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INTER AND INTRA-LANGUAGE CHALLENGES IN ENGLISH INTONATION OF NIGERIAN-ENGLISH BILINGUALS: IMPLICATIONS FOR LEARNING

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Abstract

This study relies on acoustic evidence to investigate the English intonation usage of 20 NigE bilinguals from two universities in South-western Nigeria. They produced validated utterances with varied meanings (e.g. protest, detached, interested, impressed, encouraging, bored, grateful, order, request and questioning) into speech recording devices. Their responses were converted to TextGrids in Praat and labelled for tone point tiers on which the pitch accent was labelled as L* or H* and the final pitch height as L% or H%. The findings reveal a preponderance of a simple fall tone even in contexts where other tones are expected. A rise was attested in polite requests, declarative questions and surprise, a little evidence of fall-rise was found in declarative questions, while a rise-fall was not attested at all. This suggests a paucity of bi-directional intonation tones in the speech of the participants and confirms their limitation in using intonation to communicate various shades of meaning. The study concludes that, despite the participants' classroom exposure to the subject of intonation, they are not suitable models of intonation for Nigerian learners of English, and thus recommends that Nigerian learners should rely on technology-driven, non-enculturation sources of speech practice.

Keywords: Acoustic; inter-language; intonation; intra-language; Nigerian English bilinguals

1. Introduction

Crystal (1988) remarks that over 300 million people across the globe use English as an official language. In Nigeria, English is not just an official language but a language of wider communication and a second language for a majority of Nigerians. It is also the language of education and a teaching subject in the Nigerian school curriculum. The widespread function of English in Nigeria has resulted in Nigerian English (NigE), a variety of English written and spoken in Nigeria. This NigE variety has been investigated at different linguist levels - syntax, lexis, discourse-pragmatics, phonetics and phonology - and has been found to be markedly different from the native variety, especially at the phonological level. Investigation into the sound systems of NigE has further shown that the prosodic domain of stress, rhythm and intonation constitutes a major hurdle for most NigE speakers (Banjo, 1979). Studies on NigE intonation (e.g. Akinjobi & Oladipupo, 2005; Jowitt, 2000, 2020; Oladipupo, 2008, 2010; &

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Aina, 2018, 2020) have consistently claimed that NigE speakers are unable to make use of the intonation resources of native English.

The need for a standard model for Nigerian speakers of English who are second language users of English in a context where native English is not spoken has been a thing of concern for several linguists. Aina (2020) remarks that teachers, among others, who are expected to be models for the standard form are not because the second language speaker's limitation has made this difficult. Previous studies (Akinjobi, 2012; Aina, 2020) on postgraduate students of English and teachers of English have also confirmed that being academically competent in English phonetics and phonology does not positively influence most Nigerians' performance in the appropriate use of English intonation tunes. This is probably due to the fact that, contrary to what obtains in the native English setting, English is often learnt in the classroom rather than acquired naturally. However, there is a need for Nigerian learners to understand different intonation patterns and their functions which native speakers apply unconsciously in order to bridge the intelligibility gap between both sets of English speakers. This tune differentiation accounts mainly for meaning in spoken Standard English. It is against this backdrop that this paper relies on acoustic evidence to investigate the English intonation usage of NigE bilingual undergraduates of English from two Southwestern Nigerian Universities in order to verify their mastery of the English intonation tunes and their ability to serve as models for users of English in Nigeria. The following objectives shall guide the study:

- i. examine the extent to which Nigerian English Bilinguals assign appropriate tunes to utterances with varied meanings,
- ii. establish the suitability of Nigerian English bilinguals to serve as models for Nigerian learners in English Intonation tunes,
- iii. provide justifications for their performance

