	26	2	297	22.7	135	10.3	852	65	1310	100
Future	102	27.4	164	44	52	13.9	55	14.7	373	100

χ^2 (6): 1539.585, $p < .001$

5.3 Multivariate Analysis

This section presents multivariate analyses of the four most frequent quotative forms in my NE data viz., *be like*, *say*, *tell*, and *zero*. The multivariate analyses test the effects of the four independent social factors (age, sex, regional origin, and social class) and the three independent linguistic factors (the content of the quote, grammatical person of the quotative, and tense/time reference of the quotative) and how they contribute to the probability of the dependent variables (in this case, quotative forms) being used in my NE data. According to Tagliamonte (2012: 122-123), there are “three lines of evidence” that can be used to interpret a multivariate analysis, viz., (1) statistical significance, (2) effect magnitude (strength of factors), and (3) constraint hierarchy or direction of effects. Following this, I explain which factors are statistically significant and which are not, mention which factor is most or least significant based on the weights of factor groups, and further explain how factors are ranked in order (from more to less) according to their factor weights. The three lines of evidence allow me to make comparisons between analyses, contexts, and groups in interpreting my results.

The data in this section are analysed using Rbrul (Johnson, 2009), a multivariate analysis program that reports the factors that contribute to a given variant

(in this case, a quotative form) being used. Rbrul reports too much information, but I focus more on what is crucial for interpreting my results step by step. Rbrul reports deviance which measures how well a model fits the data, or how the data deviates from the predictions of the model; the smaller the deviance, the better the fit. It reports degrees of freedom (DF) which explains the number of parameters in the model, and it also reports a grand mean. Rbrul reports the strength of each factor group known as factor weights. If the factor weights are above 0.5, they favour the application value, while factor weights below 0.5 disfavour it. Rbrul also reports logodds which are raw coefficients for a regression model measuring the effect of size, which reflects the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. If logodds are above 0, there is a positive correlation between the variables and that favours the application value, if they are negative, the correlation is negative and that disfavors the application value. The larger the number, the bigger the effect size. In addition, Rbrul reports percentages of each variant per cell. Basically, the greater the factor weights, the greater the percentage of the variant should be. The program further reports likelihood-ratio chi-square tests to determine whether an independent variable is significant or not. I now turn to the results of the four most frequent quotative forms.

5.3.1 Quotative *Be like*

Table 5.9 reports the results of a multivariate analysis that tested the social (age, social class, sex, and regional origin) and linguistic (grammatical person of the quotative, tense/time reference of the quotative, and content of the quote) constraints operating on the use of *be like* in NE. The total number of tokens included in the regression analysis is 4053. The data was run in a binary model, i.e. *be like* vs. the rest of the quotative forms, viz., *ask*, *say*, *tell*, *think*, *zero*, and *other*. Speaker was included in the model but was treated as a random effect. Beginning with the social constraints, the results show that the effect of age is statistically significant (p value = 6.53e-03), with young adults (FW 0.714) leading in the use of *be like*. This finding agrees with Blyth et al.'s (1990) study, which found that *be like* is most favoured by young people.

Table 5.9: Contribution of social and linguistic factors on the use of *be like* in NE

Total number of tokens					4053
Deviance					2184.69
Df					18
Grand mean					0.14
Factors	Logodds	Tokens (N)	Proportion of application value	Factor weight	
Age					P value = 6.53e-03
Young adults	0.9143	963	0.1900	0.714	
Adolescents	0.2270	1124	0.1360	0.557	
Middle aged	0.0287	993	0.1510	0.507	
Older adults	-1.1700	973	0.0843	0.237	
Social class					P value = 0.16
Upper class	0.4531	1284	0.143	0.611	
Middle class	0.0429	1451	0.165	0.511	
Lower class	-0.4960	1318	0.111	0.408	
Sex					P value = 0.0519
Females	0.371	2062	0.172	0.592	
Males	-0.371	1991	0.107	0.408	
Regional origin					P value = 2.92e-03
South	0.55	2156	0.164	0.634	
North	-0.55	1897	0.113	0.366	
Grammatical person					P value = 0.143
Neuter	0.5530	65	0.338	0.635	
Second person	0.1923	54	0.185	0.548	
First-person plural	-0.0463	96	0.135	0.488	
Third-person plural	-0.0500	441	0.170	0.488	
Third-person singular	-0.2770	1534	0.123	0.431	
First-person singular	-0.3720	1863	0.140	0.408	
Tense/time reference					P value = 7.52e-55
Past	1.001	2204	0.200	0.731	
Future	0.865	407	0.251	0.704	
Present	-1.866	1442	0.018	0.134	
Content of the quote					P value = 1.53e-06
Gesture	2.145	27	0.6670	0.895	
Speech	-0.306	3959	0.1380	0.424	
Thought	-1.839	67	0.0597	0.137	
Speaker					Random

While the rate of *be like* is most frequent among the young age brackets, most studies suggest that the ‘temporal isogloss’ (Singler, 2001: 270) of *be like* use is moving upwards since the generations who have favoured the use of *be like* in their teens continue to grow older (Buchstaller, 2014: 99). Social class is not statistically significant (p value = 0.16) as a factor conditioning the use of *be like*, although it is favoured with the upper class (FW 0.611), and the middle class (FW 0.511), whereas it is disfavoured with the lower class (FW 0.408).

My finding for social class corroborates the finding in Buchstaller (2008) for British English that social class is not a significant effect. However, my finding differs from the findings in Buchstaller (2008) for American English, and Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009), who report that the effect of social class is statistically significant favouring lower class. This further suggests that results for social class differ between localities.

As the Table shows, the effect of sex is marginally significant (p value = 0.0519), with females (FW 0.592) favoured and males (FW 0.408) disfavoured in the use of *be like*. My finding is similar to the finding in Fox (2012), who reports that sex is statistically significant among adolescents in Inner London, with females leading in the use of *be like*. However, the finding differs from the finding for adolescents in Outer London, which reveals that the statistical significance is in favour of males leading females in the use of *be like*, although the effect is relatively weak (Cheshire & Fox, 2007). Crucially, the effect of sex on the use of *be like* is not stable across varieties of English as previous studies have shown. For instance, Ferrara and Bell (1995); Singler (2001) for America, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for England, Macaulay (2001) for Scotland, and Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004; 2007) for Canada, all report that *be like* is preferred by females. Other studies in America (Blyth et al., 1990; Dailey-O’Cain, 2000) associate *be like* with males. Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for Canada, and Buchstaller (2008) for England, report no significant effect of speaker sex. Ferrara and Bell (2005) predicted that in the initial stages of use of *be like* females would lead males, but the sex effect would neutralize over time, with males increasingly adopting the form at roughly equal rates with females. With the marginal difference of sex effect in my data, it is evident that NE

may support Ferrara and Bell's prediction over time. As for regional origin, the effect is strongly significant (p value = $2.92e-03$), with the south (FW 0.634) favoured in the use of *be like*.

Turning to linguistic constraints, the effect of grammatical person is not statistically significant (p value = 0.143) as a factor conditioning the use of *be like* in NE. This quotative is favoured with neuter (FW 0.635), and second person (FW 0.548). And the quotative is disfavoured with first-person plural (FW 0.488), third-person plural (FW 0.488), third-person singular (FW 0.431), and finally first-person singular (FW 0.408), which is the weakest factor. The results of my study are somewhat at odds with previous studies because I split first-person and third-person subjects into singular and plural and this hampers comparison of my results across studies. However, Barbieri (2005), Blyth et al. (1990), Cukor-Avila (2002), and Ferrara and Bell (1995) for America, and Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) for England and Canada, and Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) for American, British, and New Zealand English have all reported that *be like* is favoured with first-person over third-person subjects. Although my multivariate analysis shows that the favouring effect is with neuter subjects, the distributional analysis of this factor clearly shows that my finding is similar to the findings in these studies, with *be like* being preferred with first-person singular subjects. My results corroborate the findings in D'Arcy (2004) for Canada, and Fox (2012) for Inner London that grammatical person is not statistically significant as a factor conditioning the use of *be like*. According to Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004: 509), grammatical person (first-person contexts favouring the occurrence of *be like* across major varieties of English) is a defining feature of *be like*. As far as the tense/time reference of the quotative is concerned, the effect is statistically significant (p value = $7.52e-55$), and the favouring effect is in the past tense contexts (FW 0.731). My finding differs from earlier studies on quotatives that report that *be like* occurs more frequently with the present tense (Barbieri, 2005; Blyth et al., 1990; Buchstaller & D'Arcy, 2009; D'Arcy, 2004; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2007; Singler, 2001; Winter, 2002). However, my finding in favour of the past tense effect corroborates the finding in Macaulay (2001) for Scotland.

The results for the content of the quote show that the effect is strongly significant (p value = $1.53e-06$), with *be like* strongly favoured with gestures (FW 0.895). My finding differs from the earliest investigations of *be like*, which described it as a marker of thought (Butters, 1982; Tannen, 1986 for American English; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999 for Canadian English; and Macaulay, 2001; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999 for British English). My finding corroborates the finding in Fox (2012) that while *be like* is strongly favoured with gestures (FW 0.895), it is also slightly disfavoured with direct speech (FW 0.424). In addition, *be like* is strongly disfavoured with thought (FW 0.137) as shown in the Table. This indicates that the use of quotative *be like* is in not line with the suggestion of a developmental continuum, emerging as a quotative to frame thought and gesture and then spreading to become a marker of direct speech as it grammaticalizes (Ferrara & Bell, 1995: 279). In the case of NE, *be like* first frames gesture and direct speech and will likely spread to become a marker of thought.

5.3.1.1 Effect of age and sex on the use of *be like*

Table 5.10 and Figure 5.2 display the results for cross-tabulation of age and sex to determine their effect on *be like* use in my data. Overall, *be like* is used significantly more by females ($N = 354$, 62.3 percent) than males ($N = 214$, 37.7 percent). This pattern is consistent across three of the age groups (adolescents, middle aged, and old speakers), while the use of *be like* is almost equal across sexes in the fourth group (young adults), with the young adult males slightly leading the females of the same age group. Thus, the results suggest that the use of *be like* is constrained by both age and sex in Nigerian English, with adolescent females leading the way as the primary users ($N = 129$, 22.7 percent of total uses in the data). The chi-square analysis provides evidence that the interaction between age and sex is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the adolescent females leading. My results corroborate findings in the literature that *be like* is largely associated with younger speakers in general (Ferrara & Bell, 1995), and with young females in particular (Blyth et al., 1990; Dailey-O’Cain, 2000; Barbieri, 2007; and Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009).

Table 5.10: Cross-tabulation of age and sex on the use of *be like*

	Females		Males		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	129	22.7	24	4.2	153	26.9
Young adults	87	15.3	96	17	183	32.3
Middle aged	89	15.7	61	10.7	150	26.4
Older adults	49	8.6	33	5.8	82	14.4
Total	354	62.3	214	37.7	568	100

$\chi^2 (3): 49.341, p < .001$

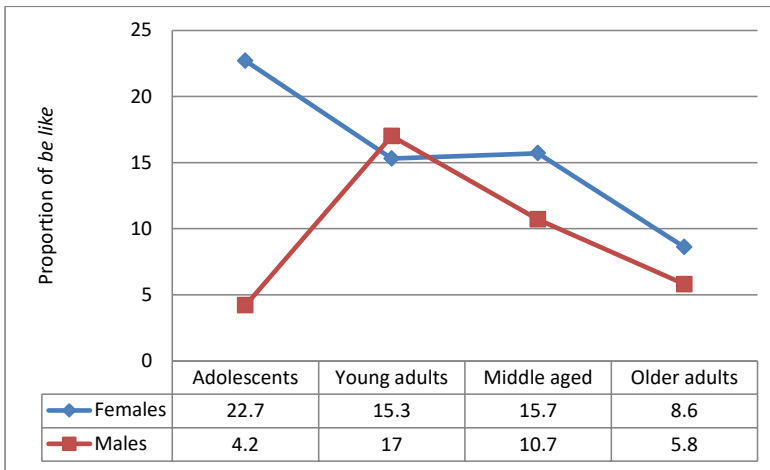


Figure 5.2: interaction between age and sex on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.2 Effect of age and regional origin on the use of *be like*

In Table 5.11 and Figure 5.3, we see the results for cross-tabulation of age and regional origin and their effect on *be like*. The results reveal that *be like* is most frequent among the southern young adults (N = 110, 19.4 percent), closely followed by the southern middle-age group (N = 109, 19.2 percent), and then the southern adolescents (N = 91, 16.1 percent). It is clear from the Table that the southerners in all four age groups use *be like* more than the northerners of the same age groups. The

chi-square analysis reports that the interaction test between age and regional origin is not significant at $p > .01$. This finding is not surprising since most southerners use either English or Pidgin as their lingua-franca, whereas most northerners use Hausa as their lingua-franca. In addition, there is a stereotype that the southerners travel to foreign countries, especially America and England, more than the northerners. It is therefore assumed that innovations in the use of the English language may be slightly more in the south before spreading to the north in the beginning.

Table 5.11: Cross-tabulation of age and regional origin on the use of *be like*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	62	10.9	91	16.1	153	27
Young adults	73	12.8	110	19.4	183	32.2
Middle aged	41	7.2	109	19.2	150	26.4
Older adults	38	6.7	44	7.7	82	14.4
Total	214	37.6	354	62.4	568	100

$\chi^2 (3): 10.319, p > .01$

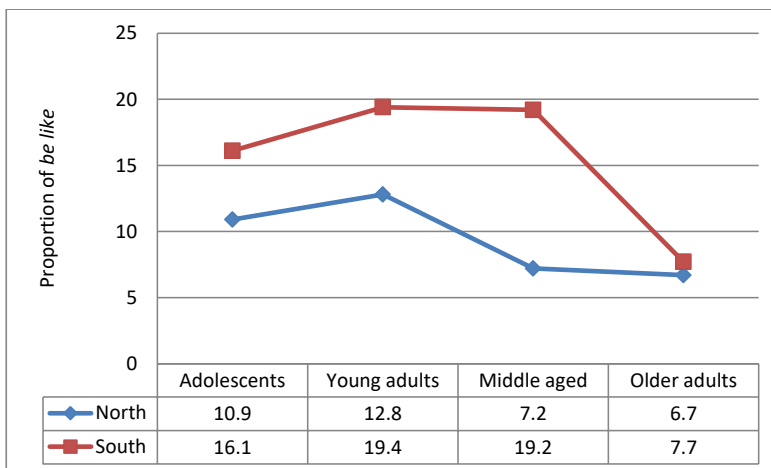


Figure 5.3: Interaction between age and regional origin on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.3 Effect of age and social class on the use of *be like*

As seen in Table 5.12 and Figure 5.4, the results for cross-tabulation of age and social class to determine their effect on the use of *be like* reveal that the middle-class adolescents are the most frequent users of *be like* (N = 85, 14.9 percent) with a wide gap to the lower-class adolescents (N = 37, 6.5 percent) and the upper-class adolescents (N = 31, 5.5 percent). The lower-class young adults (N = 78, 13.7 percent) and the middle-class young adults (N = 77, 13.6 percent) share almost the same frequency, leading the upper-class young adults (N = 28, 5 percent). In the middle-age group, the middle class (N = 73, 12.8 percent) maintains the lead over the upper class (N = 46, 8.1 percent) and the lower class (N = 31, 5.5 percent). Surprisingly, there is a clear interaction in the old age group where the upper class (N = 78, 13.7 percent) leads the middle class (N = 4, 0.7 percent) with a long way. The Table further shows that there is no single *be like* token in the speech of the lower-class old speakers. The chi-square analysis proves that the interaction test between age and social class is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the middle-class adolescents leading.

Table 5.12: Cross-tabulation of age and social class on the use of *be like*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	37	6.5	85	14.9	31	5.5	153	26.9
Young adults	78	13.7	77	13.6	28	5	183	32.3
Middle aged	31	5.5	73	12.8	46	8.1	150	26.4
Older adults	0	0	4	0.7	78	13.7	82	14.4
Total	146	25.7	239	42	183	32.3	568	100

$\chi^2(6): 177.535, p < .001$

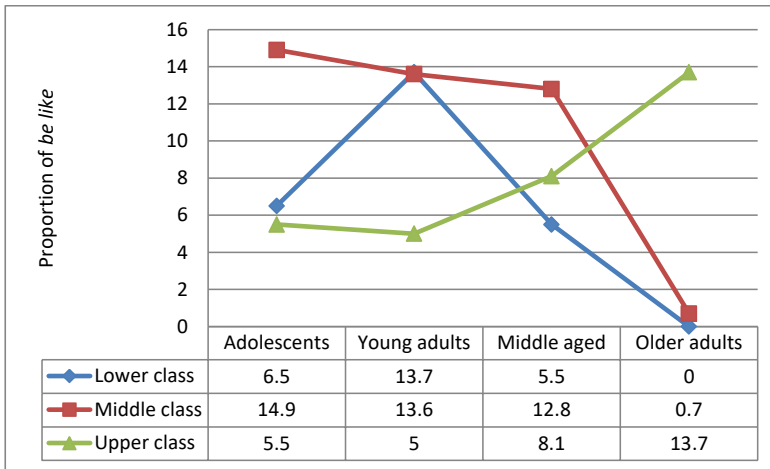


Figure 5.4: Interaction between age and social class on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.4 Effect of age and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*

Table 5.13 and Figure 5.5 report results for cross-tabulation of age and the content of the quote to determine their effect on the use of *be like*. The results show that the young adults ($N = 177$, 31.2 percent) lead in the use of *be like* with direct speech. Similarly, the adolescents ($N = 146$, 25.7 percent), the middle-aged group ($N = 147$, 25.8 percent), and the old age group ($N = 76$, 13.4 percent) all favour the use of *be like* with direct speech over gesture and thought. The results further reveal that no single token of *be like* is expressed with thought by the old age group. The chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction between age and the content of the quote is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with young adults leading in favour of direct speech.

Table 5.13: Cross-tabulation of age and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	146	25.7	6	1.1	1	0.2	153	27
Young adults	177	31.2	4	0.7	2	0.4	183	32.3
Middle aged	147	25.8	3	0.5	0	0	150	26.3
Older adults	76	13.4	5	0.8	1	0.2	82	14.4
Total	546	96.1	18	3.1	4	0.8	568	100

$\chi^2 (6): 258.035, p < .001$

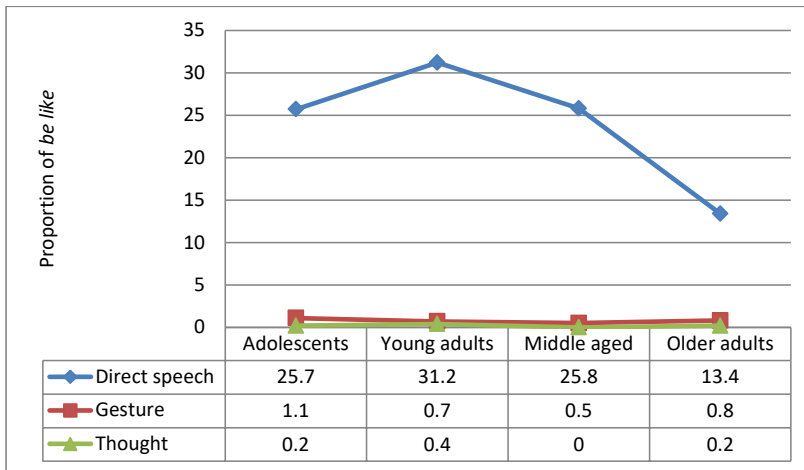


Figure 5.5: Interaction between age and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.5 Effect of age and grammatical person on the use of *be like*

Table 5.14 and Figure 5.6 reveal that *be like* is most favoured by young adults in first-person singular contexts (N = 79, 14 percent) which is closely followed by adolescents in first-person singular contexts (N = 76, 13.4 percent). For first-person plural contexts, the adolescents and the young adults have the same frequency (N = 7, 0.7 percent each) leading over the old age group (N = 3, 0.5 percent) and the middle-aged group (N = 2, 0.4 percent). The young adults (N = 4, 0.7 percent) also lead in

second-person contexts. The young adults further maintain the lead in third-person singular (N = 58, 10.1 percent), third-person plural (N = 28, 5 percent), and neuter (N = 10, 1.7 percent) contexts. The chi-square analysis tests interaction between age and grammatical person on the use of *be like*, and it proves that the interaction is not significant at $p > .05$, as young adults lead in almost all instances of grammatical person. Interestingly, the patterns are very similar for all age groups, with the oldest speakers just lagging behind in terms of the grammatical persons that the quotative *be like* is used most with. The findings here suggest that young adults prefer to use *be like* to report themselves in first-person singular contexts.

Table 5.14: Cross-tabulation of age and grammatical person on the use of *be like*

	Adolescents		Young adults		Middle aged		Older adults		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First (S)	76	13.4	79	14	70	12.3	35	6.2	260	45.9
First (P)	4	0.7	4	0.7	2	0.4	3	0.5	13	2.3
Second	3	0.5	4	0.7	3	0.5	0	0	10	1.7
Third (S)	51	9	58	10.1	50	8.8	29	5.1	188	33
Third (P)	14	2.5	28	5	22	3.8	11	2	75	13.3
Neuter	5	0.9	10	1.7	3	0.5	4	0.7	22	3.8
Total	153	27	183	32.2	150	26.3	82	14.5	568	100

$\chi^2 (15): 9.954, p > .05$

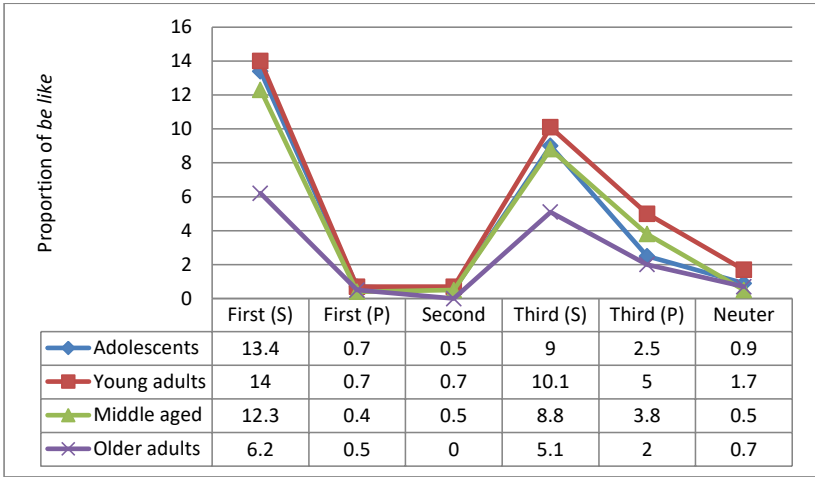


Figure 5.6: Interaction between age and grammatical person on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.6 Effect of sex and regional origin on the use of *be like*

Table 5.15 reports that the southern females (N = 206, 36.2 percent) use *be like* more frequently than the southern males (N = 148, 26.1 percent). Similarly, the northern females (N = 148, 26.1 percent) lead the northern males (N = 66, 11.6) in the use of *be like*. In Figure 5.7, we see the interaction test between sex and regional origin on the use of *be like* and the chi-square analysis proves that there is no significant interaction at $p > .001$, with females leading in both the north and the south.

Table 5.15: Cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin on the use of *be like*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	148	26.1	206	36.2	354	62.3
Males	66	11.6	148	26.1	214	37.7
Total	214	37.7	354	62.3	568	100

$\chi^2 (1): 6.831, p > .001$

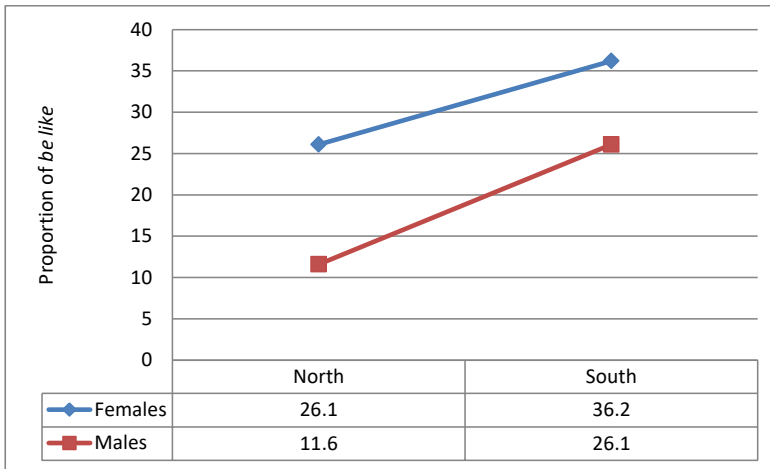


Figure 5.7: Interaction between sex and regional origin on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.7 Effect of sex and social class on the use of *be like*

The following Table offers information on the effect of sex and social class on *be like* use, and the results reveal that the middle-class females ($N = 146$, 25.7 percent) are the most frequent users of *be like*, closely followed by the upper-class females ($N = 126$, 22.2 percent), and then the lower-class females ($N = 62$, 14.4 percent). Similarly, the middle-class males ($N = 93$, 16.4 percent) use *be like* more than the lower-class males ($N = 64$, 11.3 percent) and the upper-class males ($N = 57$, 10 percent). Figure 5.8 reports the chi-square analysis which tests that the interaction between sex and social class on the use of *be like* is not significant at $p > 0.5$, with females leading in all three classes. My findings differ from the findings in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009), who report significant interaction between sex and social class on the use of *be like*, with the middle-class women leading in North America, the working-class men leading British, and the middle-class men leading in New Zealand.

Table 5.16: Cross-tabulation of sex and social class on the use of *be like*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	82	14.4	146	25.7	126	22.2	354	62.3
Males	64	11.3	93	16.4	57	10	214	37.7
Total	146	25.7	239	42.1	183	22.2	568	100

$\chi^2 (2): 5.835, p > .05$

Figure 5.8: Interaction between sex and social class on the use of *be like*

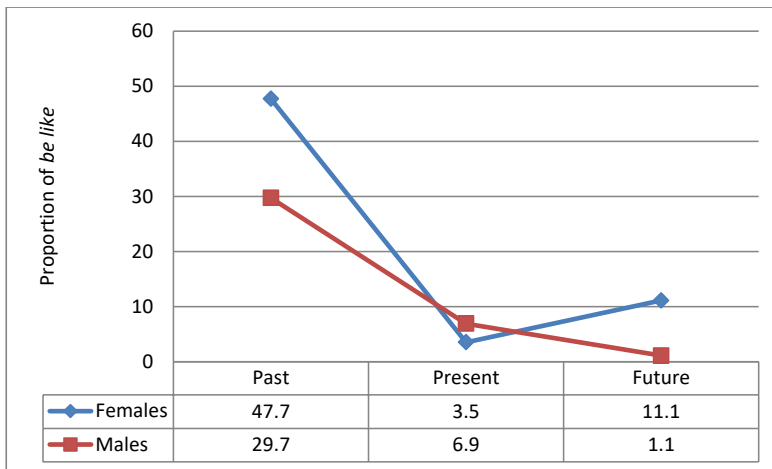
5.3.1.8 Effect of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *be like*

As Table 5.17 and Figure 5.9 show, *be like* occurs most frequently in the past tense with females (N = 271, 47.7 percent) leading males (N = 169, 29.7 percent). While males (N = 39, 6.9 percent) lead females (N = 20, 3.5 percent) in the use of *be like* with the present tense, females (N = 63, 11.1 percent) lead males (N = 6, 1.1 percent) in the use of *be like* with the future time reference. The chi-square analysis reveals that the interaction test between sex and tense/time reference on *be like* use is strongly significant at $p > .001$, with females leading in the past tense.

Table 5.17: Cross-tabulation of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *be like*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	271	47.7	20	3.5	63	11.1	354	62.3
Males	169	29.7	39	6.9	6	1.1	214	37.7
Total	440	77.4	59	10.4	69	12.2	568	100

$\chi^2 (2): 45.083, p < .001$

Figure 5.9: interaction between sex and tense/time reference on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.9 Effect of social class and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*

Table 5.18 and Figure 5.10 report that the middle class (N = 233, 41 percent) uses *be like* with direct speech most frequently. Similarly, both the upper class (N = 173, 30.5 percent) and the lower class (N = 140, 24.6 percent) favour the use of *be like* with direct speech. While the upper class (N = 9, 1.6 percent) leads in the use of *be like* with gesture over the middle class (N = 5, 0.8 percent), and the lower class (N = 4, 0.7 percent), the lower class (N = 2, 0.4 percent) leads in the use of *be like* to express thought over the middle class and the upper class (N = 1, 0.2 percent each). In the interaction test between social class and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*,

the chi-square analysis proves that there is no significant interaction at $p > .05$, with middle-class leading in favour of direct speech.

Table 5.18: Cross-tabulation of social class and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	140	24.6	4	0.7	2	0.4	146	25.7
Middle class	233	41	5	0.8	1	0.2	239	42
Upper class	173	30.5	9	1.6	1	0.2	183	32.3
Total	546	96.1	18	3.1	4	0.8	568	100

$\chi^2 (4): 4.395, p > .05$

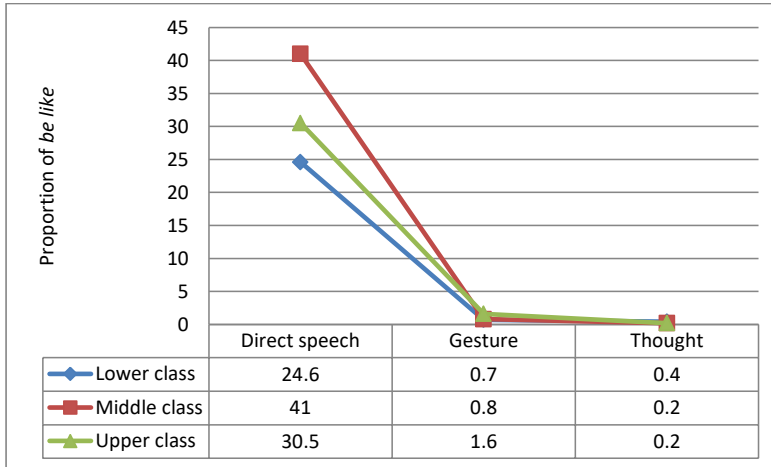


Figure 5.10: Interaction between social class and the content of the quote on the use of *be like*

5.3.1.10 Effect of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *be like*

Table 5.19 illustrates the results for cross-tabulation of social class and tense/time reference to determine their effect on *be like* use. The Table reveals that *be like* occurs most frequently in the past tense with the middle class (N = 183, 32.2 percent)

leading the upper class (N = 150, 26.4 percent) and the lower class (N = 107, 18.8 percent). Similarly, the middle class (N = 12, 2.1 percent) leads in *be like* use with the present tense over the lower class (N = 9, 1.6 percent) and the upper class (N = 5, 0.9 percent). With respect to future time reference, the middle class (N = 44, 7.7 percent) maintains the lead over the lower class (N = 30, 5.3 percent) and the upper class (N = 28, 5 percent). Figure 5.11 reports the chi-square analysis which proves that the interaction between social class and tense/time reference on *be like* use is not significant at $p > .05$, as the middle class takes the lead in all.

Table 5.19: Cross-tabulation of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *be like*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	107	18.8	9	1.6	30	5.3	146	25.7
Middle class	183	32.2	12	2.1	44	7.7	239	42
Upper class	150	26.4	5	0.9	28	5	183	32.3
Total	440	77.4	26	4.6	102	18	568	100

χ^2 (4): 4.389, $p > .05$

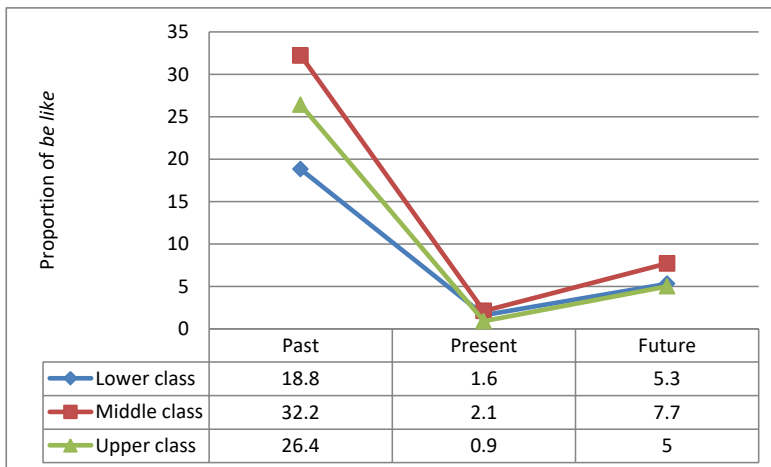


Figure 5.11: Interaction between social class and tense/time reference on the use of *be like*

5.3.2 Quotative *Say*

The following Table reports results of a multivariate analysis that tested the social and linguistic constraints operating on the use of *say* in NE.

Table 5.20: Contribution of social and linguistic factors on the use of *say* in NE

Total number of tokens					4053
Deviance					4615.013
Df					18
Grand mean					0.4
Factors	Logodds	Tokens (N)	Proportion of application value	Factor weight	
Age	P value = 0.0853				
Older adults	0.444	973	0.419	0.609	
Adolescents	-0.084	1124	0.383	0.479	
Middle aged	-0.151	993	0.394	0.462	
Young adults	-0.209	963	0.406	0.448	
Social class	P value = 0.196				
Lower class	0.2010	1318	0.398	0.551	
Middle class	0.0404	1451	0.414	0.519	
Upper class	-0.2414	1284	0.386	0.442	
Sex	P value = 0.2				
Males	0.111	1991	0.428	0.528	
Females	-0.111	2062	0.372	0.472	
Regional origin	P value = 0.188				
North	0.113	1897	0.431	0.528	
South	-0.113	2156	0.372	0.472	
Grammatical person	P value = 0.533				
Second person	0.2474	54	0.315	0.562	
Third-person plural	0.1360	441	0.392	0.534	
Third-person singular	0.0670	1534	0.407	0.517	
First-person singular	-0.0314	1863	0.402	0.492	
First-person plural	-0.1790	96	0.375	0.455	
Neuter	-0.2400	65	0.323	0.443	
Tense/time reference	P value = 2.43e-102				
Future	0.853	2204	0.526	0.701	
Past	0.254	407	0.403	0.563	
Present	-1.107	1442	0.206	0.248	
Content of the quote	P value = 2.64e-13				
Speech	5.245	3959	0.408	0.995	
Gesture	4.451	27	0.222	0.988	
Thought	-9.696	67	0.001	<.001	
Speaker	Random				

The Table shows that the effect of age is not statistically significant (p value = 0.0853) as a factor conditioning the use of *say*, with the old speakers (FW 0.609) favouring *say*, and the adolescents (FW 0.479), the middle aged (FW 0.462), and the young adults (FW 0.448) disfavouring it. Social class is not statistically significant (p value = 0.196) as a factor conditioning the use of *say* since it is used in relatively equal proportions among the lower class (FW 0.551), the middle class (FW 0.519), and the upper class (FW 0.442). Although the lower class and the middle class favour the use of *say*, while the upper class disfavors it as displayed in the Table.

The Table further illustrates that the effect of sex is not statistically significant (p value = 0.2), with males (FW 0.528) favouring the use of *say* and females (FW 0.472) disfavouring it. This finding differs from the findings in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) who report sex as a significant factor conditioning the use of *say* among older and younger speakers for both British and New Zealand English. My finding also differs from the finding in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) who report sex as a statistically significant factor conditioning the use of *say* in favour of females in Canadian English, and in favour of males in British English. Regional origin too is not statistically significant (p value = 0.188) as a factor conditioning the use of *say*, with the north (FW 0.528) favouring it and the south (FW 0.472) disfavouring it.

Turning to linguistic constraints, the effect of grammatical person is not statistically significant (p value = 0.533) as a factor conditioning the use of *say* in NE. This factor is favoured with second person (FW 0.562), third-person plural (FW 0.534), and third-person singular (FW 0.517) contexts, whereas it is disfavoured with first-person singular (FW 0.492), first-person plural (FW 0.455), and neuter (FW 0.443) contexts. My results for grammatical person differ from the findings in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) who report grammatical person as a significant factor conditioning the use of *say* in favour of third-person subjects in both British and New Zealand English data for older speakers. As for younger speakers, the effect is weak on first-person subjects for both British and New Zealand English. As for the tense/time reference of the quotative, the effect is statistically significant (p value = $2.43e-102$) and the strongest favouring effect is future time reference (WF 0.701), favoured slightly with the past tense (FW 0.563), and disfavoured with the present

tense (FW 0.248). This finding corroborates the findings in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) who report that tense/time reference is a significant factor conditioning the use of *say* among older and younger speakers for both British and New Zealand English. My results for the content of the quote show that the effect is strongly significant (p -value = $2.64e-13$), with *say* strongly favoured with direct speech (FW 0.995). This finding corroborates the findings in Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) who report the content of the quote as a significant factor conditioning the use of *say* among older and younger speakers in both British and American English data. It is also similar to the finding in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) who report that the content of the quote is a significant factor conditioning the use of *say* with direct speech in both British and Canadian English. In contrast, my finding for the content of the quote differs from the finding in Blyth et al. (1990), who report *say* as neutral with no effect.

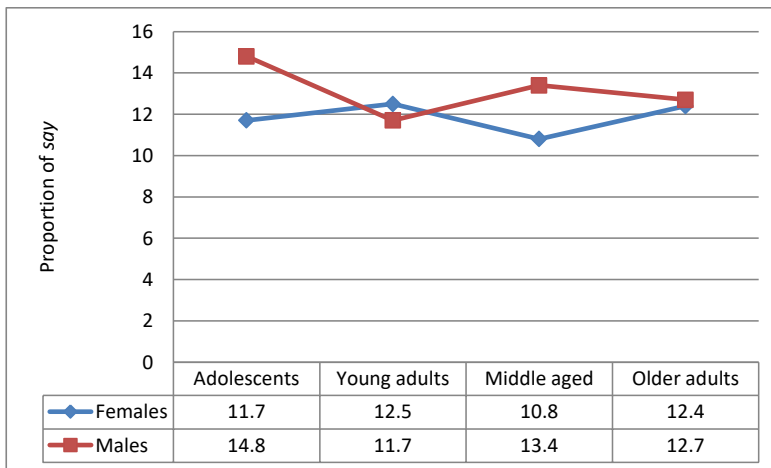
5.3.2.1 Effect of age and sex on the use of *say*

Table 5.21 and Figure 5.12 present results for cross-tabulation of age and sex to determine their effect on the use of *say* in my data. The results reveal that the adolescent males ($N = 241$, 14.8 percent) are the most frequent users of *say*, closely followed by the middle-aged males ($N = 216$, 13.4 percent). While males in the old age group ($N = 207$, 12.7 percent) slightly lead females ($N = 201$, 12.4 percent) in the same age group, the young adult females ($N = 202$, 12.5 percent) favour the use of *say* over the young adult males ($N = 189$, 11.7 percent). The chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction test between age and sex on the use of *say* is not statistically significant at $p > .05$, with adolescent males leading.

Table 5.21: Cross-tabulation of age and say on the use of *say*

	Females		Males		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	189	11.7	241	14.8	430	26.5
Young adults	202	12.5	189	11.7	391	24.2
Middle aged	175	10.8	216	13.4	391	24.2
Older adults	201	12.4	207	12.7	408	25.1
Total	767	47.4	853	52.6	1620	100

$\chi^2 (3): 6.558, p > .05$

Figure 5.12: Interaction between age and sex on the use of *say*

5.3.2.2 Effect of age and regional origin on the use of *say*

As Table 5.22 and Figure 5.13 reveal, *say* has the same frequency of use for the southern adolescents and the northern middle-aged group ($N = 223$, 13.7 percent each) which turn out to be the highest users. Among the young adults, the southerners favour the use of *say* ($N = 204$, 12.6 percent) over the northerners ($N = 187$, 11.5 percent). Similarly, the southern old age group ($N = 207$, 12.7 percent) leads the northern old age group ($N = 201$, 12.4 percent). The chi-square analysis reports that

the interaction test between age and regional origin on the use of *say* is not statistically significant at $p > .001$, with the southern adolescents and the northern middle-aged group leading with equal frequency.

Table 5.22: Cross-tabulation of age and regional origin on the use of *say*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	207	12.7	223	13.7	430	26.4
Young adults	187	11.5	204	12.6	391	24.1
Middle aged	223	13.7	168	10.7	391	24.4
Older adults	201	12.4	207	12.7	408	25.1
Total	818	50.3	802	49.7	1620	100

$\chi^2 (3): 9.003, p > .001$

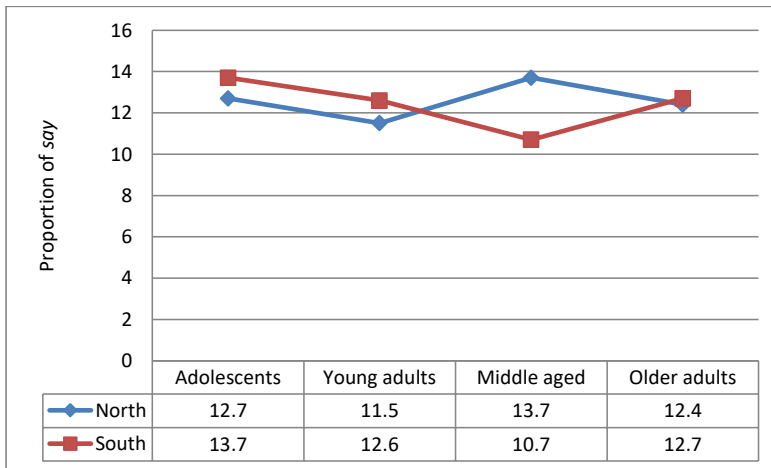


Figure 5.13: Interaction between age and regional origin on the use of *say*

5.3.2.3 Effect of age and social class on the use of *say*

As for age and social class, the results for cross-tabulation are given in Table 5.23. As expected, the Table shows that the upper-class old speakers (N = 302, 18.6 percent)

are the most frequent users of *say*, with a wide gap to the lower-class old (N = 86, 5.3 percent) and the middle-class old (N = 20, 1.3 percent). The middle-class young adults (N = 218, 13.4 percent) are next to the upper-class old in frequency, leading the lower-class young adults (N = 138, 8.5 percent) and the upper-class young adults (N = 35, 2.2 percent). With respect to adolescents, the lower-class adolescents (N = 199, 12.3 percent) favour the use of *say* more than the middle-class adolescents (N = 191, 11.8 percent) and the upper-class adolescents (N = 40, 2.5 percent). In the middle-aged group, the middle class (N = 172, 10.6 percent) leads over the upper class (N = 118, 7.3 percent) and the lower class (N = 101, 6.2 percent). In Figure 5.14, the chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction test between age and social class on the use of *say* proves to be strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the upper-class old speakers leading.