2. Literature Review

2.1. Inter and Intra-language challenges of English intonation of Nigerian-English Bilinguals

Cruz-Ferreira (1989, p. 24) defines intonation as "the last stronghold of a foreign accent in speaking any L2". He asserts further that "even of speakers who otherwise have perfect or near-perfect command of the phonetics of the L2". Not surprisingly, the intonation of nonnative English poses serious intelligibility problems to native speakers of the language, as reported by Tiffen (1974) on Nigerian English and Bansal (1976) on Indian English. Bansal (1976) contends that the use of sentence stress and intonation in Indian English is not always in accordance with the normal RP pattern and the characteristic rhythm is not maintained, the division of speech into sense groups and tone groups is sometimes faulty and pauses are made at wrong places, the location of the intonation nucleus is not always at the place where it would be in native English, and the rising tone sometimes used at the end of statements must sound unusual to the RP-speaking listeners (Atoye, 2005).

Amayo (1981) argues that the supra-segmental features, of which intonation is a major component, are generally more elusive than the segmental and are therefore more inherently difficult to learn for foreign learners. He further states that intonation is much less researched and is, consequently, much less taught than the segmental aspects of English. Intonation also remains the most neglected in second language acquisition research in general. Cruz Ferreira

(1989, p. 24) says it has only recently begun to be "seriously and systematically taken into account both in the literature devoted to foreign language learning and in teaching itself". That situation is very true of intonation, as it is of all the other prosodies of English in Nigerian school education. Consequently, Jowitt (2000, p. 64), after an examination of the form and the frequency of intonation patterns in educated Nigerian spoken English, concludes that "certain patterns having a high frequency, constitute a system in Nigerian usage differing in important respects from native-speaker systems, though lacking stability".

Inter-language challenges of English intonation for foreign learners include the undue emphasis placed on the teaching of structural analysis of intonation rather than on its communicative value in EL2 programmes. Hence, the notions of tonality, tonicity and the tone group (Crystal 1972), also variously designated as the intonational phrase, phonological clause or sense group (Cruttenden, 1990), are introduced to the foreign learner in that structuralist analysis expounded by Pike (1945), Abercrombie (1964), Kingdon, (1958) and O'Connor and Arnold (1973), to mention a few classic examples. Therefore, the description of tone (a misnomer for intonation types or tunes) as rising and falling, with many complex configurations such as 'fall-rise', 'falling to mid', and 'low rising' (Halliday, 1967, p.29) confuses the EL2 learner, whose primary business, like that of the non-linguist native speaker, is to use English intonation appropriately in everyday communication. Nor do the notions of tone group, foot and syllable (Halliday, 1967, p.12) help the non-native user of English to understand the language better. Even more perplexing is the demarcation of the tone group's internal structure into the obligatory nucleus (the tonic or nuclear syllable) and the optional Head, Prehead and Tail. As reported in an experiment (Currie 1980), a great deal of disagreement exists, even amongst trained phoneticians, on the identification of the tonic in sentences recorded from Edinburgh Scottish English speakers. In a nutshell, the adoption of the structuralist framework for teaching intonation to learners of English as a second language, which is in vogue in many a university lecture hall today, may have achieved little success (See Atoye, 2005; Jowitt, 2020).

Gut (2008, p. 50) opines that Nigerian English shows an intricate relationship between accents and tone. According to her, it is not only because accents are very often produced with a phonetically high pitch, "It has been suggested that Nigerian English accents are produced primarily with tone". Udofot (2011, p. 16) corroborates this claim when she observes that "the Nigerian English speaker hardly uses stress the way it is understood by speakers of Germanic languages but more or less uses tone the way it is used in Nigerian languages". Other reasons observed to be inter-language problems of learning intonation for L2 learners include the inappropriate application of stress on English words and sentences (Akindele, 2018), the mode of contact with stress which is formal compared to what is naturally acquired by the native speakers, the difference between the source and the target language, and the inability of teachers to serve as models.