Table 5.23: Cross-tabulation of age and social class on the use of *say*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	199	12.3	191	11.8	40	2.5	430	26.6
Young adults	138	8.5	218	13.4	35	2.2	391	24.1
Middle aged	101	6.2	172	10.6	118	7.3	391	24.1
Older adults	86	5.3	20	1.3	302	18.6	408	25.2
Total	524	32.3	601	37.1	495	30.6	1620	100

χ^2 (6): 615.465, $p < .001$

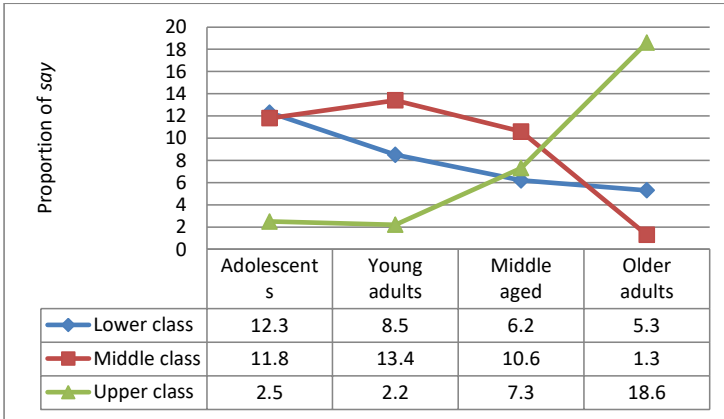


Figure 5.14: Interaction between age and social class on the use of *say*

5.3.2.4 Effect of age and the content of the quote on the use of *say*

Table 5.24 and Figure 5.15 reveal that the adolescents (N = 428, 26.4 percent) lead in the use of *say* with direct speech. Similarly, the old age speakers (N = 406, 26 percent), the middle-aged speakers (with N = 390, 24.1 percent), and the young adults (with N = 390, 24.1) all favour the use of *say* with direct speech over gesture. In the case of thought, the results show that *say* does not express thought in NE since there is no instance of this in the data. The chi-square analysis shows that the interaction test between age and the content of the quote on the use of *say* is not significant at $p > .05$, with all age groups favouring direct speech.

Table 5.24: Cross-tabulation of age and the content of the quote on the use of *say*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	428	26.4	2	0.1	0	0	430	26.5
Young adults	390	24.1	1	0.1	0	0	391	24.2
Middle aged	390	24.1	1	0.1	0	0	391	24.2
Older adults	406	25	2	0.1	0	0	408	25.1
Total	1614	99.6	6	0.4	0	0	1620	100

$\chi^2 (6): 0.542, p > .05$

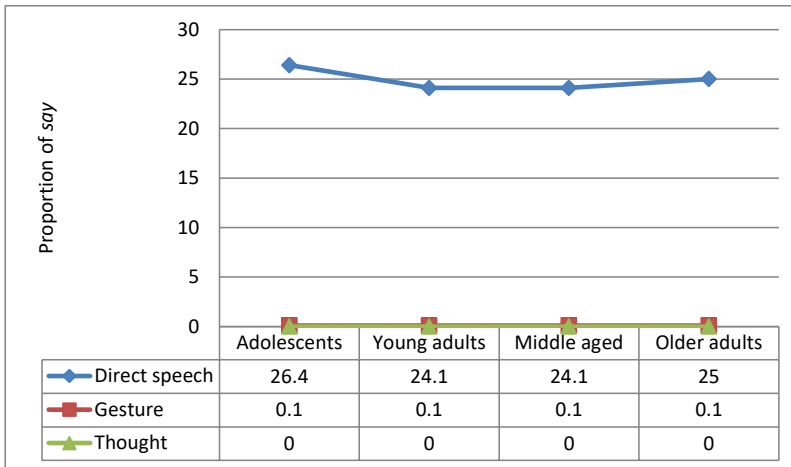


Figure 5.15: Interaction between age and the content of the quote on the use of *say*

5.3.2.5 Effect of age and grammatical person on the use of *say*

In Table 5.25, the results demonstrate that *say* is most favoured by the adolescents in first-person singular contexts (N = 203, 12.5 percent), closely followed by the young adults in first-person singular contexts (N = 195, 12 percent). While the young adults favour the use of *say* in first-person plural contexts (N = 10, 0.6 percent), the adolescents favour the use of *say* in second-person contexts (N = 6, 0.4 percent). For third-person singular, the middle-aged group (N = 161, 9.9 percent) slightly leads the adolescents (N = 160, 9.8 percent), the old age group (N = 157, 9.7 percent), and the young adults (N = 146, 9 percent). The old age group (N = 58, 3.6 percent) leads in the use of *say* in third-person plural contexts over adolescents (N = 49, 3.1 percent), the young adults (N = 37, 2.3 percent), and the middle-aged group (N = 29, 1.8 percent). With respect to neuter contexts, the old and the middle-age groups have the same frequency (N = 8, 0.5 percent each) leading the adolescents (N = 4, 0.3 percent), and the young adults (N = 1, 0.1 percent). Figure 5.16 presents the interaction test between age and grammatical person of the quotative on the use of *say*, and the chi-square analysis proves that the interaction is not statistically significant at $p > .05$, with the adolescents favouring the use of *say* in first-person singular contexts. Like my findings for *be like*, the findings here suggest that adolescents prefer to use *say* to report themselves in first-person singular contexts. My findings here differ from the

findings in Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) who report significant interaction between age and grammatical person, with *say* favoured by younger speakers in first-person contexts, while their older speakers favour *say* in third-person contexts.

Table 5.25: Cross-tabulation of age and grammatical person on the use of *say*

	Adolescents		Young adults		Middle aged		Older adults		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First (S)	203	12.5	195	12	180	11.1	171	10.5	749	46.1
First (P)	8	0.5	10	0.6	9	0.5	9	0.6	36	2.2
Second	6	0.4	2	0.1	4	0.3	5	0.3	17	1.1
Third (S)	160	9.8	146	9	161	9.9	157	9.7	624	38.4
Third (P)	49	3.1	37	2.3	29	1.8	58	3.6	173	10.8
Neuter	4	0.3	1	0.1	8	0.5	8	0.5	21	1.4
Total	430	26.6	391	24.1	391	24.1	408	25.2	1620	100

$\chi^2 (15): 22.172, p > .05$

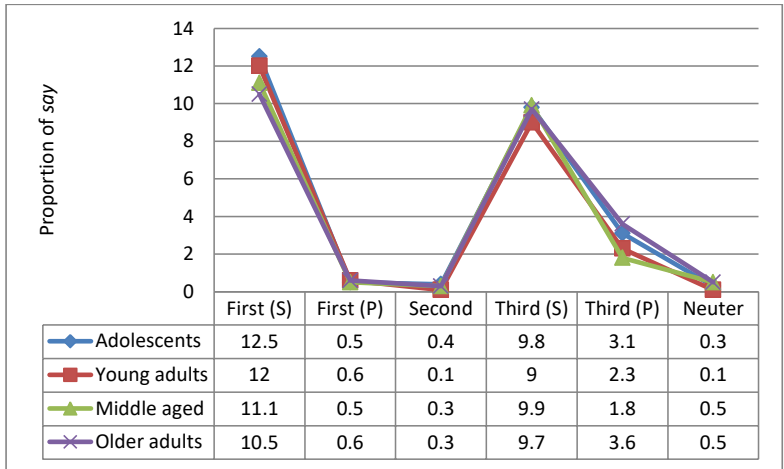


Figure 5.16: Interaction between age and grammatical person on the use of *say*

5.3.2.6 Effect of sex and regional origin on the use of *say*

The Table below reports results for cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin to determine their effect on the use of *say*, and it reveals that the northern males (N = 472, 29.2 percent) use *say* more frequently than the northern females (N = 346, 21.4 percent). On the other hand, the southern females (N = 421, 25.9 percent) lead the southern males (N = 381, 23.5) in the use of *say*. In Figure 5.17, the chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction test between sex and regional origin on the use of *say* is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with northern males leading in the use of *say*.

Table 5.26: Cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin on the use of *say*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	346	21.4	421	25.9	767	47.3
Males	472	29.2	381	23.5	853	52.7
Total	818	50.6	802	49.4	1620	100

$\chi^2 (1): 16.884, p < .001$

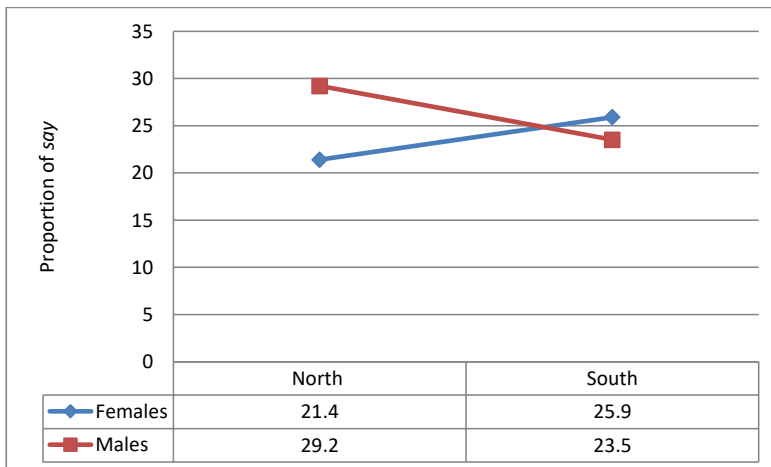


Figure 5.17: Interaction between sex and regional origin on the use of *say*

5.3.2.7 Effect of sex and social class on the use of *say*

Turning to sex and social class, the results in Table 5.27 show that the middle-class males (N = 318, 19.6 percent) are the most frequent users of *say*, closely followed by the middle-class females (N = 283, 17.5 percent). Similarly, the lower-class males (with N = 271, 16.7 percent) lead in the use of *say* over the lower-class females (N = 253, 15.6 percent), whereas the upper-class males (N = 264, 16.3 percent) lead over the upper-class females (N = 231, 14.3 percent). Figure 5.18 illustrates the interaction test between sex and social class on the use of *say*, and the chi-square analysis demonstrates that there is no significant interaction at $p > .05$, with males leading in all three classes. This finding differs from the findings in Buchstaller and D’Arcy (2009) who report significant interaction between sex and social class for older speakers in British English data, with working-class women leading in the use of *say*.

Table 5.27: Cross-tabulation of sex and social class on the use of *say*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	253	15.6	283	17.5	231	14.3	767	47.4
Males	271	16.7	318	19.6	264	16.3	853	52.6
Total	524	32.3	601	37.1	495	30.6	1620	100

$\chi^2 (2): 0.29, p > .05$



Figure 5.18: Interaction between sex and social class on the use of *say*

5.3.2.8 Effect of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *say*

According to Table 5.28 and Figure 5.19, *say* occurs most frequently in the past tense with males (N = 635, 39.2 percent) leading females (N = 524, 32.4 percent). While females (N = 164, 10.1 percent) lead males (N = 133, 8.2 percent) in the use of *say* with the present tense, males (N = 85, 5.3 percent) lead females (N = 79, 4.8 percent) in the use of *say* with the future time reference. The chi-square analysis reveals that the interaction test between sex and tense/time reference of the quotative on the use of *say* is statistically significant at $p < .05$, with males leading in the past tense.

Table 5.28: Cross-tabulation of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *say*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	524	32.4	164	10.1	79	4.8	767	47.3
Males	635	39.2	133	8.2	85	5.3	853	52.7
Total	1159	71.6	297	18.3	164	10.1	1620	100

$\chi^2 (2): 9.545, p < .05$

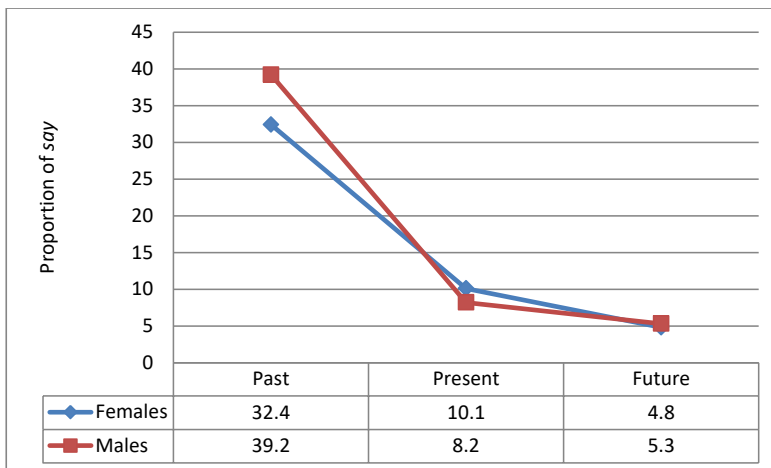


Figure 5.19: Interaction between sex and tense/time reference on the use of *say*

5.3.2.9 Effect of social class and the content of the quote on the use of say

In Table 5.29 and Figure 5.20, the results demonstrate that the middle class (N = 600, 37 percent) uses *say* with direct speech most frequently. Similarly, both the lower class (N = 523, 32.3 percent) and the upper class (N = 491, 30.3 percent) favour the use of *say* with direct speech. For gesture, the upper class (N = 4, 0.2 percent) leads in the use of *say* over the lower class and the middle class (N = 1, 0.1 percent each). In the case of thought, the results show that *say* does not express thought in NE since there is no instance of this in the data. The interaction test between social class and the content of the quote on the use of *say* proves to be statistically significant at $p < .001$, with the middle class leading in favour of direct speech.

Table 5.29: Cross-tabulation of social class and content of the quote on the use of *say*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	523	32.3	1	0.1	0	0	424	32.4
Middle class	600	37	1	0.1	0	0	601	37.1
Upper class	491	30.3	4	0.2	0	0	495	30.5
Total	1614	96.6	6	0.4	0	0	1620	100

$\chi^2 (4): 27.397, p < .001$

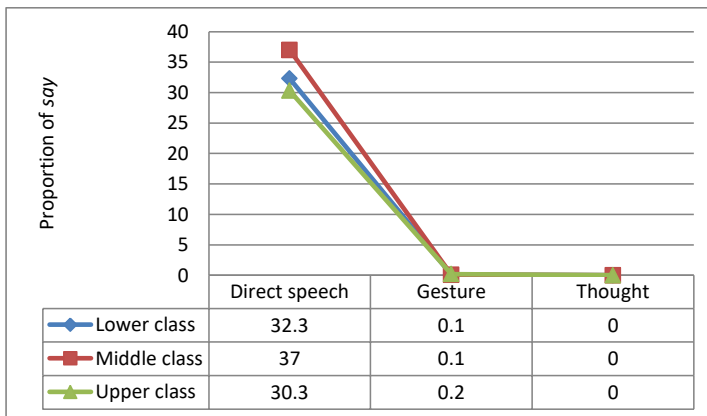


Figure 5.20: Interaction between social class and content of the quote on the use of *say*

5.3.2.10 Effect of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *say*

As for the results for cross-tabulation of social class and tense/time reference of the quotative, Table 5.30 and Figure 5.21 report that *say* occurs most frequently in the past tense with the middle class (N = 436, 26.9 percent) leading the upper class (N = 362, 22.4 percent) and the lower class (N = 361, 22.3 percent). While the lower class (N = 130, 8 percent) leads in the use of *say* with the present tense over the middle class (N = 92, 5.7 percent) and the upper class (N = 75, 4.6 percent), the middle class (N = 73, 4.5 percent) leads in the use of *say* with the future time reference over the upper class (N = 58, 3.6 percent) and the lower class (N = 33, 2 percent). The chi-square analysis illustrates that the interaction between social class and tense/time reference of the quotative on the use of *say* is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the middle class leading in favour of the past tense use.

Table 5.30: Cross-tabulation of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *say*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	361	22.3	130	8	33	2	524	32.3
Middle class	436	26.9	92	5.7	73	4.5	601	37.1
Upper class	362	22.4	75	4.6	58	3.6	495	30.6
Total	1159	71.6	297	18.3	164	10.1	1620	100

$\chi^2 (4): 29.739, p < .001$

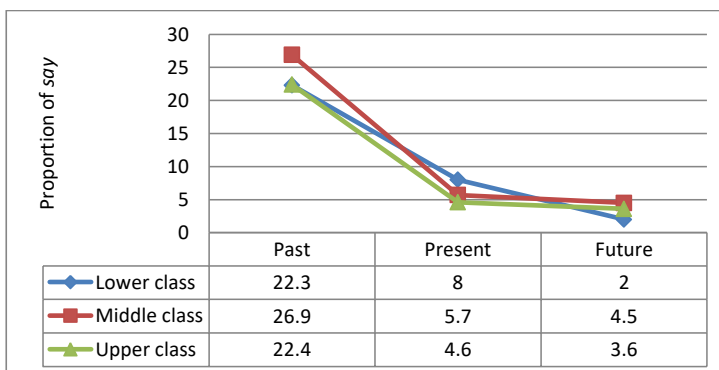


Figure 5.21: Interaction between social class and tense/time reference on the use of *say*

5.3.3 Quotative *Tell*

Table 5.31 reports the results of a multivariate analysis that tested the social and linguistic constraints operating on the use of *tell* in NE.

Table 5.31: Contribution of social and linguistic factors on the use of *tell* in NE

Total number of tokens					4053
Deviance					2761.003
Df					18
Grand mean					0.125
Factors	Logodds	Tokens (N)	Proportion of application value	Factor weight	
Age	P. value = 0.18				
Older adults	0.2490	973	0.143	0.562	
Middle aged	0.1250	993	0.132	0.531	
Adolescents	-0.0438	1124	0.118	0.489	
Young adults	-0.3302	963	0.109	0.418	
Social class	P. value = 1.97e-03				
Lower class	0.454	1318	0.1760	0.612	
Middle class	-0.212	1451	0.0917	0.446	
Upper class	-0.239	1284	0.110	0.441	
Sex	P. value = 0.302				
Females	0.886	2062	0.136	0.522	
Males	-0.886	1991	0.114	0.478	
Regional origin	P. value = 0.625				
North	0.0412	1897	0.130	0.517	
South	-0.0412	2156	0.121	0.496	
Grammatical person	P. value = 2.43e-11				
First-person singular	0.3950	1863	0.1720	0.597	
First-person plural	0.2540	96	0.1250	0.563	
Neuter	0.0373	65	0.1080	0.509	
Second person	0.0067	54	0.0926	0.502	
Third-person plural	-0.1940	441	0.1020	0.452	
Third-person singular	-0.4990	1534	0.0776	0.378	
Tense/time reference	P. value = 1.60e-07				
Future	0.272	407	0.1280	0.568	
Past	0.205	2204	0.1460	0.551	
Present	-0.477	1442	0.0936	0.383	
Content of the quote	P. value = 8.88e-07				
Speech	10.394	3959	0.128	>.999	
Thought	-4.582	67	0.001	0.0101	
Gesture	-5.812	27	0.001	0.00298	
Speaker	Random				

The Table reveals that the effect of age is not statistically significant (p value = 0.18) as a factor conditioning the use of *tell*, with the old speakers (FW 0.562), and the middle-aged speakers (FW 0.531) favouring *tell*, whereas the adolescents (FW 0.489), and the young adults (FW 0.418) disfavouring it. The effect of social class is statistically significant (p value = 1.97e-03), with the lower class (FW 0.612) favouring the use of *tell*, and the middle class (FW 0.446) and the lower class (0.441) disfavouring it. The Table shows that the effect of sex is not statistically significant (p value = 0.302), with females (FW 0.522) favouring the use of *tell*, and males (FW 0.478) disfavouring it. Regional origin too is not statistically significant (p value = 0.625) as a factor conditioning the use of *tell* since it is used in relatively equal proportions in the north (FW 0.517) and the south (FW 0.496).

Turning to linguistic constraints, the effect of grammatical person is statistically significant (p value = 1.43e-11) as a factor conditioning the use of *say* in NE, and the strongest favouring effect is in the first-person singular contexts (FW 0.597). For tense/time reference, the effect is statistically significant (p value = 1.60e-07) and the favouring effect is in the future time reference contexts (FW 0.568). The results for the content of the quote show that the effect is strongly significant (p value = 8.88e-07), with *tell* strongly favoured with direct speech (FW >.999). It is important to note that most studies do not report the conditioning of factors on the use of *tell* which hampers comparison of my results for this form across studies.

5.3.3.1 Effect of age and sex on the use of *tell*

In Table 5.32 and Figure 5.22, I present the results for cross-tabulation of age and sex to determine their effect on the use of *tell* in NE. The results report that the middle-aged females ($N = 75$, 14.7 percent) are the most frequent users of *tell*, closely followed by old females ($N = 72$, 14.2 percent). While the young adult females ($N = 69$, 13.6 percent) lead in the use of *tell* over the young adult males ($N = 36$, 7.1 percent), the adolescent males ($N = 68$, 13.4 percent) lead over the adolescent females ($N = 65$, 12.8 percent). The chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction between age and sex on the use of *tell* is not statistically significant at $p > .001$, with the middle-aged females leading.

Table 5.32: Cross-tabulation of age and sex on the use of *tell*

	Females		Males		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	65	12.8	68	13.4	133	26.2
Young adults	69	13.6	36	7.1	105	20.7
Middle aged	75	14.7	56	11	131	25.7
Older adults	72	14.2	67	13.2	139	27.4
Total	281	55.3	227	44.7	508	100

$\chi^2 (3): 7.719, p > .001$

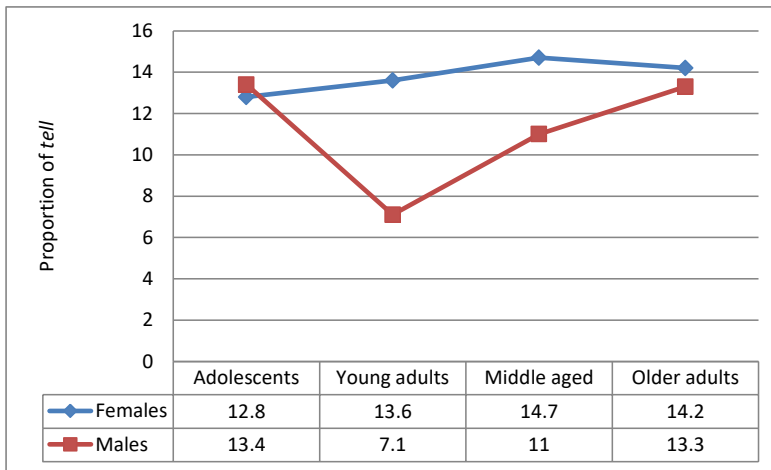


Figure 5.22: Interaction between age and sex on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.2 Effect of age and regional origin on the use of *tell*

According to Table 5.33, the southern old age group (N = 81, 16 percent) are the most frequent users of *tell* leading the northern old age group (N = 58, 11.4 percent). On the contrary, the northern middle-aged group (N = 76, 15 percent) leads the southern middle-aged group (N = 55, 10.8 percent). In the case of the young adults, the southerners (N = 55, 10.8 percent) lead the northerners (N = 50, 9.8 percent). Similarly, the southern adolescents (N = 70, 13.8) lead the northern adolescents (N =

63, 12.4 percent). Figure 5.23 presents the interaction test between age and regional origin on the use of *tell*, and the chi-square analysis proves that the interaction is statistically significant at $p < .05$, with the southern old age group leading.

Table 5.33: Cross-tabulation of age and regional origin on the use of *tell*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	63	12.4	70	13.8	133	26.2
Young adults	50	9.8	55	10.8	105	20.6
Middle aged	76	15	55	10.8	131	25.8
Older adults	58	11.4	81	16	139	27.4
Total	247	48.6	261	51.4	508	100

$\chi^2 (3): 7.521, p < .05$

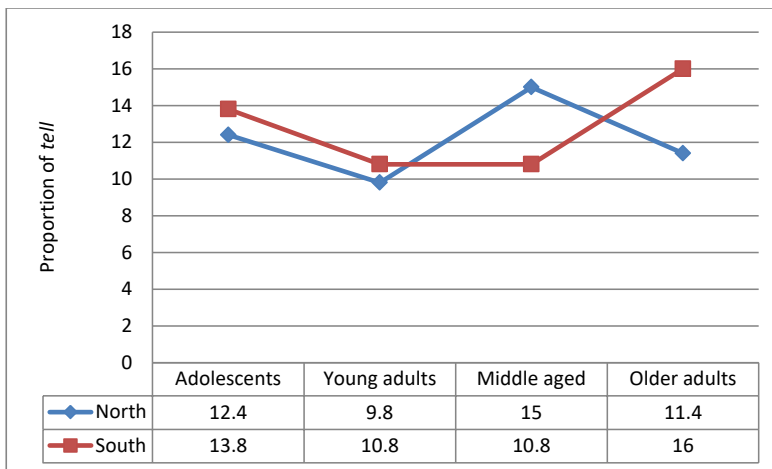


Figure 5.23: Interaction between age and regional origin on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.3 Effect of age and social class on the use of *tell*

Table 5.34 and Figure 5.24 reveal that the upper-class old speakers ($N = 90$, 17.7 percent) are the most frequent users of *tell*, leading the lower-class old ($N = 41$, 8.1

percent) and the middle-class old (N = 8, 1.6 percent). The lower-class adolescents (N = 79, 15.5 percent) are next in frequency, leading the middle-class adolescents (N = 44, 8.7 percent) and the upper-class adolescents (N = 10, 1.9 percent). Among the young adults, the lower class (N = 57, 11.2 percent) leads the middle class (N = 37, 7.3 percent) and the upper class (N = 11, 2.2 percent). Similarly, the lower-class middle-aged group (N = 55, 10.8 percent) leads in the use of *tell* over the middle class (N = 44, 8.7 percent) and the upper class (N = 32, 6.3 percent). The chi-square analysis proves that the interaction between age and social class on the use of *tell* is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the upper-class old age group leading.

Table 5.34: Cross-tabulation of age and social class on the use of *tell*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	79	15.5	44	8.7	10	1.9	133	26.1
Young adults	57	11.2	37	7.3	11	2.2	105	20.7
Middle aged	55	10.8	44	8.7	32	6.3	131	25.8
Older adults	41	8.1	8	1.6	90	17.7	139	27.4
Total	232	45.6	133	26.3	143	28.1	508	100

$\chi^2 (6): 125.319, p < .001$

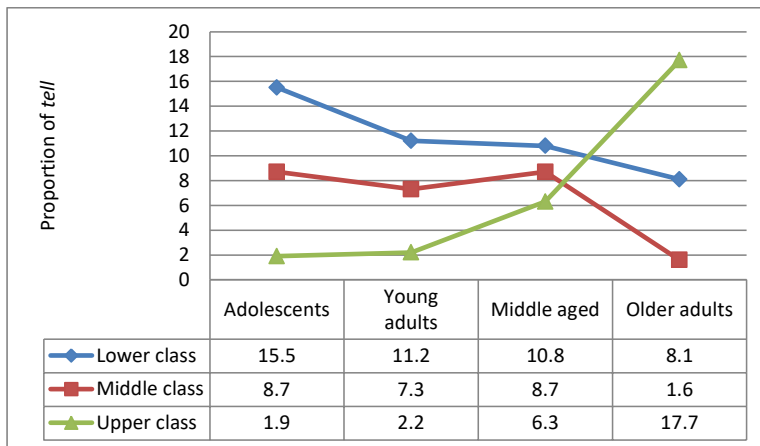


Figure 5.24: Interaction between age and social class on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.4 Effect of age and the content of the quote on the use of *tell*

Concerning the cross-tabulation of age and the content of the quote, Table 5.35 and Figure 5.25 report that all instances of *tell* occur with direct speech among all four age groups with the old age group (N = 139, 27.4 percent) leading the adolescents (N = 133, 26.2 percent), the middle aged (N = 131, 26.2 percent), and the young adults (N = 105, 20.6 percent). The chi-square analysis reveals that there is no interaction between age and content of the quote on the use of *tell* since the pattern is consistent across all age groups in favour of direct speech. This suggests that *tell* does not express thought or gesture in NE since there is no instance of this in the data.

Table 5.35: Cross-tabulation of age and the content of the quote on the use of *tell*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	133	26.2	0	0	0	0	133	26.2
Young adults	105	20.6	0	0	0	0	105	20.6
Middle aged	131	25.8	0	0	0	0	131	25.8
Older adults	139	27.4	0	0	0	0	139	27.4
Total	508	100	0	0	0	0	508	100

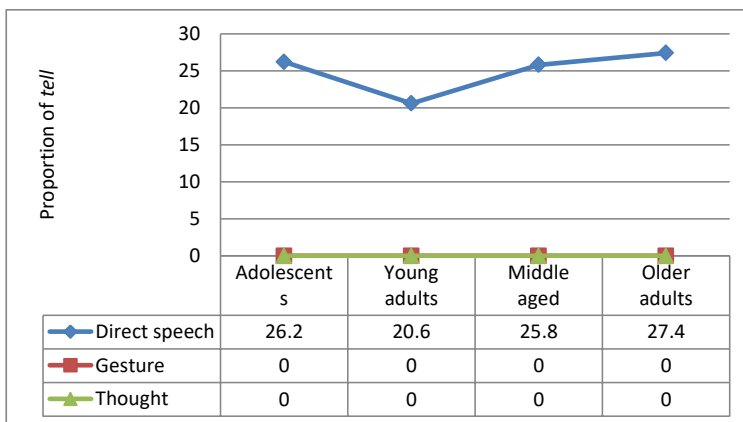


Figure 5.25: Interaction between age and the content of the quote on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.5 Effect of age and grammatical person on the use of *tell*

According to Table 5.36, *tell* is most favoured by the middle-aged group in first-person singular contexts (N = 88, 17.3 percent), closely followed by the old age group in first-person singular contexts (N = 85, 16.7 percent). The adolescents (N = 5, 1 percent) lead in the use of *tell* in first-person plural contexts over the young adults (N = 3, 0.6 percent), the old age group (N = 3, 0.6 percent), and the middle aged (N = 1, 0.2 percent). While the old speakers (N = 34, 6.7 percent) favour the use of *tell* in third-person singular contexts over the adolescents (N = 32, 6.3 percent), the middle-aged speakers (N = 28, 5.5 percent), and the young adults (N = 25, 4.9 percent), the adolescents and the old with the same frequency (N = 15, 2.9 percent each) lead in the use of *tell* in third-person plural contexts over the middle aged (N = 9, 1.8 percent) and the young adults (N = 6, 1.2 percent). In the case of second-person contexts, the adolescents (N = 3, 0.3 percent) lead, whereas the middle aged (N = 4, 0.8 percent) lead in neuter contexts. Figure 5.26 illustrates the interaction test between age and grammatical person of the quotative on the use of *tell*, and the chi-square analysis reveals that the interaction is not statistically significant at $p > .001$, with the middle-aged speakers leading in first-person singular contexts.

Table 5.36: Cross-tabulation of age and grammatical person on the use of *tell*

	Adolescents		Young adults		Middle aged		Older adults		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First (S)	77	15.2	70	13.8	88	17.3	85	16.7	320	63
First (P)	5	1	3	0.6	1	0.2	3	0.6	12	2.4
Second	3	0.6	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.2	5	1
Third (S)	32	6.3	25	4.9	28	5.5	34	6.7	119	23.4
Third (P)	15	2.9	6	1.2	9	1.8	15	2.9	45	8.8
Neuter	1	0.2	1	0.2	4	0.8	1	0.2	7	1.4
Total	133	26.2	105	20.7	131	25.8	139	27.3	508	100

χ^2 (15): 24.767, $p > .001$

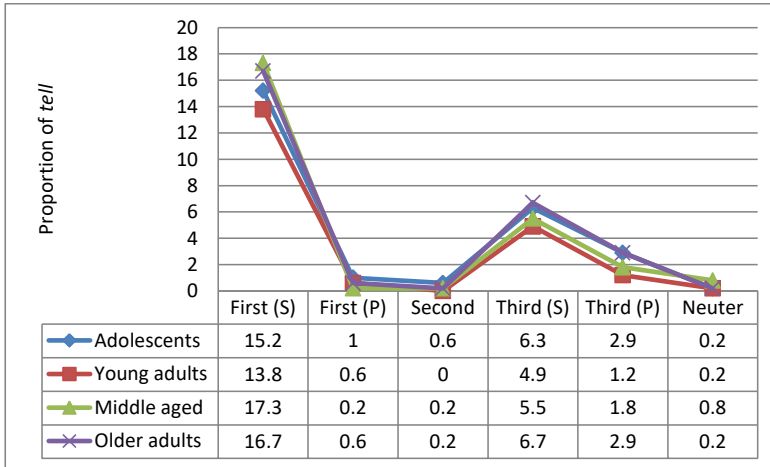


Figure 5.26: Interaction between age and grammatical person on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.6 Effect of sex and regional origin on the use of *tell*

The results for cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin in Table 5.37 and Figure 5.27 reveal that the northern females (N = 149, 29.4 percent) lead in the use of *tell* over the northern males (N = 98, 19.3 percent). Similarly, the southern females (N = 132, 25.9 percent) lead in the use of *tell* over the southern males (N = 129, 25.4 percent). The interaction test between sex and regional origin on the use of *tell* illustrates that there is no significant interaction at $p > .001$, with the northern females leading.

Table 5.37: Cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin on the use of *tell*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	149	29.4	132	25.9	281	55.3
Males	98	19.3	129	25.4	227	44.7
Total	247	48.7	261	51.3	508	100

$\chi^2 (1): 4.879, p > .001$

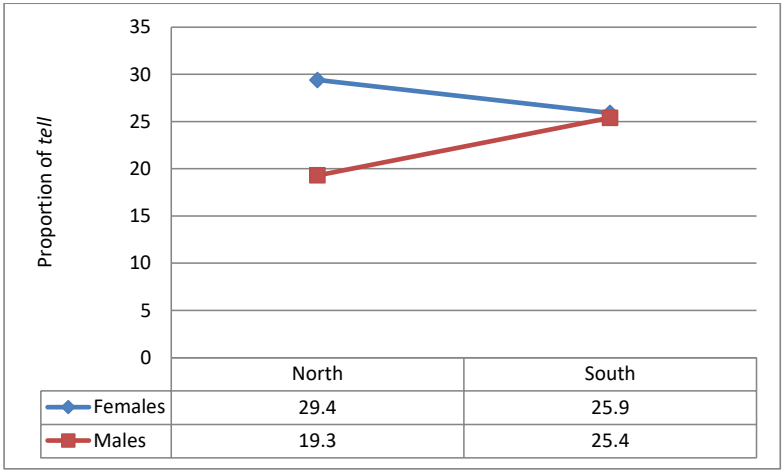


Figure 5.27: Interaction between sex and regional origin on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.7 Effect of sex and social class on the use of *tell*

As observed in Table 5.38 and Figure 5.28, the lower-class females (N = 134, 26.4 percent) are the most frequent users of *tell*, closely followed by the lower-class males (N = 98, 19.3 percent). Similarly, the middle-class females (N = 69, 13.6 percent) lead in the use of *tell* over the middle-class males (N = 64, 12.6 percent), whereas the upper-class females (N = 78, 15.3 percent) lead the upper-class males (N = 64, 12.8 percent). The chi-square analysis reveals that the interaction between sex and social class on the use of *tell* is not significant at $p > .05$, as all three classes behave in a similar way, with the lower-class females leading.

Table 5.38: Cross-tabulation of sex and social class on the use of *tell*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	134	26.4	69	13.6	78	15.3	281	55.3
Males	98	19.3	64	12.6	65	12.8	227	44.7
Total	232	45.7	133	26.2	143	28.1	508	100

$\chi^2 (2): 1.23, p > .05$



Figure 5.28: Interaction between sex and social class on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.8 Effect of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *tell*

In Table 5.39, the results reveal that *tell* occurs most frequently in the past tense with females (N = 185, 36.4 percent) leading males (N = 136, 26.8 percent). While males (N = 68, 13.4 percent) lead slightly in the use of *tell* with the present tense over females (N = 29, 5.7 percent) favour the use of *tell* with the future time reference over males (N = 23, 4.5 percent). Figure 5.29 presents the interaction test between sex and tense/time reference of the quotative on the use of *tell*, and the chi-square analysis proves that the interaction is not statistically significant at $p > .05$, with females leading in the past tense.

Table 5.39: Cross-tabulation of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *tell*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	185	36.4	67	13.2	29	5.7	281	55.3
Males	136	26.8	68	13.4	23	4.5	227	44.7
Total	321	63.2	135	26.6	52	10.2	508	100

$$\chi^2 (2): 2.467, p > .05$$

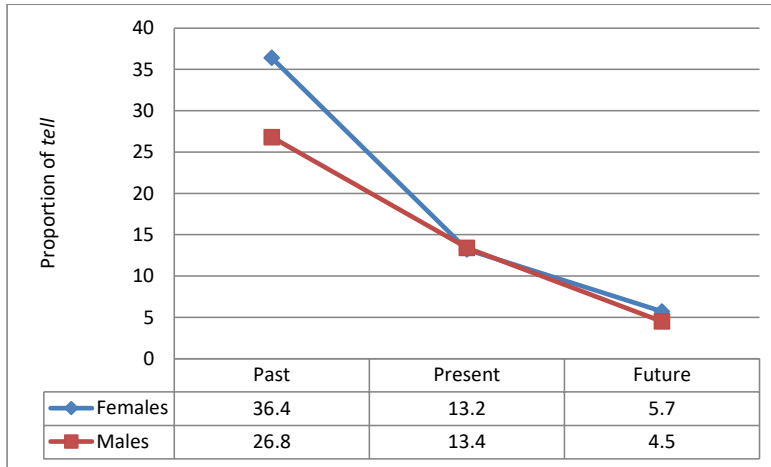


Figure 5.29: Interaction between sex and tense/time reference on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.9 Effect of social class and the content of the quote on the use of *tell*

Table 5.40 and Figure 5.30 show that all three classes use *tell* with direct speech with the lower class (N = 232, 45.6 percent) leading the upper class (N = 143, 28.2 percent), and the middle class (N = 133, 26.2 percent). The results also reveal that *tell* does not express thought or gesture in NE since there is no instance of this in the data. Therefore, the chi-square analysis demonstrates that there is no evidence of interaction between sex and the content of the quote on the use of *tell* since all three classes use it with direct speech only, with the lower class leading.

Table 5.40: Cross-tabulation of social class and content of the quote on the use of *tell*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	232	45.6	0	0	0	0	232	45.6
Middle class	133	26.2	0	0	0	0	133	26.2
Upper class	143	28.2	0	0	0	0	143	28.2
Total	508		0	0	0	0	508	100

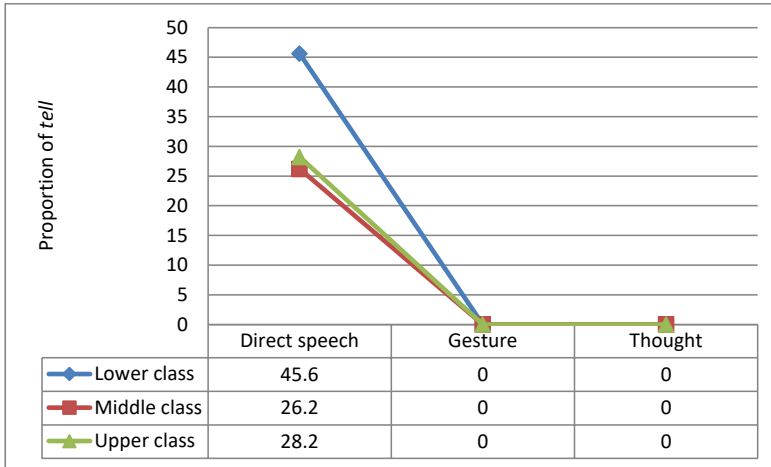


Figure 5.30: Interaction between social class and content of the quote on the use of *tell*

5.3.3.10 Effect of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *tell*

As presented in Table 5.41 and Figure 5.31, *tell* occurs most frequently in the past tense with the lower class (N = 130, 25.6 percent) leading the upper class (N = 98, 19.3 percent) and the middle class (N = 93, 18.3 percent). While the lower class (N = 89, 17.5 percent) leads in the use of *tell* with the present tense over the upper class (N = 20, 3.9 percent) and the middle class (N = 26, 5.1 percent), the upper class (N = 25, 5 percent) leads in the use of *tell* with the future time reference over the middle class (N = 14, 2.7 percent) and the lower class (N = 13, 2.6 percent). For the interaction test between social class and tense/time reference of the quotative on the use of *tell*, the chi-square analysis reports that the interaction is statistically significant at $p < .001$, with the lower class leading in favour of the past tense.

Table 5.41: Cross-tabulation of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *tell*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	130	25.6	89	17.5	13	2.6	232	45.7
Middle class	93	18.3	26	5.1	14	2.7	133	26.1
Upper class	98	19.3	20	3.9	25	5	143	28.2
Total	321	63.2	135	26.5	52	10.3	508	100

$\chi^2(4): 38.394, p < .001$

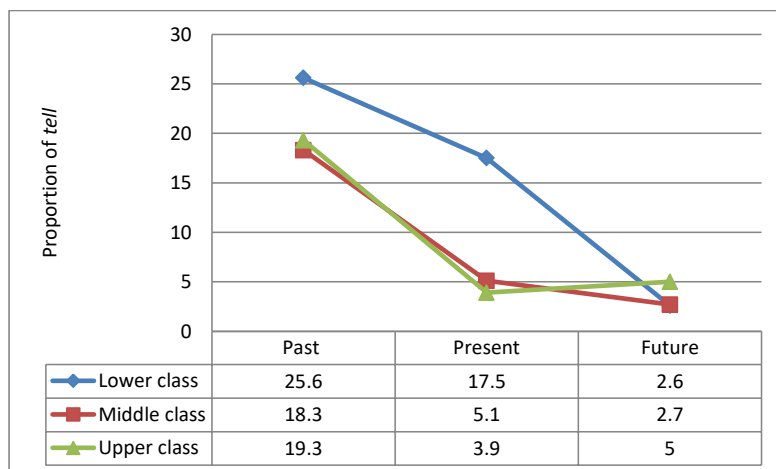


Figure 5.31: Interaction between social class and tense/time reference on the use of *tell*

5.3.4 Zero Quotative

The following Table displays results of a multivariate analysis that tested the social and linguistic constraints operating on the use of *zero* quotative in NE.