Relatedly, part of the intra-language challenge of intonation learning for L2 as noted by Cauldwell and Hewings (1996, p. 327) includes the provision of evidence on the rules of intonation given in ELT books as "inadequate for what occurs in naturally-occurring speech". For instance, the analysis of Yes/No questions by Fries (1964) and citing of his findings to the effect that there seem to be no intonation sequences on questions that are not found on other

types of utterances. They affirm that studies of yes/no questions "in authentic speech support the view that the relationship between intonation and question form is more complex than that suggested in textbook rules" (Atoye, 2005). Knowles (1987, p. 190) comments that there are serious reservations on the communicative functions traditionally assigned to intonation rises and falls in English. According to him, the attitudinal interpretation of particular intonation contours as 'insistent', 'friendly', 'tentative', 'compromising' and so forth, which are very elusive in the absence of any definite contextual cues to aid the non-native hearer, or worse still, the non-native reader could be problematic. Trager (1972, p. 86) attempts to interpret only five of his nineteen illustrative utterance tokens, leaving the reader to puzzle out the remaining fourteen, on which no two readers or hearers may ever agree.

Atoye (2005) observes that part of the problems of intonation includes perceiving clearly, in auditory terms, the difference between one tone and another, even amongst wellestablished specialists on the subject, as tones that are analysed as different are, in many cases, not practically identifiable as such by other phoneticians. In that respect, Cruttenden (1969, p. 311), opines that "the tones are not usually in contrast and the problem is therefore one of deciding which tone we are dealing with". Similarly, De Bot and Mailfert (1982, p. 71) confirm that the problem is real, stressing that even "trained phoneticians and language teachers were unable to perceive intonation correctly". Also, in the second phase of their intonation investigation at Kodak, as reported by de Bot and Mailfert (1982, p. 76), one of their sixteen students who had listened to their recorded tape gave an honest confession: "It must be very difficult to hear the differences in intonation". Most non-native users of English almost certainly have this same problem of perception with English intonation. The assumption, also in the traditional analysis, that the same meanings should be ascribed to particular intonation contours in native-speaker English as in non-native speaker English may not be tenable. Numerous queries of the existing ideas on intonation by Stockwell (1972) underscore the fact that there is no such agreement on the meaning of intonation contours.

In this connection, in the final paragraph of his article, Trager (1972, p. 86) affirms that, although the analysis of intonation patterns presented in his earlier work with Smith (Trager and Smith, 1951) was based on American English, "we have heard enough other varieties, however, and have examined enough of reported intonation data for us to be convinced that the system set forth here holds for the whole of the English Language". It is however very doubtful if Trager's "whole of the English language" includes the numerous institutionalized new Englishes such as Nigerian English, Indian English or Chinese English, which have developed in various parts of the world in the past forty years. The intonation systems of those new Englishes differ from that of the native-speaker English usually analysed in the ELT textbooks in use in schools in ESL countries. For example, the intonation system of Nigerian English, as observed by Jowitt (2000) differs radically as to its phonemic, syllabic and stress patterns from that of Standard English presented in the ELT textbooks.

Intonation, in particular, of all the prosodic aspects of English, appears to be a fertile area for language transfer. It is in this area that the teaching of English to non-native learners is least welcome, especially at the lower level of the educational strata. It is, therefore, not surprising that it is the area in which that enterprise is least successful. While the average educated non-native learner of English can attain a very high standard of grammatical accuracy in the language and master the pronunciation of its sound segments and word stress, s/he often cannot appropriately use its intonation with an adequate reasonable degree of confidence. The description of intonation by Odlin (1989, p. 118) as 'one of the crucial forts of language transfer which foreign language teaching strategies seem not to have taken seriously' is, therefore, very appropriate. It is clear from the brief review above that the perception and the interpretation of English intonation are highly contentious, both amongst phoneticians and native speakers of the language. Non-native speakers of English are, understandably, at a loss when faced with the task of using intonation in their English speech, or of interpreting it when they hear it from native-speaker speech.