Table 5.42: Contribution of social and linguistic factors on the use of *zero* in NE

Total number of tokens				4053
Deviance				2919.258
Df				18
Grand mean				0.252
Factors	Logodds	Tokens (N)	Proportion of application value	Factor weight
Age	P. value = 0.0881			
Middle aged	0.177	993	0.238	0.544
Adolescents	0.157	1124	0.283	0.539
Young adults	0.055	963	0.209	0.514
Older adults	-0.389	973	0.272	0.404
Social class	P. value = 1.02e-05			
Upper class	0.534	1284	0.287	0.630
Middle class	0.012	1451	0.246	0.503
Lower class	-0.546	1318	0.224	0.367
Sex	P. value = 0.169			
Males	0.105	1991	0.266	0.526
Females	-0.105	2062	0.238	0.474
Regional origin	P. value = 0.336			
South	0.0766	2156	0.271	0.519
North	-0.0766	1897	0.230	0.481
Grammatical person	P. value = 4.12e-08			
Third-person singular	0.6580	1534	0.319	0.659
First-person plural	0.4200	96	0.302	0.603
First-person singular	0.0815	1863	0.204	0.520
Third-person singular	-0.0442	441	0.224	0.489
Second person	-0.5233	54	0.241	0.372
Neuter	-0.590	65	0.138	0.356
Tense/time reference	P. value = 3.11e-311			
Present	2.112	1442	0.5910	0.892
Future	-0.383	407	0.1350	0.405
Past	-1.729	2204	0.0513	0.151
Content of the quote	P. value = 2.58e-05			
Speech	0.807	3959	0.255	0.691
Gesture	0.150	27	0.111	0.537
Thought	-0.957	67	0.119	0.277
Speaker	Random			

The results reveal that the effect of age is not statistically significant (p value = 0.0881) as a factor conditioning the use of *zero*, with the middle aged (FW 0.544), the adolescents (FW 0.539), and the young adults (FW 0.514) favouring it, whereas the old age group (FW 0.404) disfavouring it. The effect of social class is statistically significant (p value = $1.02e-05$), with the upper class (FW 0.630) strongly favouring the use of *zero*, favoured slightly by the middle class (FW 0.503), and disfavoured by the lower class (FW 0.367).

The Table shows that the effect of sex is not statistically significant (p value = 0.169), with the males (FW 0.526) slightly favouring the use of *zero* and the females (FW 0.474) slightly disfavouring it. This finding corroborates the findings in Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), who report that *zero* quotative is not sensitive to speaker sex in either British or Canadian English. In contrast, *zero* quotative is slightly favoured in British English in the study by Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009). However, regional origin too is not statistically significant (p value = 0.336) as a factor conditioning the use of *zero*, with the south (FW 0.519) slightly favouring it and the north (FW 0.481) slightly disfavouring it.

Turning to linguistic constraints, the effect of grammatical person is statistically significant (p value = $4.12e-08$) as a factor conditioning the use of *zero* in NE, and the favouring effect is in third-person singular contexts (FW 0.659). It is also favoured in first-person plural (FW 0.603) and slightly favoured in first-person singular (FW 0.520) contexts, whereas the use of *zero* is disfavoured in third-person singular (FW 0.489), second person (FW 0.372), and neuter (FW 0.356) contexts. For tense/time reference, the effect is statistically significant (p value = $3.11e-311$) and the strongest favouring effect is in the present tense (WF 0.892) contexts. It is slightly disfavoured in the future time reference (FW 0.405) and strongly disfavoured in the past tense (FW 0.151) contexts. The results for the content of the quote show that the effect is statistically significant (p value = $2.58e-05$), with *zero* favoured with direct speech (FW 0.691), slightly favoured with gesture (FW 0.537), and strongly disfavoured with thought (FW 0.277).

5.3.4.1 Effect of age and sex on the use of *zero*

Table 5.43 and Figure 5.32 report results for cross-tabulation of age and sex to determine their effect on the use of *zero* quotative in NE. The results reveal that the adolescent females (N = 166, 16.3 percent) are the most frequent users of *zero* quotative, closely followed by the adolescent males (N = 152, 14.9 percent). For the young adults, females (N = 101, 9.9 percent) slightly lead males (N = 152, 14.9 percent). While the middle-aged males (N = 150, 14.7 percent) lead in the use of *zero* quotative over the middle-aged females (N = 86, 8.4 percent), the old females (N = 138, 13.5 percent) lead the old males (N = 127, 12.5 percent). For the interaction test between age and sex on the use of *zero* quotative, the chi-square analysis proves that the interaction is statistically significant at $p < .001$, with the adolescent females leading.

Table 5.43: Cross-tabulation of age and sex on the use of *zero*

	Females		Males		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	166	16.3	152	14.9	318	31.2
Young adults	101	9.9	100	9.8	201	19.7
Middle aged	86	8.4	150	14.7	236	23.1
Older adults	138	13.5	127	12.5	265	26
Total	491	48.1	529	51.9	1020	100

χ^2 (3): 17.041, $p < .001$

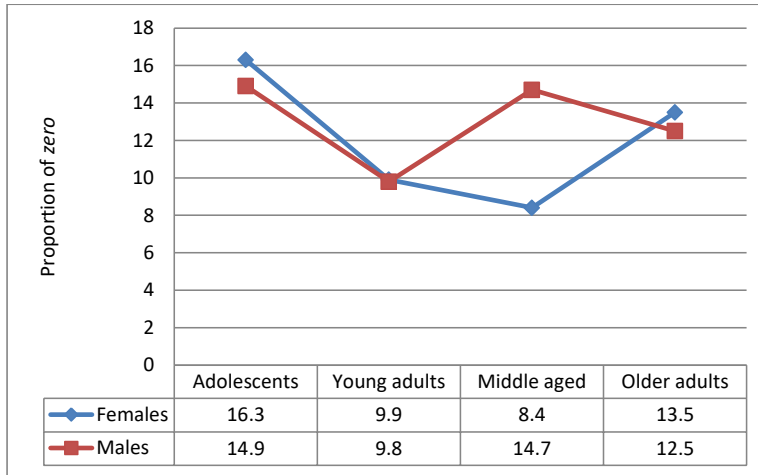


Figure 5.32: Interaction between age and sex on the use of *zero*

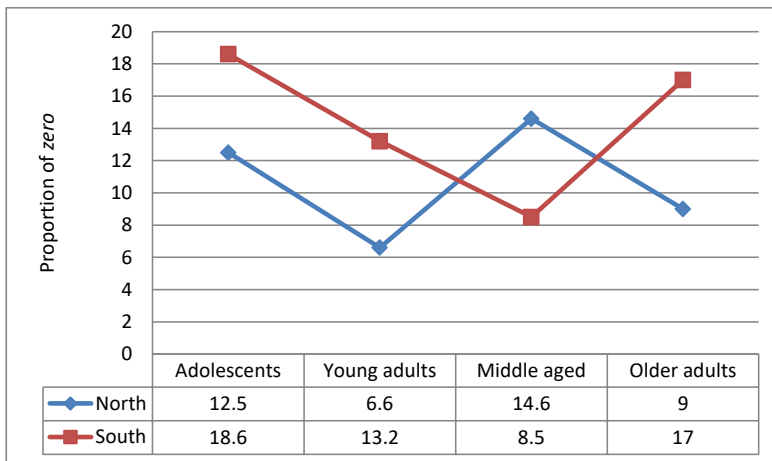
5.3.4.2 Effect of age and regional origin on the use of *zero*

According to Table 5.44 and Figure 5.33, the southern adolescents ($N = 190$, 18.6 percent) are the most frequent users of *zero* quotative, leading the northern adolescents ($N = 128$, 12.5 percent). Among the young adults, the southerners ($N = 134$, 13.2 percent) lead in the use of *zero* quotative over the northerners ($N = 67$, 6.6 percent). While the northern middle-aged group ($N = 149$, 14.6 percent) leads in the use of *zero* quotative over the southern middle-aged group ($N = 87$, 8.5 percent), the southern old age group ($N = 173$, 17 percent) leads the northern old age group ($N = 92$, 9 percent). The chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction between age and regional origin on the use of *zero* quotative is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the southern adolescents leading.

Table 5.44: Cross-tabulation of age and regional origin on the use of *be zero*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	128	12.5	190	18.6	318	31.1
Young adults	67	6.6	134	13.2	201	19.8
Middle aged	149	14.6	87	8.5	236	23.1
Older adults	92	9	173	17	265	26
Total	436	42.7	584	57.3	1020	100

$\chi^2 (3): 55.153, p < .001$

Figure 5.33: Interaction between age and regional origin on the use of *be zero*

5.3.4.3 Effect of age and social class on the use of *zero*

As shown in Table 5.45 and Figure 5.34, the results for cross-tabulation of age and social class reveal that the upper-class old age group ($N = 189$, 18.5 percent) is the most frequent user of *zero* quotative, leading by a wide margin over the lower-class old ($N = 56$, 5.5 percent) and the middle-class old ($N = 20$, 2 percent). The middle-class adolescent group ($N = 150$, 14.7 percent) is the next in frequency, leading the lower-class adolescent group ($N = 103$, 10.1 percent) and the upper-class adolescent

group (N = 65, 6.4 percent). With respect to the middle-aged group, the middle class (N = 100, 9.8 percent) leads over the upper class (N = 95, 9.3 percent) and the lower class (N = 41, 4.1 percent). Among the young adults, the lower class (N = 95, 9.3 percent) leads the middle class (N = 87, 8.5 percent) and the upper class (N = 19, 1.8 percent). The chi-square analysis illustrates that the interaction between age and social class on the use of *zero* quotative is strongly significant at $p < .001$, with the upper-class old age group leading.

Table 5.45: Cross-tabulation of age and social class on the use of *zero*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	103	10.1	150	14.7	65	6.4	318	31.2
Young adults	95	9.3	87	8.5	19	1.8	201	19.6
Middle aged	41	4.1	100	9.8	95	9.3	236	23.2
Older adults	56	5.5	20	2	189	18.5	265	26
Total	295	29	357	35	368	36	1020	100

$\chi^2(6): 272.69, p < .001$

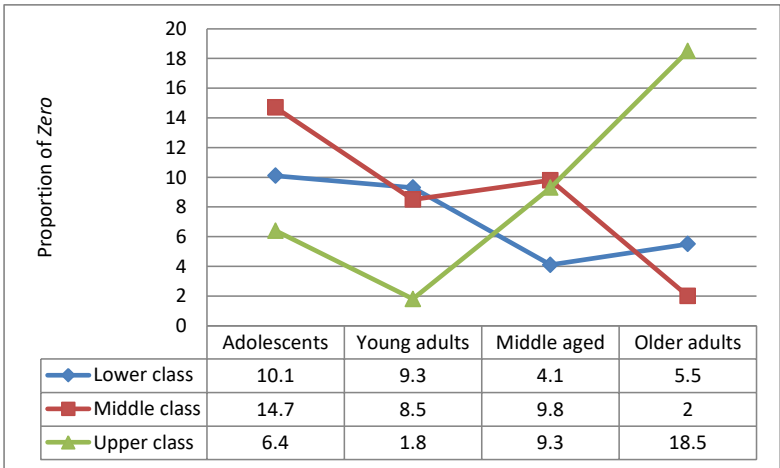


Figure 5.34: Interaction between age and social class on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.4 Effect of age and the content of the quote on the use of *zero*

In Table 5.46 and Figure 5.35, we see that the adolescents ($N = 315$, 30.9 percent) lead in the use of *zero* quotative with direct speech over thought ($N = 2$, 0.2 percent) and gesture ($N = 1$, 0.1 percent). Similarly, the middle-aged group ($N = 230$, 22.5 percent) favours the use of *zero* quotative with direct speech over thought ($N = 5$, 0.5 percent) and gesture ($N = 1$, 0.1 percent), whereas the young adults lead with direct speech ($N = 199$, 19.5) over gesture and thought ($N = 1$, 0.1 percent each). In the case of the old age group ($N = 265$, 26 percent), all instances of *zero* quotative occur with direct speech only. The chi-square analysis demonstrates that the interaction between age and the content of the quote on the use of *zero* quotative is not significant at $p > .05$, with all age groups favouring direct speech.

Table 5.46: Cross-tabulation of age and the content of the quote on the use of *zero*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adolescents	315	30.9	1	0.1	2	0.2	318	31.2
Young adults	199	19.5	1	0.1	1	0.1	201	19.7
Middle aged	230	22.5	1	0.1	5	0.5	236	23.1
Older adults	265	26	0	0	0	0	256	26
Total	1009	98.9	3	0.3	8	0.8	1020	100

χ^2 (6): 9.448, $p > .05$

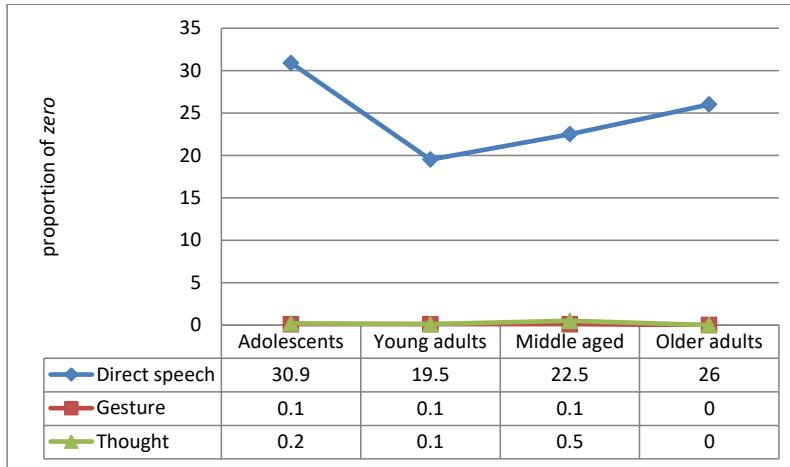


Figure 5.35: Interaction between age and the content of the quote on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.5 Effect of age and grammatical person on the use of *zero* quotative

Table 5.47 and Figure 3.36 give results for cross-tabulation of age and grammatical person of the quotative. The results reveal that *zero* quotative is most favoured by the adolescents in third-person singular contexts (N = 153, 15 percent) leading the middle aged (N = 125, 12.3 percent), the old age group (N = 113, 11 percent), and the young adults (N = 99, 9.7 percent). The old age group favours the use of *zero* quotative in first-person singular contexts (N = 127, 12.4 percent) leading the adolescents (N = 117, 11.5 percent), the middle aged (N = 72, 7 percent), and the young adults (N = 64, 6.3 percent). For third-person plural contexts, the adolescents (N = 29, 2.8 percent) lead the young adults (N = 25, 2.5 percent), the middle aged (N = 25, 2.5 percent), and the old age group (N = 20, 1.9 percent). Similarly, the adolescents (N = 14, 1.4 percent) favour the use of *zero* quotative in first-person plural contexts, leading the young adults (N = 7, 0.7 percent), the middle aged (N = 7, 0.7 percent), and the old age group (N = 1, 0.1 percent). With respect to second-person contexts, the adolescents and the middle aged have the same frequency of use (N = 4, 0.4 percent), slightly leading the young adults (N = 3, 0.3 percent) and the old age group (N = 1, 0.1 percent). For neuter contexts, the young adults and the middle aged have the same frequency of use (N = 3, 0.3 percent) slightly leading the old age group (N = 2, 0.2 percent) and the adolescents (N = 1, 0.1 percent). The chi-square analysis

demonstrates that the interaction between age and grammatical person of the quotative on the use of *zero* quotative is statistically significant at $p < .05$, with adolescents leading in third-person singular contexts, and the old leading with first-person singular subjects.

Table 5.47: Cross-tabulation of age and grammatical person on the use of *zero*

	Adolescents		Young adults		Middle aged		Older adults		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
First (S)	117	11.5	64	6.3	72	7	127	12.4	380	37.2
First (P)	14	1.4	7	0.7	7	0.7	1	0.1	29	2.9
Second	4	0.4	3	0.3	4	0.4	2	0.2	13	1.3
Third (S)	153	15	99	9.7	125	12.3	113	11	490	48
Third (P)	29	2.8	25	2.5	25	2.5	20	1.9	99	9.7
Neuter	1	0.1	3	0.3	3	0.3	2	0.2	9	0.9
Total	318	31.2	201	19.8	236	23.2	265	25.8	1020	100

$\chi^2 (15): 30.681, p < .05$

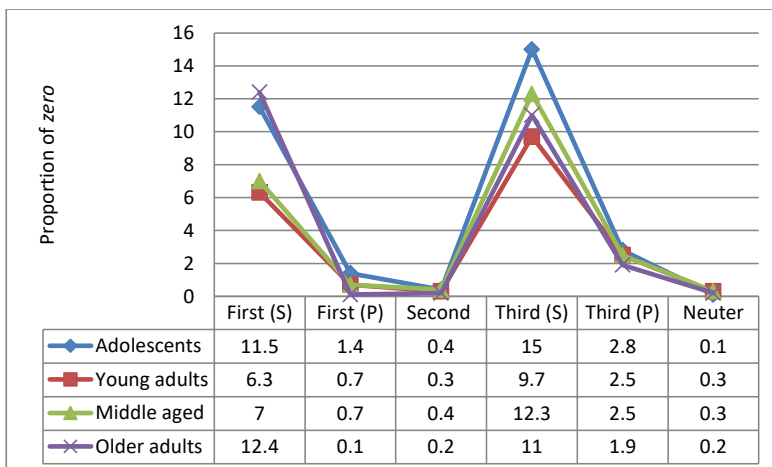


Figure 5.36: Interaction between age and grammatical person on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.6 Effect of sex and regional origin on the use of *zero*

For cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin, Table 5.48 and Figure 5.37 show that while the southern females (N = 299, 29.3 percent) use *zero* quotative more frequently than the southern males (N = 285, 28 percent), the northern males (N = 244, 23.9 percent) favour the use of *zero* quotative compared to the northern females (N = 192, 18.8 percent). The interaction test between sex and regional origin on the use of *zero* quotative proves that the interaction is statistically significant at $p < .05$, with the southern females leading.

Table 5.48: Cross-tabulation of sex and regional origin on the use of *zero*

	North		South		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	192	18.8	299	29.3	491	48.1
Males	244	23.9	285	28	529	51.9
Total	436	42.7	584	57.3	1020	100

$\chi^2 (1): 5.128, p < .05$

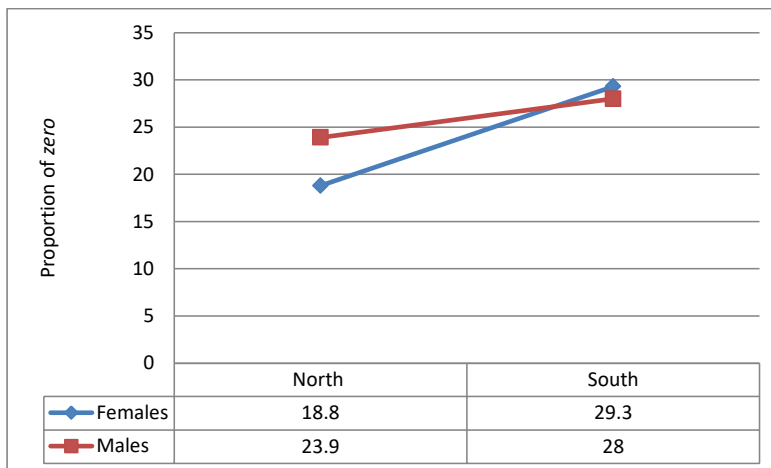


Figure 5.37: Interaction between sex and regional origin on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.7 Effect of sex and social class on the use of *zero*

The results in Table 5.49 and Figure 5.38 show that the middle-class males (N = 216, 21.2 percent) are the most frequent users of *zero* quotative, leading the middle-class females (N = 141, 13.8 percent). Next in frequency are the upper-class females (N = 194, 19 percent) leading the upper-class males (N = 174, 17.1 percent). Similarly, the lower-class females (N = 156, 15.3 percent) lead in the use of *zero* quotative over the lower-class males (N = 139, 13.6 percent). For the interaction test between sex and social class on the use of *zero* quotative, the chi-square analysis illustrates that the interaction is statistically significant at $p < .001$, with the middle-class males leading.

Table 5.49: Cross-tabulation of sex and social class on the use of *zero*

	Lower class		Middle class		Upper class		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	156	15.3	141	13.8	194	19	491	48.1
Males	139	13.6	216	21.2	174	17.1	529	51.9
Total	295	28.9	357	35	368	36.1	1020	100

$\chi^2 (2): 16.429, p < .001$

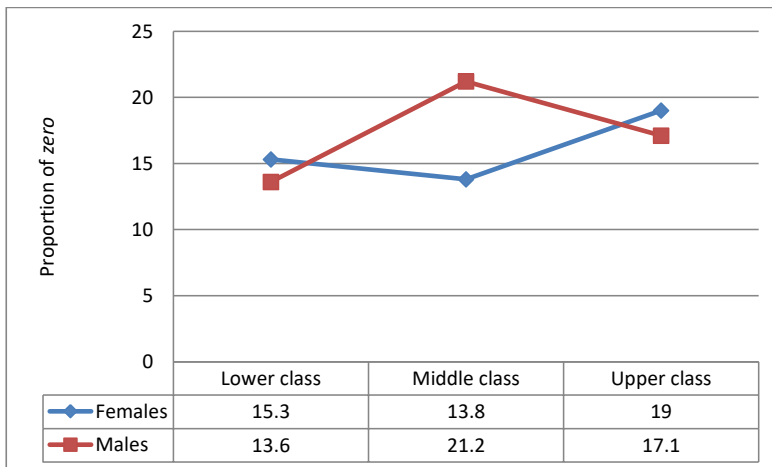


Figure 5.38: Interaction between sex and social class on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.8 Effect of sex and tense/time reference on the use of zero

The findings in Table 5.50 and Figure 5.39 illustrate that *zero* quotative occurs most frequently in the present tense with males (N = 450, 44.2 percent) leading females (N = 402, 39.4 percent). Females (N = 61, 6 percent) slightly lead males (N = 52, 5.1 percent) in the use of *zero* quotative with the past tense. Similarly, females (N = 28, 2.7 percent) slightly lead males (N = 27, 2.6 percent) in the use of *zero* quotative with the future time reference. The interaction test between sex and tense/time reference of the quotative on the use of *zero* quotative demonstrates that the interaction is not statistically significant at $p > .05$, with males leading in the present tense.

Table 5.50: Cross-tabulation of sex and tense/time reference on the use of *zero*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Females	61	6	402	39.4	28	2.7	491	48.1
Males	52	5.1	450	44.2	27	2.6	529	51.9
Total	113	11.1	852	83.6	55	5.3	1020	100

$\chi^2 (2): 2.026, p > .05$

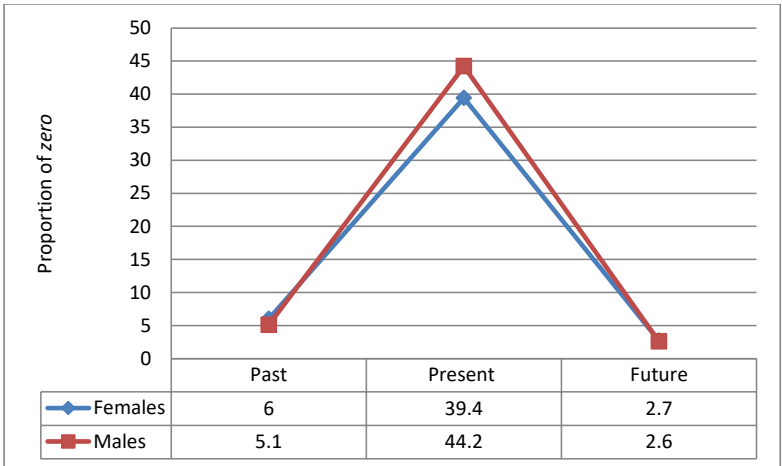


Figure 5.39: Interaction between sex and tense/time reference on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.9 Effect of social class and the content of the quote on the use of *zero*

According to Table 5.51 and Figure 5.40, the upper class (N = 366, 35.9 percent) uses *zero* quotative with direct speech most frequently. Similarly, both the middle class (N = 353, 34.6 percent) and the lower class (N = 290, 28.4 percent) favour the use of *zero* quotative with direct speech. For thought, the middle class (N = 4, 0.4 percent) slightly leads the lower class (N = 3, 0.3 percent) and the upper class (N = 1, 0.1 percent). In the case of gesture, the results show that the middle class did not express gesture with *zero* quotative, whereas the lower class (N = 2, 0.2 percent) slightly leads over the upper class (N = 1, 0.1 percent). The chi-square analysis reports that the interaction between social class and the content of the quote on the use of *zero* quotative is not statistically significant at $p > .001$, with all three classes leading in favour of direct speech.

Table 5.51: Cross-tabulation of social class and the content of the quote on the use of *zero*

	Direct speech		Gesture		Thought		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	290	28.4	2	0.2	3	0.3	295	28.9
Middle class	353	34.6	0	0	4	0.4	357	35
Upper class	366	35.9	1	0.1	1	0.1	368	36.1
Total	1009	98.9	3	0.3	8	0.8	1020	100

χ^2 (4): 10.876, $p > .001$

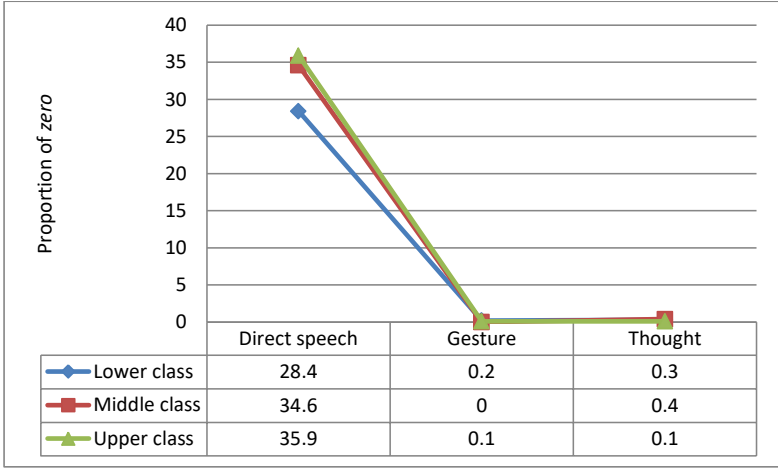


Figure 5.40: Interaction between social class and the content of the quote on the use of *zero*

5.3.4.10 Effect of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *zero*

Finally, Table 5.52 and Figure 5.41 report that *zero* quotative occurs most frequently in the present tense in upper-class usage (N = 305, 29.9 percent), leading the middle class (N = 285, 27.9 percent) and the lower class (N = 262, 25.7 percent). The middle class (N = 47, 4.6 percent) leads in the use of *zero* quotative with the past tense over the upper class (N = 44, 4.3 percent) and the lower class (N = 22, 2.2 percent). Similarly, the middle class (N = 25, 2.5 percent) leads in the use of *zero* quotative with the future time reference over the upper class (N = 19, 1.8 percent) and the lower class (N = 11, 1.1 percent). The interaction test between social class and tense/time reference of the quotative on the use of *zero* quotative demonstrates that the interaction is not statistically significant at $p > .001$, with the upper class leading in favour of the present tense.

Table 5.52: Cross-tabulation of social class and tense/time reference on the use of *zero*

	Past		Present		Future		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Lower class	22	2.2	262	25.7	11	1.1	295	29
Middle class	47	4.6	285	27.9	25	2.5	357	35
Upper class	44	4.3	305	29.9	19	1.8	368	36
Total	113	11.1	852	83.5	55	5.4	1020	100

$\chi^2 (4): 9.656, p > .001$

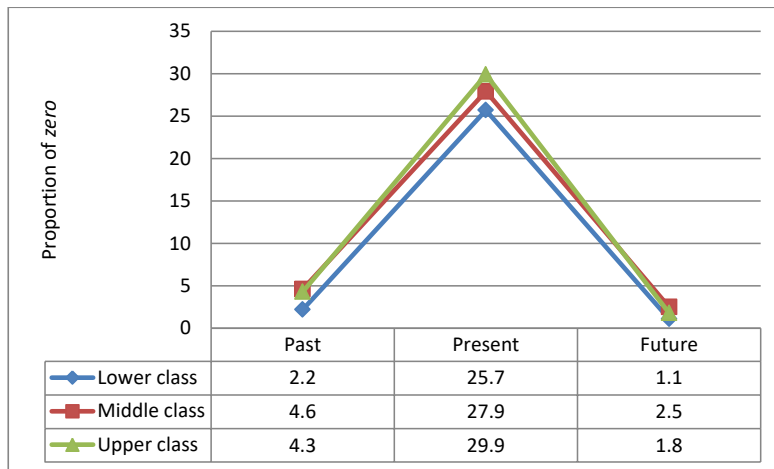


Figure 5.41: Interaction between social class and tense/time reference on the use of *zero*

5.4 Discourse-pragmatic functions of most frequent quotatives in NE

This section explores the discourse-pragmatic functions of *be like*, *say*, *tell*, and *zero* quotatives on the grounds of their high frequency in my data. In particular, I examine how NE speakers manifest a range of expressiveness in interactions. In the literature, as reviewed in chapter two, most of the studies on quotatives do not sufficiently investigate the discourse-pragmatic functions of these quotative forms. In this section,

I pay attention to how these quotatives are used to make narratives more immediate and the tone of spoken interactions more personal.

5.4.1 Quotative *be like*

The quotative *be like* as an object of research has diverse functions which range from views that it is ungrammatical, to those perceiving it as a stigmatised form, specifically from a prescriptive perspective, and those with positive stereotypes towards it (Buchstaller, 2014). In America for instance, *be like* use was described as ‘air-headed’, ‘silly’ and ‘vacuous’ commonly associated with teenage girls (Blyth et al., 1990; D’Arcy, 2007). With respect to how positive stereotypes are attached to *be like* use especially among young speakers, Dailey-O’Cain (2000: 73) points out that speakers using this quotative form are considered more attractive, cheerful, and friendly compared to speakers who do not use it. Despite being regarded as a non-standard feature in spoken interaction or indicative of casual speech, *be like* is ubiquitous in everyday speech. However, regardless of the attitudes towards the quotative *be like*, it demonstrates flexibility as it serves important functions in face-to-face interactions as illustrated below.

5.4.1.1 *Be like* as an enquoting device

Be like as one of the most widely acknowledged vernacular features in spoken interaction (D’Arcy, 2005) functions as an enquoting device to report events that take place in speech, gestures, or express thought. According to Romaine and Lange (1991: 228), *be like* allows speakers to retain “the vividness of direct speech and thought while preserving the pragmatic force of indirect speech.” Here, the enquoting device allows interactants to blur the distinction between speech and thought both at the level of the original speech being reported, and within the reporting act itself. Speakers of NE use the quotative *be like* as an enquoting device by reporting their voice and voices of other speakers as illustrated in (1), (2), and (3).

- (1) NFMU4: He was not letting me go so I just bit his hand. Then he called my Aunt Mrs. Clara my own class teacher. He *was like*

change of voice "this girl, she is very stubborn, very stubborn, let her knee down under the sun I am not going to flog her now."

- (2) NMYL5: I told him I like her. He *was like* *opens hands* "ahh that is not an issue." He contacted the girl. We got to talk with the girl.
- (3) SMOU1: We were eleven in number and two of us were boys, the remaining ones were ladies. So, we were together, we developed this relationship. In fact, then, my mind *was like*, "I want to finish, I want to finish this HND so that I will go for my service."

In (1), NFMU4 narrates her encounter with one of her male teachers who reported her to her aunt and class teacher after NFMU4 bit his hand. The utterance "this girl, she is very stubborn, very stubborn, let her knee down under the sun I am not going to flog her now" as introduced with *be like* is a representation of direct speech encoding the reporting speaker's voice. In (2), NMYL5 discusses with his friend about a girl NMYL5 has been hoping to meet and love. Here, NMYL5 demonstrates how his friend reacted by opening hands in awe when he got to know that NMYL5 is interested in their mutual friend. The opening of hands being reported as marked with *be like* along with the content that followed is a representation of gesture. In (3), SMOU1 narrates his relationship with his schoolmates and how he was eager to complete his HND (Higher National Diploma) programme and proceed for one-year compulsory service. The expression "I want to finish; I want to finish this HND so that I will go for my service" encodes the speaker's inner state. These examples further illustrate that *be like* functions with direct speech, gesture, and thought as means of encoding information in quotative constructions, providing interactants a means for producing a wide range of demonstrative effects, including speaker role demarcation.

5.4.1.2 *Be like* as a pragmatic hedge

When narrating stories or events, speakers employ hedging to signal a level of caution in making assertions. This is common in reporting events due to speakers' imperfect memory to give an exact rendering of the original utterance or thought. The hedging in this situation serves to augment the uncertainty of the actual reported speech. Tannen (1996) captures this where she suggests that every attempt to quote is simply "constructed dialogue". Consider examples (4) and (5) from my data.

- (4) NFML3: They will give me transport money to school, and I would now go and chop the money. They would give me hundred naira because going and coming is thirty thirty naira, then I now chop the money. *Zamu sha* trekking (we would trek and trek). My uncle would *be like* *change of voice* "ah, ah, ah, why are you staying long in school after all I used to give you money for transport."
- (5) SFOU6: I was staying with my grandmum, so I do not know how to wash cloth like that. It was my grandmum that washed my cloth, bath me, everything. My own was to go to farm and come back. So, when I went to Akure, she would pack her cloth and her husband's cloth for me to wash. She would *be like* *change of voice* "erm, I give you one hour to wash this cloth".
I ran away.

In (4), NFML3 narrates how she would spend her transport money for other things during secondary school days, and she would trek back home only to return very late. The quote "ah, ah, ah, why are you staying long in school after all I used to give you money for transport" as introduced with *be like* suggests that it is an approximative rendering of the situation and not the exact words of her uncle. Here, NFML3 retains a reduced responsibility concerning what her uncle would utter and her use of *be like* to introduce the quote does not commit her to the exact form and content of the quote.

In (5), SFOU6 narrates that she was not used to washing cloth because she was growing up with her grandmother and washing cloth was not part of her chores, but when she visited her aunt in Akure, she was forced to wash cloth belonging to the aunt and the aunt's husband. The quote "erm, I give you one hour to wash this cloth" as introduced with *be like* signals the possible non-equivalence of the actual utterance. In this situation, SFOU6 creates a sense of vagueness indicating that she is not convinced that the utterance is framed optimally. According to Buchstaller (2004: 111), *be like* on direct speech interpretation is most naturally interpreted not as a verbatim quote, but rather a close paraphrase. Therefore, in both (4) and (5), *be like* functions as a pragmatic hedge.¹⁸

5.4.1.3 *Be like* as a marker of humour

Humour which involves jokes, laughter, and mockery has important roles in our everyday lives, particularly from interactional sociolinguistic outlooks. We use humour in different social environments to either express positive effects in our interactions or to facilitate negative communicative intent. The quotative *be like* functions as a marker of humour in my data as illustrated in (6), and (7).

- (6) NFAM3: You will not know they are watching you, but they are actually watching you. Do you know there was a time in school I was walking with my friend, I was holding her hand and then this man called me, he *was like* *change of voice* "you, come here" (high pitch, comical). I came and I *was like* *normal voice* "good afternoon, sir". He *was like* *change of voice* "do not afternoon me, why are you walking and holding hands?"

¹⁸ According to Buchstaller (2002: 3-4), pragmatic hedge which operates on the interpersonal-pragmatic level of communication differs slightly from the epistemic hedge which operates on the referential-epistemic level of communication. Interestingly, both pragmatic hedge and epistemic hedge variants of *be like* share a core meaning which is the basic underlying notion of both comparison and approximation.

- (7) NFAM4: The teacher will say *change of voice* “you guys are still behaving like primary school students” (mock exasperation). You will feel like, “yes”. But when you are in JSS II, JSS III, you *are like* “I am matured we are now going to be seniors”.

In (6), NFAM3 narrates her encounter with a school watchman during her secondary school days. The utterance “you, come here” is a representation of direct speech introduced with *be like*. This quote is marked by a very distinct change of voice, signifying that NFAM3 has taken on a different character. Similarly, there is a change of voice in the utterance “do not afternoon me, why are you walking and holding hands?” These two quotes are attributed to the watchman. In this context of occurrence, NFAM3 uses *be like* for humorous effects as she narrates how the watchman would react when he sees students wandering about the school premises. Consequently, the utterances sound funny and make one laugh.

In (7), NFAM4 narrates her secondary school experience, specifically how students would offend their teachers and the teachers would scold the students and threaten to beat them. NFAM4 comically tells her listener that by the time one joins JSS II and JSS III, there is no feeling of behaving like primary school students anymore because one would begin to act like a senior student. NFAM4 uses *be like* after second person *you* to mark the funny utterance attributed to the listener “I am matured we are now going to be seniors”. Here, the use of *be like* makes it impossible to determine whether the listener said this utterance, thought of it at the time, or whether it is simply a constructed comment the narrator has added to make the story more immediate and interesting. Going by the context, NFAM4 uses the quotative *be like* for comedic effects as she put together her initial comment on the teachers with their threats and the feeling of acting like senior students. It is worthy of note that NFAM4 uses “matured” as an adjective instead of “mature” which is the correct form. This type of error is common among speakers of NE which occurs as a result of wrong analogy to other superficial forms that are related (see chapter 1.2.3.2).

5.4.1.4 *Be like* as a marker of performance

Another function of *be like* is its role as a marker of performative utterances in the sense that when speakers include paralinguistic elements, they perform the reported event and not merely telling it. In this kind of situation, the reporting speaker aims to establish listener involvement and to make the story more dramatic. According to Austin (1975: 5), utterances can be considered performatives when they satisfy two conditions, viz., (1) they do not describe or report or constatae anything at all, are not true or false (2) the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as, or as just, saying something. This explicitly suggests that the performative is uttered in the performance of an action, and to perform this action is not merely to say something. However, the role of *be like* as a marker of performance in my data for NE supports Blyth et. al's (1990) claim that *be like* is a focus quotative that introduces a particularly salient piece of information wrapped in the form of reported speech. Consider examples (8) and (9).

- (8) SFAM5: They were just making noise. I now got angry. I *was like* “sister Aisha please lower your voice”. She *was like*, “newcomer, are you talking to me?” I said “yes, please lower your voice you are making noise”.
- (9) SMYM6: When you go late to school, they *were like* “go on your knees”. Ehm... there is a name they normally use to call first-timers, yes newcomers. They will say “omoto, all the omotos knee down on your knees”.

In (8), by uttering “sister Aisha please lower your voice” which is marked with *be like*, SFAM5 is not just saying that Aisha should lower her voice, but thereby performing the act. This utterance is also not truth-evaluable because it is not intended to be either true or false. Likewise, in (9), SMYM6 giving an order by saying “go on your knees” as marked with *be like*, SMYM6 is not just saying go on your knees but also performing the act of ordering. And again, the utterance here is

not truth-evaluable since it is uttered as an order, rather than an assertion. These examples prove that quotes marked with *be like* are regarded as demonstrations shown by the speaker, thus enabling the hearer to see for himself what it is.

5.4.1.5 *Be like* as a marker of approximative similarity

Ordinarily, to ‘be like’ something suggests resembling it in some way, and thus involves a sense of similarity meaning. According to Mathis and Yule (1994: 63), the reporting of what was said in direct speech forms is more likely to be a construction of the reporter than a verbatim record of any reportee’s actual speech. Romaine and Lange (1991: 227) point out that by using *be like* to introduce speech, the speaker is inviting the listener to infer that “this is what the speaker was thinking or saying at this very moment”. However, the use of *be like* as a marker of similarity to report speech (for approximation purposes) is attested in my data as illustrated in (10) and (11).

- (10) NFYU2: They did not allow them to see him. Some of them sat down outside, they were crying that this is the person that came to them. They speak one on one. They promised them that after he won, he will do this he will do that. They came but they do not allow them to see him. They *were like* "ahh, when this man came to our place, he was like pleading with us but now everything turned around."
- (11) SMML2: My JAMB score that I got admission with is 184. The highest score I got in JAMB is 196 and my dad *was like*, “you are not serious, look at your mate scoring 250”. Wow, I felt so down.

In (10), NFYU2 narrates an encounter between community people and a politician and how the attitude of the politician suddenly changed after winning an election into a political office. During past campaigns, the politician visited the people in their community and promised to improve their standard of living but could not fulfill the

promise after winning. To remind the politician of the promise he made, the community people visited him in his house, but they were denied access to the politician by the guards. They were sent out of the main building that some of them sat outside and cried, recalling when the same politician visited their community canvassing for votes. In this situation, NFYU2 uses *be like* to report the community people saying “ahh, when this man came to our place, he was like pleading with us but now everything turned around.” This utterance is not the exact words of the community people, but simply an approximative rendering of what they would have said in that embarrassing encounter. In (11), SMML2 narrates his experience when he wrote his JAMB (Joint Admission and Matriculation Board) examination which qualified him for admission into his current university. SMML2’s current JAMB score is 184 points and the highest he got in the past was 196 points and his father was not happy with the low score because he was expecting his son to score better JAMB points. In the utterance “you are not serious, look at your mate scoring 250” as attributed to SMML2’s father, the reporting speaker uses *be like* to highlight the lack of exactness in the quoted utterance but also shows an approximative similarity of what the father would say. Therefore, in both (10) and (11), rather than the exact words, the quotes as introduced with *be like* are rather the expressive contents of the speech act or the original speakers’ thoughts wrapped in a more presentable form of reported speech. In this kind of usage, the quotative *be like* has the pragmatic effect of indirect speech. My finding here corresponds to the claim that reported speech is not a strict repetition, but a reconstruction of a speech event.

In so far as each utterance of a speaker constitute a unique speech event realized in its own characteristic idiolect, comprising idiosyncrasies of accent, grammar, prosody, and the like, even direct speech can only be an imperfect attempt at rendering some of the features which make any utterance unique.

(Romaine & Lange, 1991: 229)

5.4.1.6 *Be like* as a marker of informality

People create interpersonal rapport when they hold interactions among themselves in an informal setting where rules are not regulated, especially if the interaction is between peers, friends, siblings, or simply with somebody familiar with the speaker. Speakers of NE use the quotative *be like* to manage the flow and structure of informal interactions as illustrated in (12) and (13).