3. Methodology

The participants consist of 20 undergraduate students (10 males and 10 females) of English from Osun State University, Ikire Campus and Redeemer's University, Ede, South-Western Nigeria. They were asked to produce 10 validated Intonation Phrases (IPs) with varied meanings (such as protest, gratitude, wh-question, reservation, polite correction, encouraging, polite request, declarative question, sarcasm and surprise) into speech recording devices (see Table 1 for the utterances). The IPs were annotated and converted to TextGrids in Praat and with the aid of the 'addPointTier' script, a tone point tier was added to each TextGrid and was labelled for the pitch accents as L* or H* and the final pitch height as L-L%, H-H%, L-H% or H-L%, following the Tone and Break Indices' (ToBI) conventions. Using the 'extractInfoTones' script, information from the labelled TextGrids (a spreadsheet showing the pitch accent and the boundary tone, and f0 measurement) was extracted and loaded into R Studio for processing and plotting. The analysis was done quantitatively through descriptive statistics - frequency counts and percentages.

4. Results

The analysis focuses on the use of nuclear tones in different utterance types by the participants, with a view to determining their competence in English intonation. In 4.1, we grouped the utterances according to their default tones in native English and examined the participants' general tone production on them.

4.1 Nuclear tones in different utterance types

Utterance types according to	Fall	Fall-rise	Rise	Rise-fall	Total
unmarked/default nuclear tones					
Protest (pt): I really don't care	20	-	-	-	20
Gratitude (gr): I am grateful	20	-	-	-	20
Wh-question: (wh): What is the					
secret behind your beauty?	18	-	2	-	20
	(90%)		(10%)		
Sub-Total	58(96.7%)	-	2 (3.3%)	-	60
Reservation: (rv): <i>His grade is good</i>	20	-	-	-	20
Polite correction(pc): <i>He didn't say</i>					
London	19	1	-	-	20
	(95%)	(5%)			
Sub-Total	39(97.5%)	1 (2.5%)	-	-	40
Encouraging (ec): I won't be long	19 (95%)	-	1 (5%)	-	20
Polite request (pr): May I ask	9 (45%)	2 (10%)	9 (45%)	-	20
another question?					
Declarative question (dq): You are	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	7 (35%)	-	20
a teacher?					
Sub-Total	33 (55%)	10 (16.7%)	17 (28.3)	-	
Sarcasm (sc): That's fantastic	20	-	-	-	20
Surprised (spr): You were first!	8	-	12	-	20
	(40%)		(60%)		
Sub-Total	28 (70%)	-	12 (30%)	-	40
Grand Total	158 (79%)	11 (5.5%)	31(15.5%)	-	200

Table 1. Summary of nuclear tones produced.

4.1.1 Protest, Gratitude and Wh-Questions

These utterance types (protest, gratitude and wh-questions) are most often associated with a definite fall in native English, although they can also take any tone depending on what is being communicated. For example, a wh-question can also take a rise or fall-rise when it is meant to sound encouraging or sympathetic (Roach, 2000, Wells, 2006). Table 1 shows that a fall (H* L-L%) was overwhelmingly produced in 58 instances (96.7%), out of the 60 tokens of these utterance types, by the participants in this study. It was only in 2 cases (3.33%) of the wh-question utterance that a rise (L* H-H%) tone was used (see Figures 1, 2, 3 & 4). This is not surprising considering that a fall is the default tone for these utterance types even in native English. However, the fact that the participants did not vary the tone as may also be expected in native English confirms their limitation in the use of intonation tones.

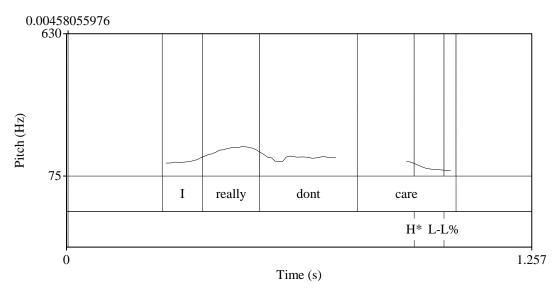


Fig. 1. Sample of fall intonation contour on 'I really don't care' as spoken by S08M

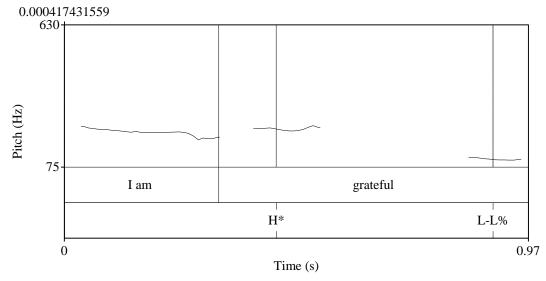


Fig. 2. Sample of fall intonation contour on 'I am grateful' as spoken by S01F

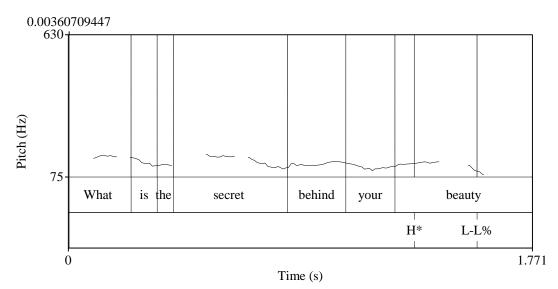


Fig. 3. Sample of fall intonation contour on 'What is the secret behind your beauty as spoken by S10M

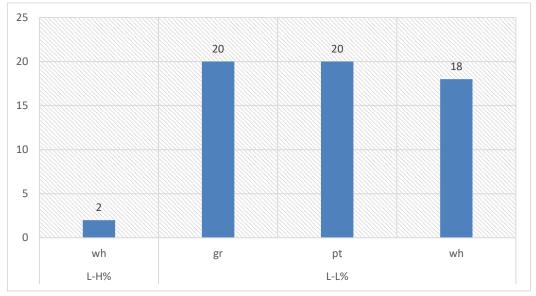


Fig. 4. Overall frequency counts of boundary tones

4.1.2 Reservation and Polite Correction

In native English, reservation and polite correction are most often expressed with a fall-rise (Cruttenden, 1986; Roach, 2000, Wells, 2006). Thus, an utterance such as 'His grade is good', spoken with a fall-rise, indicates that the speaker is not really convinced that his grade is good enough. In the same manner, 'He didn't say London', meant to politely correct the statement: 'He says they are moving to London', is likely to be said with a fall-rise. As Table 1 reveals, when both utterances were administered to the participants, they were rendered with a fall (H* L-L%) in all the instances of occurrence except in one case of 'He didn't say London' where a default fall-rise tone (H* L-H%) was used. This suggests that the default tone for both utterance types for these speakers is a fall.

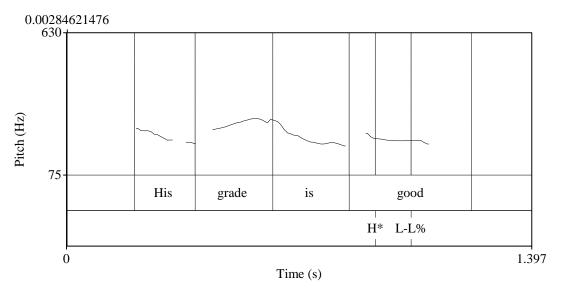


Fig. 5. Sample of fall intonation contour on 'His grade is good' as spoken by S04F

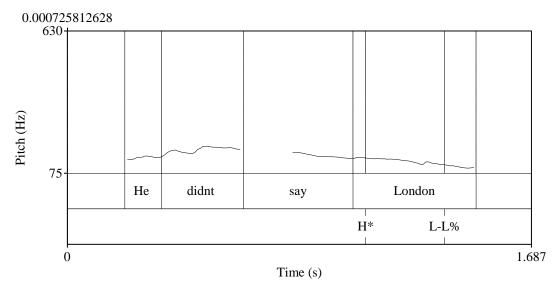


Fig. 6. Sample of rise intonation contour on 'He didn't say London' as spoken by S17M