- (12) NMYM5: And I was the lead dancer for the choreography. So, I missed it and that was the day of my exam. After the exam, I ran back to school, so they have finished the whole activity. My mates *were like*, "where did you go, where did you go, if Mrs. Maureen catch you, she will so beat you. She has promised she will beat you." Because of the beating, I told myself that I must pass that exam.
- (13) SFYM1: As I just came out, one guy from nowhere poured one bucket on me. Thank God for one of my friend there, immediately she ran out, she *was like* "I beg, please, next year we can pour her water but now she is not strong." That was only what rescued me because then in my compound if they want to celebrate birthday for you I pity you. They will pack sand, stones, they will mix with water.

In (12), NMYM5 narrates his experience from primary school days when he signed to act as a lead dancer to feature at an end-of-year event. On the day of the event, NMYM5 had an external examination to take, and he decided to abandon the school event in order to take the examination without informing his teacher. When NMYM5 returned after the examination, the event had ended, and his teacher was not happy that he missed the event without any excuse. NMYM5's classmates were scolding him "where did you go where did you go, if Mrs. Maureen catch you, she will so beat you. She has promised she will beat you." This utterance as introduced with *be like*

suggests that the whole situation is informal, with peers interacting between themselves. In (13), SFYM1 narrates her birthday experience when her friends attempted to pour water on her even when she was ill. It was a tradition among young people, especially those in a school hostel setting, to pour buckets of water on birthday celebrants. SFYM1 was pleased that one of her friends came on time to inform others about her ill-health and it would be wise not to pour water on her until her next birthday. SFYM1 uses *be like* to report the utterance from her friend "I beg, please, next year we can pour her water but now she is not strong." This utterance signals informality since it involves friends holding an interaction in an informal situation.

In sum, considering the flexibility of the quotative *be like* as well as its high frequency in spoken discourse in NE, it is not surprising to find such a variety of discourse-pragmatic functions as discussed above. Overall, the interactional nature of the quotative *be like* is significant in maintaining the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

5.4.2 Quotative *say*

In contrast to *be like*, the quotative *say* introduces quotations that have been explicitly said. Thus, this quotative form indicates that whatever follows is a representation of what was really said as it frames directly quoted speech. According to Romaine and Lange (1991: 235), the traditional *say* reports speech without the contribution of any pragmatic effect which allows its use in a wide variety of contexts. They also describe the quotative *say* as a default verb of reporting, "the one the speaker chooses when there is no particular reason to choose another verb" (Romaine & Lange, 1991: 242). This suggests that *say* as an unmarked choice is consistent with its general discourse function, especially as it is rarely used with thought or internal dialogue.

What is intriguing and regular with the quotative *say* in my data is tense choice in narration, especially between authority figures and non-authority. People narrate encounters with authority figures to help in redefining the situation. Authority figures are known to speak with the voice of perceived wisdom or with public voices such as the voice of the law and adult morality. Arguably, authority stories can be considered

as attempts to redefine oneself by way of manipulating their “footing” (Goffman, 1981), and this is a clear example of what Tannen (1986) calls “constructed dialogue”.¹⁹ In conversations involving figures of authority, storytellers often alternate between tenses to mark status relations. It is usually the authority figure whose talk is introduced in the present tense whereas the non-authority gets introduced in the past. Consider examples (14) and (15).

- (14) NFOL2: So when the teacher came on Monday he *say* “you stand up, did you do your assignment that I asked you to do?”
 I now responded “sir, I do not know”.
 He *say* “ehn, you do not know?”
 I *said* “yes, I do not know.”
 He went to the next person “you, stand up, what about the assignment that I gave you to do, can you recite it?”
 The other one *said* “no, sir, I cannot, I do not know anything, I do not know it.”
 He *say* “ahh, you too?”
 “Yes”
 “Okay, you people will see my true colour today.”
- (15) SMOU5: The dean says “the money is there.”
 I *said* “I was reluctant.”
 I *said* “it is not my Ph.D. thesis.”

In (14), NFOL2 narrates a story from her primary school days when she and some of her class members refused to do their assignments and their teacher queried them. The authority here is the teacher and the teller along with other reportee is non-authority. The authority’s speech is introduced with the present *say* and the non-

¹⁹ According to Goffman (1981: 128), footing is defined as “the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance”. In other words, it is how we project ourselves as speakers when we emerge in interactions.

authority with the past *said*. NFOL2 is a lower class who only attained primary education and the English she speaks is marked with errors. A noticeable error here is in marking third-person singular where NFOL2 keeps saying “say” omitting ‘s’. NFOL2 falls under Brosnahan’s (1958) variety II in the classification of varieties of NE (see chapter 1.2.3). In (15), SMOU5 narrates how his dean was encouraging him to publish academic papers in journals without any financial cost implication on his part since there is money set aside for the publication. Here, the dean is the authority figure whose speech is being introduced with the present *says* and the non-authority is the teller whose speech is being introduced with the past *said*. A possible explanation for the shift in tense here is simply to separate speech events, or speakers from one another, especially as the present tense is mostly considered as an evaluative device marking the authority’s past event in the present form. This also suggests that in an interaction, one is likely to expect a different level of formality from a speaker whose speech is introduced with “he says...” than from a speaker whose speech is introduced with “he said”. However, there are instances in my data where speakers are not consistent with the *he says/I said* pattern of tense alternation between authority and non-authority as illustrated in (16).

- (16) SMOU6: The pastor *said* “no, you people are not calling our child.”
 Then our principal *said* “that is the result if you like continue with it, if you do not like then let us stop this thing.”
 Then the pastor *said* “it is better to stop it.”
 I *said* “we cannot continue this match.”

In (16), SMOU6 narrates a presentation of awards event in a secondary school dominated by Christians. The first two best students who received awards during the event are Muslims. One of the pastors in attendance was surprised how Muslims would perform better than Christians in a school dominated by Christians. The pastor who had a particular brilliant student in mind drew the attention of the principal “no, you people are not calling our child”. The principal who is also a Christian explained

the outcome of the results and highlighted that there was nothing he could do, only if the pastor would want the event to stop. In another turn, SMOU6 reporting himself maintains the same tense form as the pastor and the principal who are both authority figures. The lack of tense shift here suggests that SMOU6 is unable to manipulate footings effectively in his narration. One important thing to note is that authority figures are not considered as authors of their speech, but rather representatives of voices of authority.

The authority figures in most of the stories are not people with names. They are ‘the judge’, ‘the nurse’, ‘this guy’, ‘my teacher’. There are thus two senses in which authority figures in stories are not the authors of their words. In the first place, it is the teller who is the author of the story, and in the second place, it is the public that is presented as the real author of the words authority figures speak.

(Johnstone, 1987: 49)

This suggests that authority stories are simply conventionalised public authorship conveyed through the individual authorship of the teller. Thus, this explains yet another way of understanding the pattern of tense alternation in dialogue introducers, the quotative *say* in this case. Meanwhile, in the examples with *he says/I said* pattern, the authority figures are presented as speaking with the voice of public authority, whereas in the example that does not follow the so-called *he says/I said* pattern, the authority figures are presented as individual authors of their speech.

5.4.3 Quotative *tell*

Studies on the quotative *tell* are rare. Most of the studies on English quotatives do not provide any details on this quotative form because it mostly falls under the “miscellaneous” or “other” category, either because of its low frequency or because of its status as a traditional verb of reporting. Thus, it has not been examined qualitatively. Hansen-Thomas (2008) and Kohn and Franz (2009) acknowledge *tell* as a quotative form, but do not report on its frequency or discourse-pragmatic functions

in their corpora. The high frequency of *tell* in my data suggests that it is an important quotative in NE, and presumably, *tell* has been part of the quotative system for a long period. Like the verb *say*, *tell* as a reporting verb has almost the same pattern of introducing what was really said as it frames directly quoted speech without the contribution of any pragmatic effect. One important thing to note with the quotative *tell* is how it is usually accompanied by a direct object. Consider examples (17) and (18).

- (17) NMMU3: There used to be one of my guardian there at Hospital Road in Jos. I used to go to his house to spend my mid-term break. So, there is one certain time I now *tell* the girl “Jummai, since you are closer to my guardian’s place why cannot you collect exit to go to the hospital for you to come to my place.” So, I now went to AO that is Administrative Officer.
- (18) SFYL5: There is one customer we have and all the time I used to call him Baba because he has beards, white one. Anytime that man come, no matter how you do to please that man, he will not change at all. He will always shout at you. And there was a time I even *told* him, “Baba, are you not tired of shouting on someone, I am just like your daughter.”

In (17), NMMU3 narrates about his girlfriend who was visiting a particular area very close to where his guardian was residing in Jos city. NMMU3 used to spend his mid-term break with his guardian. When the girlfriend visited the area, NMMU3 was in Jos for his mid-term break, and he tried to persuade her to take an excuse so she could visit him in his guardian’s house. NMMU3’s utterance “Jummai, since you are closer to my guardian’s place why cannot you collect exit to go to the hospital for you to come to my place” is simply introduced with *tell*, and without any pragmatic effect. In (18), SFYL5 is a sales girl with a bakery and one of her major challenges is managing customers. SFYL5 narrates her encounter with an elderly man she calls

Baba who was always shouting at people at the bakery even when they tried to be nice to him. SFYL5 wanted to let him know that she was not happy with the way he treated her, thus the utterance “Baba, are you not tired of shouting on someone, I am just like your daughter” which was introduced with *tell* in its past form. In both (17) and (18), the quotative *tell* functions the same way as quotative *say* in introducing reported speech, with the reporting speakers re-creating their dialogue without any pragmatic effect. In addition, both cases of *tell* are accompanied by a direct object.

5.4.4 *Zero quotative*

This is a less transparent quotative form and it is often signaled through performative cues or when there is a clear change in speaker. *Zero* quotative is marked where direct speech is reported with neither a reporting verb nor an attributed speaker (Mathis & Yule, 1994: 63). Thus, the referent is recoverable from the linguistic context, and this is usually signaled with an obvious turn-taking structure or voice quality indicators. By way of illustration, I mark the *zero* quotative site with \emptyset to match with structurally determined changes in reported speaker in conversational speech as illustrated in (19).

- (19) SFYL5: He is a very harsh teacher I met in that school.
 Whatever you do is totally wrong, he will just come to the class
 change of voice \emptyset “okay, you Blessing, did you do your homework?”
 Normal voice \emptyset “yes, sir.”
 Change of voice \emptyset “let me see it.”
 Normal voice \emptyset “okay.”
 Change of voice \emptyset “you take it, this your homework is not comfortable at all, it is not good, I do not like your homework. You have to go and do another thing. The point I want there is not written. So, go and change your homework you need to research your homework very well.”
 Normal voice \emptyset “okay, sir.”

Change of voice ø “ehen... Blessing do not forget, if you are coming tomorrow make sure you bring your broom, your toilet paper, and then you buy a carton of chalk for us.”

Normal voice ø “okay, sir.”

Change of voice ø “it is not only Blessing, everybody in the class. If you come give it to your Class Rep, she will write the names that paid all their items”. If we come late, he was the only teacher who used to beat us.

In (19), SFYL5 narrates her encounter with a teacher who had always disturbed students' peace in her school. In the process of the narration, SFYL5 uses *zero* quotatives in all nine turns in the constructed dialogue. Here, the turn-taking and the voice quality are the key indicators that signal who is being reported in each of the quoted utterances in the speech. For instance, in the first turn we know that SFYL5 is re-constructing the teacher's speech when she changes her voice and utters “okay, you Blessing did you do your homework?” When SFYL5 switches to her normal voice, we know that she is re-constructing her speech with “yes, sir”. This is clear because the turn-taking structure and the adjacency pair of the question-answer show which utterance is attributed to SFYL5 and which is attributed to the teacher despite the absence of an overt introductory quotative. However, based on my data, the key discourse-pragmatic functions of *zero* quotatives are marking dramatic effect and creating immediacy.

In NE narrative discourse, the absence of an explicit quotative marker allows speakers to construct attitudes serving some dramatic effect which cannot easily be achieved when an overt quotative form is used. Thus, speakers of NE use *zero* quotatives in encoding their emotional state for dramatic effect as illustrated in (20).

- (20) NFAL1: That is the reason why he was very angry with me. After he know the truth then he told me he was sorry. He said he thought that I insulted his parents. ø “How will I insult your

parents since me too I have parents.” I told him “I am sorry.”
That is when we came back the way we were before.

In (20), the *zero* quotative reflects the urgency of the speech being constructed. The interactants in this narrative are two, NFAL1 and her male friend. NFAL1 had quarreled with her friend, and they did not talk to each other for few weeks. NFAL1’s friend was wrongly informed that NFAL1 had insulted his parents behind him, and that was why he kept a distance from her. When he found out that NFAL1 did not insult his parents, he decided to renew the friendship. When he told her that he thought she insulted his parents, NFAL1 uses the available option of *zero* quotative to dramatically demonstrate the urgency to explain herself ø “how will I insult your parents since me too I have parents”. NFAL1 was eager to explain herself without creating any linguistic distance, and that is why she did not opt for an overt quotative form such as “I immediately *told* him”, “I immediately *said*” or “Immediately, I *was like*” in her response. Haiman (1983: 781) describes the linguistic distance between two expressions as “the number of syllables (or even the number of seconds) between them”. This suggests that NFAL1’s emotional state could only be accomplished with the *zero* quotative. Example (21) is another instance that illustrates the dramatic effect achieved by the speaker who opts for *zero* quotative.

- (21) SFMU3: They were talking I did not answer them. So, when I was turning, I gave her a slap. My mother slapped me back ø “Halima, get back inside the house”. I went back inside the house after I gave her a slap and my mum returned the slap back to me. I came back I did not know what they said.

In (21), SFMU3 narrates her misunderstanding with one lady who came to SFMU3’s mother to complain about how SFMU3 allegedly mistreated her. The mother was trying to reconcile SFMU3 and the other lady when SFMU3 slapped the other lady out of anger. The mother who was upset immediately slapped SFMU3 and sent her back inside the house to avoid further drama. In SFMU3’s version of the reported

event, she uses the option of *zero* quotative to dramatically demonstrate the speed with which SFMU3's mother attempted to control the situation \emptyset "Halima, get back inside the house". If SFMU3 had chosen to report the speech with, for example, *tell*, *say*, or *be like*, the speed which she apparently desires to represent would be diminished.

5.5 Discussion

One of the linguistic changes in the last few decades is the rapid development of quotative expressions, especially in the speech of young people. This kind of change has a strong place in the way Nigerians recreate their speech and the speech of others in narrative conversations. The analyses presented in this chapter have shown that a number of quotatives found in other varieties of English occur in Nigerian English. Although, few of the quotatives have not been adopted wholesale by the speakers of NE. For instance, *go* and *think* are negligible in my data despite the rise of the popular mass media and the spread of shared cultures that promote interpersonal contacts. Based on my data, a marked change in NE with respect to quotatives lies in *be like* use and how this quotative form offers an alternative way of introducing direct speech, which seems on the same model as *say*, *tell*, and other traditional verbs of reporting. Quite recently, *he was like*, *she is like*, or *I am like* now replace the old way of saying *he said*, *she tells*, or *I scream*. However, on a closer look, *be like* differs from *say* and *tell* in the sense that *say* and *tell* largely mark verbatim reports of what the speaker says or tells in a given circumstance, whereas *be like* does not claim to provide a word-for-word account of what the speaker might have said or thought in a given circumstance. Buchstaller (2004: 111) highlights this where she says that *be like* quotatives on a direct speech interpretation are most naturally interpreted not as reporting a verbatim quote, but rather a close paraphrase.²⁰ In addition, unlike *say* and *tell*, which demonstrate that what follows is a representation of what was said or thought, *be like* can express either one. Blyth et al. (1990) point out that this allows

²⁰ While *be like* quotatives are interpreted not as reporting verbatim quotes, *say* and *tell* force verbatim interpretations since they are felicitously preceded with verbatim reproduction of speech in quotative constructions.

the hearer to interpret the expression that follows as either a representation of a quote, a thought, an enacted comment, a fictional dialogue, an attitude of the speaker, or an evaluation of a situation.

Although the quotative *be like* appears to be a novel phenomenon in NE, the Nigerian users do not exhibit knowledge of original conditions attached to its use, and this supports Buchstaller and D'Arcy's (2009: 323) claim in their cross-variety survey that there is transformation under transfer during the diffusion of *be like*. This suggests that while *be like* diffuses globally, its linguistic and social constraints are shaped not only by their global usage but also adapted into local norms of use. The results for the quantitative analysis provide a piece of evidence that *be like* has been adopted in this way and is more diffused in the local linguistic system in Nigeria. For instance, it is widely assumed that *be like* is solely used to report thought when it first enters a variety of English, and later expands its function to report direct speech (see Ferrara & Bell, 1995; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy, 2004, 2007; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). In the case of NE, the distributional analysis shows that *be like* is almost limited to reporting direct speech (N = 546, 96.1 percent), occurs infrequently with gesture (N = 18, 3.2 percent), and is almost non-existent with thought (N = 4, 0.7 percent). The multivariate analysis reports that the effect is statistically significant, with *be like* strongly disfavoured with thought. On this basis, I submit that the effect of direct speech versus thought is weak among Nigerian users of *be like* and this constraint may cease to be operative in the future, especially among young adults who use this quotative form to a much greater extent with direct speech. As I mentioned earlier, my results for the grammatical person constraint are somewhat at odds with previous studies because I split first-person and third-person subjects into singular and plural and this hampers comparison of my results across studies. Nevertheless, my results which demonstrate that *be like* is preferred with first-person singular subjects seem similar to the findings of several studies on quotatives (e.g. Barbieri, 2005; Cukor-Avila, 2002; Ferrara and Bell, 1995 for America; and Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999 for England and Canada) that *be like* is preferred with first-person subjects. However, the effect of grammatical person is not a significant factor conditioning the use of *be like* in NE. My finding for tense/time reference

favouring past tense contexts in the occurrence of *be like* is not surprising. I expected this finding simply because *be like* quotations in NE proliferate in narrative sequences. Unlike the grammatical person, the tense/time reference effect is strongly significant as a factor conditioning *be like* use.

As with the majority of studies on quotatives, my findings demonstrate a significant association of *be like* use with adolescent females, with a wide margin over adolescent males. What appears surprising is how the young adult males lead the young adult females in *be like* use, though the margin is not wide. Interestingly, middle-aged females maintain the lead over middle-aged males. As expected, old people do not frequently use *be like*, and this is because the phenomenon is still recent in Nigeria. The multivariate analysis reports that females are favoured over males on *be like* use, and the sex effect is marginally significant. This kind of change can be interpreted as “change from below the level of awareness”, which is the last of the three principles of gender and linguistic variation formulated by Labov (2001). This principle identifies the circumstance that females are likely to lead males in the use of new non-standard variants. This is exactly where *be like* is situated in this study, with females leading males. Another notable variation on *be like* use among Nigerians is in the social class of the speakers, in which *be like* has been stereotyped to be associated with the lower class. In particular, *be like* significantly patterns by the social class that the distribution analysis shows that the middle-class speakers used it 239 times (42.1 percent), whereas the upper-class speakers used it 183 times (32.2 percent), and the lower-class speakers used it 146 times (25.7 percent). *Be like* preferred by the middle class suggests that stereotypes and actual usage of quotatives do not always go hand in hand as far as NE is concerned. In contrast to the sex effect, my multivariate analysis reveals that *be like* is not significantly constrained by social class. With the major regional difference on *be like* use in my data: the south has a rate of *be like* use of 62.3 percent (N = 354), whereas the north has only 37.7 percent (N = 214), the analyses demonstrate that the effect of *be like* on regional origin is strongly significant, with the south strongly favoured and the north disfavoured. It is relatively uncontroversial that the frequent use of *be like* distinguishes the southern speakers from the northern speakers. Thus, this makes the quotative *be like* a maker

of regional identity in the local context as far as the quotative system in NE is concerned. While the different quotative forms were examined in the speech of speakers of four different age groups, my findings show that all these groups have *be like* in their repertoire. Although a series of multivariate analyses reveal that *be like* is strongly favoured by the young adults, followed by the adolescents, and then the middle-aged speakers, whereas it is strongly disfavoured by the older adults. Similarly, the distributional analysis shows that this study yields an extreme generational variation between the first three age groups on one end of the spectrum and the old age group on the other end. The results of the multivariate analyses further show that the effect of age is statistically significant. In line with global trends, *be like* evident in the speech of all four age groups suggests that it has been diffusing into the quotative system in NE earlier than now, especially as the differences are not wide among the first three age groups. Apparently, *be like* use among Nigerians is moving upwards since the younger generations that frequently use it have the potential to continue with it into their old age.