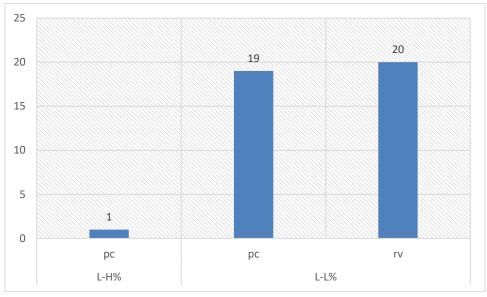


Fig. 7. Overall frequency counts of boundary tones

4.1.3 Encouraging, Polite Request and Declarative Question

When in native English, a speaker wishes to mark the attitude of encouraging in order to sound soothing, sympathetic or reassuring, or he intends to make a polite request or a declarative question, they are very likely going to use a rising tone. An investigation of the participants' intonation patterns on these utterances shows a substantial use of a falling tone and shades of rising tune. As seen in Table1, 33 (55%) of the 60 utterances examined were said with a fall, 17 (28.3%) had a rise while 10 (16.7%) were expressed with a fall-rise.

A further breakdown of tones on individual utterances reveals that 'I won't be long', which is meant to sound reassuring with an encouraging rise tone, was predominantly (19 - 95%) uttered with a fall (H* L-L%); 'May I ask another question?' (a polite request) had a rise (L* H-H%) in only 9 (45%) instances and fall-rise (H* L-H%) in 2 (10%). The rest (9 - 45%) was spoken with a fall. 'You are a teacher?', a declarative question which is usually produced with a rise in native English but may also take a fall-rise, was expressed by the participants with a rise in 7 (35%) cases, a fall-rise in 8 (40%) and a fall in 5 (25%) (see Figures 8, 9, 9 & 11). This means that the bulk of the fall-rise tone was used for declarative question, while a simple rise was commonly associated with polite request and declarative question This, thus, suggests that, for these speakers, a fall is the default tone for an encouraging utterance (I won't be long); a declarative question ('You are a teacher?) takes rising tones (a rise and a rise-fall) as in native English, while a simple rise.

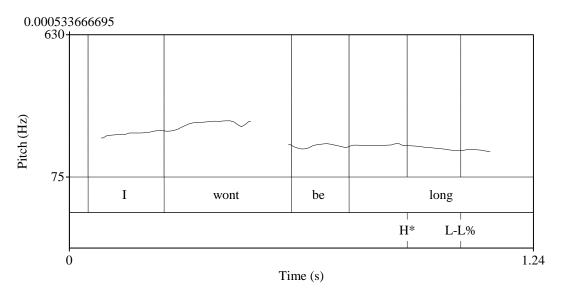
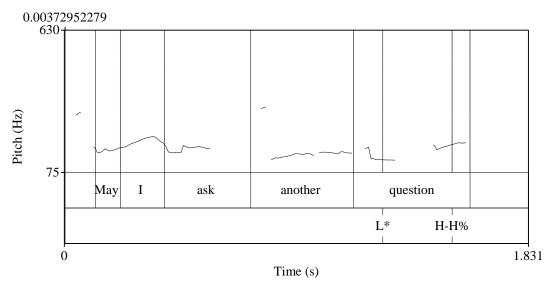


Fig.8 Sample of fall intonation contour on 'I won't be long' as spoken by S13F





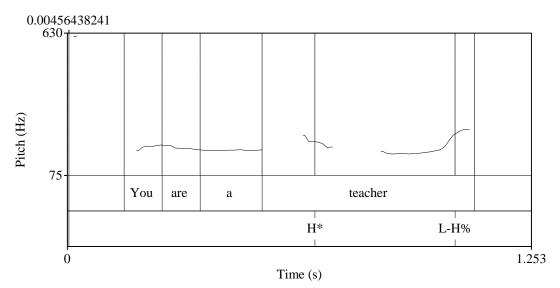


Fig. 10. Sample of fall-rise intonation contour on 'You are a teacher' as spoken by S05F