This study being the first to document the existence of *be like* in NE makes it difficult to trace when Nigerians started using it as a quotative variant. The qualitative analysis of *be like* suggests that its entrance in NE has an impact on *say* and *tell*, and this could be the possible reason *be like* occurs most frequently with direct speech, shifting away from its role of largely introducing thought when it first enters a variety of English. Furthermore, the qualitative analysis demonstrates that *be like* fulfills the discourse-pragmatic functions of enquoting speech, thought, or gestures. It also marks pragmatic hedge, humour, performative utterances, approximative similarity, as well as informal conversations. However, with respect to the grammaticalization of *be like* in NE, the development is similar to the model of the evolution of *like* as established by Romaine and Lange (1991).²¹ The quotative *be like* developed from the existing uses of *like* as conjunction and preposition with the functions of approximation, hesitation, focus, and similarity. Romaine and Lange (1991: 248)

²¹ Grammaticalization is basically defined as “the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (Hopper and Traugott, 2003: 18).

propose that the quotative *like* “has not become a verb of saying but retains its function as complementizer”. This approach simply explains why the copular *be* is part of the quotative *be like*, fulfilling syntactic requirements in English. To Tagliamonte and D’Arcy (2004), the development of *be like* is a case of “grammaticalization in progress”. Based on their British and Canadian data, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999: 167) cannot report any evidence that the diffusion of *be like* is an instance of grammaticalization, instead, they suggest that it is a case of “pragmatically conditioned change in progress”. D’Arcy (2007) describes the non-traditional functions of *be like* as belonging to four general categories, viz., approximator or approximative adverb, discourse marker, discourse particle, and quotative. Given the multifunctionality of *be like*, Hansen-Thomas (2008: 26) observes that “in cases in which no subject precedes *like* in reported speech, it can be difficult to know whether the speaker is using *like* as a quotative introducer or as a focuser”. With respect to NE, *be like* has a fixed position in quotative constructions as illustrated in examples (1) to (13) in this chapter, thus, it is an already grammaticalized quotative form. Overall, the sociolinguistics of the quotative *be like* in NE is shaped by global trends.²²

Crucially, despite the frequent use of *be like*, the presence of *say* as a traditional quotative has not decreased among NE speakers, and this provides a piece of evidence that *be like* is still undergoing diffusion into NE. In particular, the use of *say* in this study yields no wide generational variation in that the distributional analysis shows that *say* is used in relatively equal proportions across all four age groups, viz., the adolescents (N = 430, 26.5 percent), the young adults (N = 391, 24.2 percent), the middle aged (N = 391, 24.2 percent), and the old age group (N = 408, 25.8 percent). On the other hand, the multivariate analysis reports that only the old speakers (FW 0.609) favour the use of *say*, whereas the adolescents (FW 0.479), the middle aged (FW 0.462), and the young adults (FW 0.448) disfavour it. Consequently, the effect of age is not statistically significant as a factor conditioning

²² The grammatical category of *like* changes from preposition to conjunction (decategorization and recategorization) weakening its initial meaning as a preposition to give way to a more grammatical meaning to display an increased pragmatic meaning (Traugott, 1988).

the use of *say* in NE. The same pattern is observed for *tell* and *zero*, i.e. there is no wide generational variation across all four age groups, and the effect of age on the use of *tell* and *zero* is not statistically significant. With respect to sex, it is observed that *say* is favoured by males over females, but the effect is not statistically significant. The same constraint hierarchy is observed for *zero*, i.e. males favour it over females, the effect of sex is not statistically significant. While females favour the use of *tell* over males, the effect is equally not statistically significant. These findings demonstrate that the use of quotatives differentiates the sexes in NE, but how they exhibit the difference varies considerably. Furthermore, the analyses have revealed that unlike *be like* which has a strong effect on the regional origin, the quotatives *say*, *tell*, and *zero* are not significantly constrained by regional origin. While the north favours the use of *say* and *tell*, the south favours the use of *zero* but with no significant effect. In the case of social class, the effect is not statistically significant as a factor constraining the use of *say*, whereas the effect is statistically significant in the use of *tell* and *zero* in NE.

The quotative *tell* (N = 508, 100 percent) categorically introduces direct speech, and this role is similar to what is observed for *say* (N = 1614, 99.6 percent) in NE.²³ Both *tell* and *say* are strongly favoured with the direct speech, and both are never used for thought. While *tell* is never used for gesture, *say* (N = 6, 0.4 percent) is only used negligibly. Here, the content of the quote is a strong factor that significantly constrains the use of *tell* and *say*, and the effects are categorical. Furthermore, *tell* and *say* are considered as traditional quotatives and they are part of an already existing quotative system. On the other hand, a similar constraint hierarchy is observed for *zero*, i.e. it is categorically used with direct speech (N = 1009, 98.9 percent), and used negligibly for both thought (N = 8, 0.8 percent) and gesture (N = 3, 0.3 percent), and the effect is equally strongly significant. This suggests that there is no clear indication of ongoing language change in the use of *say*, *tell*, and *zero* forms in NE as far as the content of the quote is concerned, nonetheless, it can suggest a

²³ I do not intend to claim that *tell* and *say* construction types are identical in all respects, rather, the point is that both can be grouped as introducers of a verbatim reproduction in quotative constructions.

possible direction of language change. While the grammatical person is not statistically significant as a factor constraining the use of *say* in NE, the multivariate analyses demonstrate that the grammatical person is statistically significant as a factor that constrains the use of *tell* and *zero*. The favouring effect for *tell* is with the first-person singular, whereas *zero* is favoured with the third-person singular. Concerning tense/time reference, the effect is statistically significant as a factor that constrains the use of *say*, *tell*, and *zero*. While the favouring effect for *say* and *tell* is in the future time reference, the favouring effect for *zero* is in the present tense. In sum, Table 5.53 below presents the constraints for the most frequent quotatives in NE based on the multivariate analyses carried out in this study.

Table 5.53: Constraints for most frequent quotatives in NE

	Be like	Say	Tell	Zero
Social constraints				
Age	Young adults	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Regional origin	South	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Sex	Females	Not significant	Not significant	Not significant
Social class	Not significant	Not significant	Lower class	Upper class
Linguistic constraints				
Content of the quote	Gesture	Direct speech	Direct speech	Direct speech
Grammatical person	Not significant	Not significant	1 st Person (S)	3 rd Person (S)
Tense/time reference	Past tense	Future time	Future time	Present tense

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has yielded a number of interesting findings based on the quantitative and the qualitative analyses presented, all relative to different quotative forms and their discourse-pragmatic functions in NE. The quantitative analysis reported the results of the distributional analyses as well as the multivariate analyses for both linguistic and social factors describing how they condition the use of different quotatives in NE. The qualitative analysis demonstrated the ways quotatives are used in order to express reporting the speaker's stance while they perform different discourse-pragmatic functions without distorting the meaning in the speech being

reported. Furthermore, this chapter has discussed the findings of this study in the context of similar studies conducted for other varieties of English.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter offers the overall conclusions of the study, summarising the thesis and the major findings. The chapter also presents linguistic implications and further discusses the limitations of the study as well as suggestions for future research on quotatives in Nigerian English.

6.2 Overall summary

In Chapter 1, I presented the background to the study, highlighting that recent research in sociolinguistics has drawn attention to English quotatives. Most of the studies on quotatives largely concentrated on the spread of the quotatives in native varieties (e.g. Blyth et al., 1990; Romaine & Lange, 1991; Dailey-O’Cain, 2000; Barbieri, 2007; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Buchstaller, 2006; Macaulay, 2001; Buchstaller & D’Arcy, 2009; Winter, 2002; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy, 2004), and less attention was paid to quotatives in non-native varieties. This chapter highlighted that given the well-documented diversity in varieties of English around the world in other linguistic areas, there was a need to investigate the inventories of quotatives speakers from different regions and countries have in their repertoire. The chapter has provided the main aims of the study, showing that this thesis aimed to develop a comprehensive account of the acquisition and spread of quotatives in NE. It also established that the thesis aimed to broaden our understanding of the mechanisms of linguistic change through the study of how the English quotative system has been adapted in NE. More generally, the chapter demonstrated that this thesis also aimed to provide new insights into the study of quotatives, specifically with regard to discourse-pragmatic functions of quotatives in various genres. The chapter further discussed the language situation in Nigeria, pointing out that despite the multi-lingual nature of Nigeria, English remains the most important language because of its official status.

The discussion of the global reality of English quotatives in Chapter 2 has demonstrated that the quotative system in English consists of a wide variety of verbs

that function as dialogue introducers. Apart from the more traditional quotatives such as *say*, *think*, and *tell*, the literature on quotatives has a heavy focus on *be like*. The chapter showed that another quotative form that attracts the attention of researchers is the *zero* quotative, which occurs “where direct speech is with neither a reporting verb nor an attributed speaker” (Mathis & Yule, 1994: 63). The review of the previous studies in this chapter has yielded a rich and diverse knowledge-base of the English quotatives in a wide range of varieties. It demonstrated that, although different varieties of English participate in the globalisation process of the acquisition of quotatives, each variety is defined by locally specific practices and outcomes. The chapter further offered an overview of the different social and linguistic constraints that condition the occurrence of quotatives across different varieties.

Chapter 3 provided the theoretical background against which this study was set. On the one hand, the chapter offered a critique of Schneider’s Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007) and its underlying claim that PCEs grow into the proposed developmental phases. The chapter touched all the five phases proposed within the model, viz. foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation, as well as the four parameters that defined each of the phases: socio-political background, identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects (Schneider, 2007: 29-31). I discussed NE with a focus on re-evaluating its positioning on the developmental scale of the model. I argued that the model is an explanatory and comprehensive account of some postcolonial varieties of English but not a comprehensive model for NE, although it provided space to Nigerian Pidgin English. On the other hand, this chapter has presented variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1963, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Tagliamonte, 2012) as the conceptual framework for the analysis of quotatives. The chapter demonstrated that variationist sociolinguistics is a core theory in sociolinguistics. It is a theory that explains linguistic variation and the effect of social factors such as age, ethnicity or regional origin, sex, and socio-economic status on linguistic variables, which represent change in progress in different speech communities around the world. The chapter further discussed the core concepts of the variationist sociolinguistic framework relevant to this study, viz. the linguistic

variable, the principle of accountability, the observer's paradox as well as the social and linguistic patterns that influence the way language is used in society.

Chapter 4 was devoted to fieldwork and methodology, describing the procedures of the fieldwork carried out in Nigeria and the methods and techniques employed in the study. The sampling strategies used were a combination of stratified random sampling (judgement or quota sampling) and snowball or social network sampling methods. While the stratified random sampling provided me with the opportunity to identify in advance the types of participants to recruit for the study and then seek out a quota of participants who fit my sampling grid, the snowball sampling gave me the opportunity of using networks of participants to approach other potential participants that matched the intended sample. The chapter presented the profile of all 180 participants according to the relevant social factors and it explained how the participants' pseudonyms were coded by combining the initials of the social factors in the order of regional origin, sex, age, and social class. The chapter also described how the corpus was compiled and how the transcription protocols were maintained in the process. The chapter further explained how the data were analysed using a mixed-methods approach that relied on both quantitative and qualitative analyses, and it finally detailed how I handled participant anonymity and other ethical obligations.

The results of the study were presented and critically discussed in Chapter 5. The distributional analysis of the overall quotatives across independent social and linguistic factors demonstrated that the findings in NE differ markedly from the findings of many previous studies on quotatives in different varieties of English. For instance, quotative *go* is practically absent in my NE data, whereas *go* is robust in Scottish English being the most frequently used quotative form among Glasgow adolescents (Macaulay, 2001: 10), and *go* is equally the most prominent quotative form in Australian English (Winter, 2002: 10). Quotative *go* is also frequently used among London adolescents, ahead of *tell* in Fox's (2012: 235) study. Similarly, the distributional analysis demonstrated that *think* is in the early stage of emergence in NE with a negligible frequency (see chapter 5.2). The distributional analysis further showed that *be like*, *say*, *tell*, and *zero* have an important presence in my NE data as the most frequently used quotatives. In this chapter, I also presented the results of the

correlation between the most frequent quotatives and different independent social and linguistic factors. The results of multivariate analyses and tests of interaction between different factors were described and discussed in this chapter. In addition, this chapter explored the analysis of discourse-pragmatic aspects of the most frequently used quotatives in NE.

Taken together, this study has demonstrated that there is a wide range of options for marking quotative expressions in NE. Being the most common and the most conventionalised verb of reporting, *say* is the primary quotative marker in NE. The high frequency of *tell* suggests that this form is still robust in Nigerian narrative discourse. Despite the high frequency of *be like* tokens in my data, it is uncontroversial that *be like* is still competing with the more traditional *say* and *tell* in the quotative system in NE. *Zero* quotative being the second most frequent quotative in NE proves that it is already established as part of the quotative system. A more intriguing sociolinguistic observation is that the diffusion of the quotative *be like* into NE acts as a good indicator of the kind of linguistic change from the ongoing globalisation of English, even though *be like* is not yet fully established in the quotative system of Nigerians, especially among the northerners. The fact that quotatives *go* and *think* are in the early stage of emergence in my data with negligible frequencies means that we have missed an opportunity to analyse them along with other most frequent quotatives. Consequently, this study has not reported how *go* and *think* develop in the local context. Overall, this study has provided an initial description of the patterns of use of different quotative forms in NE.

6.3 Linguistic implications

In explaining the emergence and development of NE, this thesis has argued against the validity of the Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007), which claims an account of the history of NE. In particular, I argued that Nigeria was never a country of white settlement, and even the missionaries and government officials who set the exornomative stage were always in Nigeria as expatriates. I have also questioned the linearity of the model and suggested that for the model to be widely accepted, the linearity condition must be relaxed, especially as all the

parameters set for phases four and five (which are indistinguishable for NE) are evident in Nigeria even when the model is still placed in phase three. Given that the dynamic model is based on the history of American English, we could expect that phases four and five might not fit in the Nigerian type of situation. This was expected even more because Nigeria is a linguistically heterogeneous country where the different native languages of the IDG population are likely to give rise to variation in NE from the start.

For variationist methods, I made a slight shift from previous studies on quotatives that stratified their participants according to different ethnicities. For instance, Kohn and Franz (2009) investigated the quotative system norms within African American communities and Latino communities in two cities, Durham and Hickory to identify how ethnic and social distribution intersects with regional distribution in the quotative system of North Carolina. D'Arcy (2010) in her ethnicity-based study investigated how Maori and Pakeha English speakers in New Zealand use the resources of English quotatives to construct dialogue. Nigeria being a multilingual setting with complex linguistic geography, I replaced the term 'ethnicity' with 'regional origin'. My participants were simply stratified according to their regional origin, i.e. the north or the south; meanwhile, each of the two regions covered sub-regions that linked different ethnic units in Nigeria. In stratifying my participants using the socio-economic index, which is usually based on education and occupation in a society like Nigeria, I placed priority on education. As I mentioned earlier, this stratification reflects the classification made by Brosnahan (1958: 97-110), which builds on levels: (i) the variety used by those with no formal education (Pidgin English), (ii) the variety used by those with only primary education, (iii) the variety used by those with secondary education, and (iv) the variety used by those with university education. With this classification, I measured levels (i) and (ii) as lower class, level (iii) as middle class, whereas level (iv) was considered as upper class (see chapter 4.4.1.4). Consequently, I used the socio-economic background of parents to stratify adolescents and young adults who might be hard to stratify.²⁴

²⁴ I used the socio-economic status of the highest-ranked parent in the stratification.

6.4 Limitations and future research

This thesis is the first investigation into the acquisition and spread of quotatives in the speech of NE speakers. The attention of the investigation was almost limited to standard sociolinguistic techniques, and partly discourse perspective.²⁵ While the thesis has focused largely on issues specifically related to sociolinguistics in NE, there are several future directions that follow from this study. Future research on quotatives in NE can come from different perspectives such as functional grammar, discourse analysis, pragmatics, literary stylistics, syntax, semantics, cognitive linguistics, kinesics and gesture, and even sign language. In the near future, there is a need to investigate speakers' attitudes towards quotatives in Nigeria to deepen our understanding of how these linguistic resources are perceived by their very users. It will be particularly interesting when we compare the thoughts of speakers who embrace quotatives with those of speakers who do not embrace them. Future research can also investigate how different quotatives grammaticalise in NE, and it might be interesting to investigate whether and how the quotative system changes overtime.

In sum, this study has made two significant contributions. First, on the theoretical level, it has contributed to the sociolinguistic literature on English quotatives. In addition, the corpus collected will be made available to the research community and can be used for future research on a wide range of linguistic phenomena in NE. Second, on the applied level, the findings from this study have the potential to analyse how misunderstandings in international communication between speakers of NE and speakers of other varieties of English can arise due to the way quotatives are used in NE. It will thus help avoid misunderstandings in international communication with speakers of NE and further advance professional and private communication.

²⁵ The main pillar of variationist methods is investigating a linguistic variable and study which linguistic and social constraints operate on the variable.

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Appendix A: Participant information sheet



(Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen, Norway)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Dear participant,

I would like to invite you to take part in a PhD research project with the title, “The Quotative System of Nigerian English”. Please take some time and read through the following information before you decide to participate or not.

Purpose of the research

The purpose of the research is to investigate the ways in which speakers of Nigerian English (NE) re-create their own speech and the speech of other speakers in narrative discourse and free conversations, specifically with regard to the acquisition and spread of English quotatives. The following quotatives are the primary focus: *be like, say, go, think, tell, and zero*. In order to account for this, there is the need to record conversations of participants.

Participant involvement

Participating in this study will involve a voluntary interview of 45 minutes in duration. Questions will be open-ended and relate to telling stories or reporting activities on any topic of your choice. Data will be handled with confidentiality.

Collected data

Once interviews have been completed, relevant utterances will be transcribed and loaded into statistical software for analysis. Interviews will be anonymously represented in the research, publications, reports and presentations. Real names will not be used in any way as each participant will have a code number such as 001, 002 or 003. The interviews and transcripts will be seen by the researcher and the supervisor(s).

Contact

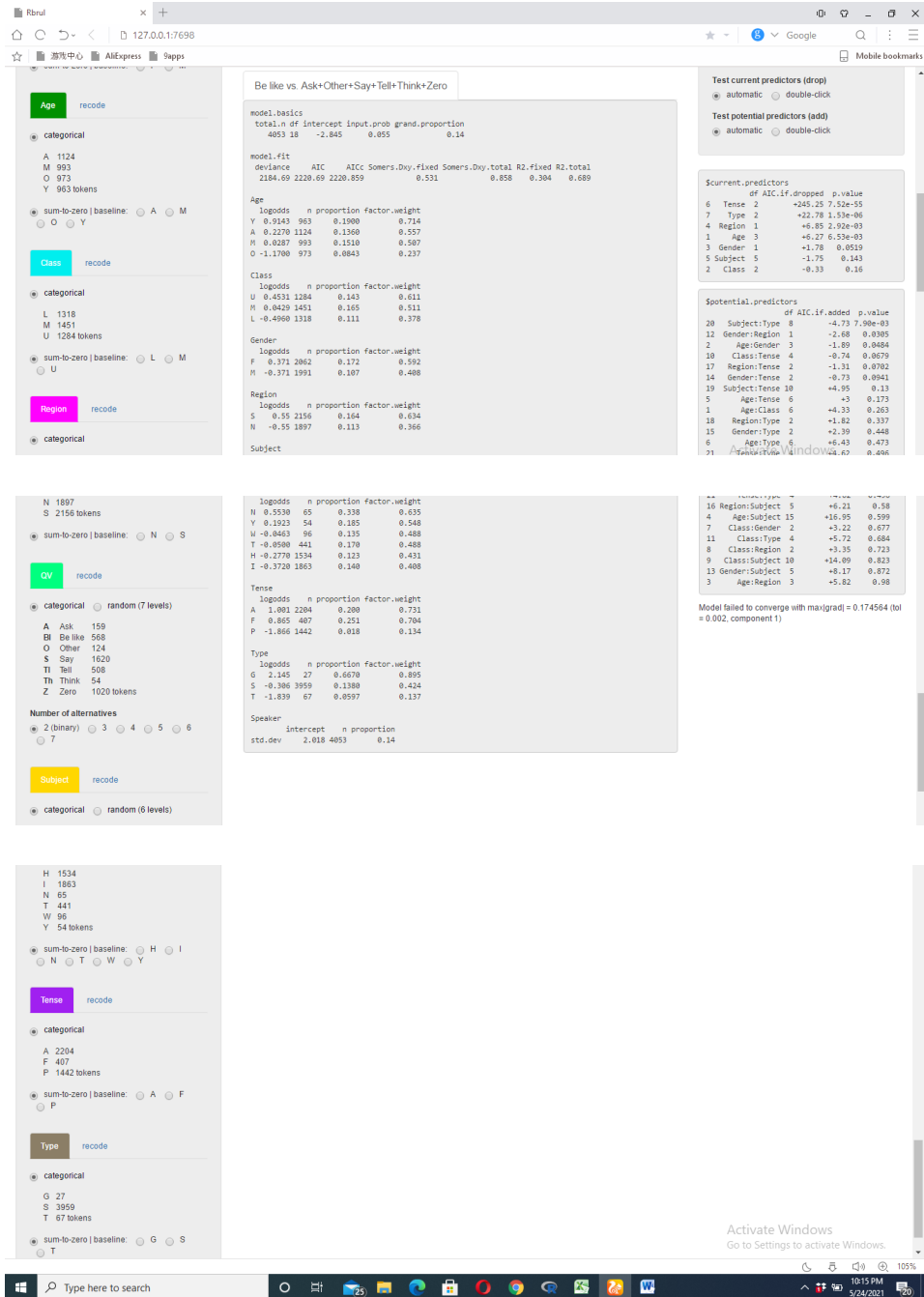
Jalaludeen Ibrahim Researcher jalaludeen.ibrahim@uib.no

Thank you for reading the information and I look forward to speaking with you soon.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Jalaludeen Ibrahim', written over a circular stamp or watermark.

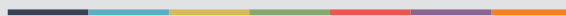
Jalaludeen Ibrahim
(PhD Fellow, English Linguistics)

Appendix B: Rbrul browser-based shiny app interface





Graphic design: Communication Division, UIB / Print: Skjipes Kommunikasjon AS



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