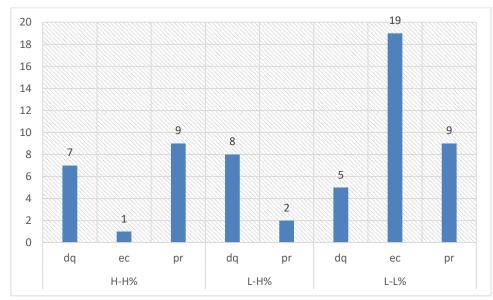


Fig. 11. Overall frequency counts of boundary tones

4.1.4 Sarcasm and Surprised

When a native English speaker intends to be sarcastic or show that he is impressed or surprised by a particular incidence, they often employ a rise-fall tone (Cruttenden, 1986; Roach, 2000). Two utterances – *that's fantastic* and *you were first!* – which respectively depict both attitudes were administered to the participants. Table 1 reveals no instance of a rise-fall in both utterances. There were only 12 (30%) cases of a simple rise which all occurred on 'You were first' (surprised); the remaining 8 instances of the same utterance as well as all the occurrences of 'That's fantastic' were uttered with a definite fall. This presupposes that a rise-fall is not in the English intonation system of these speakers, an utterance that expresses surprise is likely to be said with a rise rather than a rise-fall, and the default tune on a sarcastic utterance is a fall.

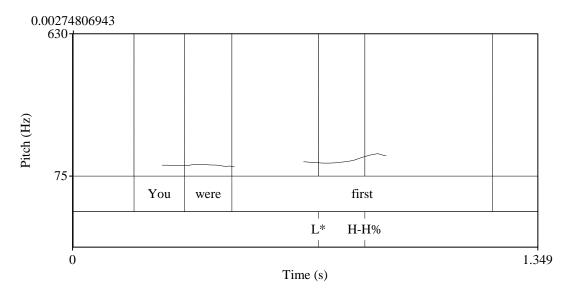


Fig. 12. Sample of rise intonation contour on 'You were first' as spoken by S18M

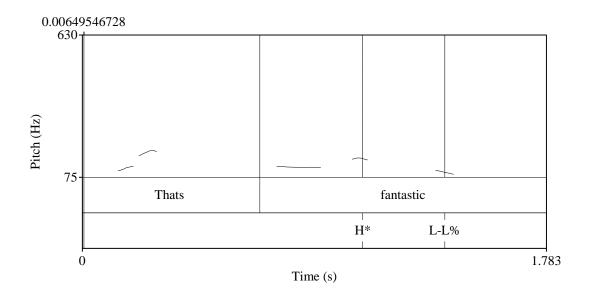


Fig. 13. Sample of fall intonation contour on 'That's fantastic' as spoken by S20F

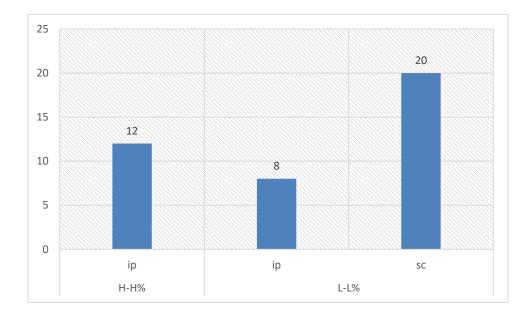


Fig. 14. Overall frequency counts of boundary tones

5. Discussion

This paper has attempted to provide acoustic evidence for the use of nuclear tones in certain utterance types by a group of Nigerian undergraduate students of English in order to verify their mastery of the English intonation tones and their ability to serve as models for other users of English in Nigeria. The overall use of intonation tones shows that the participants employed a simple fall in 158 (79%) instances, a simple rise in 31 (15.5%) and a fall-rise in 11 (5.5%) cases. This depicts a preponderance of a simple fall tone in the

utterances of these speakers, which was used even in contexts where other tones are expected. For instance, a fall is not just the default tone for utterances of protest, gratitude and whquestions, but also the dominant tone associated with expressing reservations and polite corrections as well as attitudes of encouraging and sarcasm, which are often expressed with other nuclear tones in native Englishes. This tendency has previously been attested by scholars (Jowitt, 2000; Okon, 2001; Akinjobi and Oladipupo, 2005) in respect of NigE intonation.

A further breakdown of the results also reveals that rising tones (typically rise and less commonly fall-rise) were generally associated with polite requests (though in variation with a fall), declarative questions and surprise. The little evidence of a fall-rise tone attested in the data corresponded with declarative questions, while a rise-fall was not attested at all. This suggests a paucity of bi-directional intonation tones in the speech of the participants (Jowitt, 1991, 2000). Just as Amayo (1981) avers, intonation still remains elusive and challenging for Nigerian learners of English. As this study has shown, their classroom exposure to the subject of intonation notwithstanding, they are unable to explore the intonation resources of English to communicate various shades of attitude (e.g. Jowitt, 2000; Akinjobi & Oladipupo, 2010). In relation to the second objective of this paper, therefore, the findings do not portray the participants as suitable models of intonation for Nigerian learners of English.

The performance of the participants may be accounted for in terms of inter- and intralanguage influences on their speech. Inter-lingual factors relate to the impact of their substrate languages on their use of English intonation tones. In the first place, the participants' indigenous languages are predominantly tonal and employ only limited intonation: unmarked simple fall and simple rise (Cruttenden, 1986). The English language, on the other hand, is a stressed-timed language which differs from the phonological reality of Nigerian English bilinguals. Secondly, there are paralinguistic and pragmatic markers in their indigenous languages which they rely on, most times, to communicate the same sense of intonation tones. For instance, whereas the participants in this study could not use a rise to express reservation and correct someone politely, they may shrug their shoulders, roll their eyeballs or nod their heads when uttering the utterance 'His grade is good'. Alternatively, they may add a discourse-pragmatic maker (e.g. now, fa, o, sha, etc.), as in the utterance 'He didn't say London now or 'That's fantastic o (see Unuabonah & Oladipupo, 2018; Oladipupo & Unuabonah, 2020). It should also be borne in mind that Nigerian English bilinguals lack natural intuition for English intonation, having learnt in the classroom setting what is naturally acquired in the native environment.

The intra-language complexities of intonation even in the native English setting may have also accounted for the participants' performance. These include the complex nature of tone assignment, the intricacies of intonation rules and the combination of pitch, stress and juncture, which in themselves are problematic to native English speakers. All these might have contributed to the participants' performance, especially their inability to use the complex tones.

6. Conclusion

The findings of this paper have shown that despite that the participants are university students who have been adequately exposed to English phonology and the subject of intonation in particular, intonation still remains difficult for them to grapple with. This deficiency, which has been explained in terms of inter- and intra-language challenges of learning intonation in a non-native context, presupposes that Nigerian learners of English might have to look beyond home-grown models to address the challenges of intonation. This study therefore recommends that at all levels of the educational strata, intonation should be introduced early to Nigerian bilinguals through technology-driven, non-enculturation sources of speech practice, such as the electronic media (BBC, CNN, Sky News, Cartoon Network, MNET SERIES), social media (Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, etc.), internet sites for practicing English sounds and audio-aided e-dictionaries, amongst others (Akinjobi, 2013; Adesanya, 2020). This will help to stimulate learning in an L2 context such as Nigeria. Nigerian bilinguals should note that in learning a language they should be ready to imbibe the intricacies associated with it. After all, instances of near-native use have been observed from native English speakers who learn some Nigerian indigenous languages. So, nothing stops Nigerian bilinguals from doing the same.

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