
A DIACHRONIC ACCOUNT OF SOUND CHANGE IN AWKA DIALECT OF IGBO

By

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Abstract

This study examines sound change going on in the Awka dialect of Igbo with a view of deconstructing the linguistic contents of the Northcote's recordings of the Awka dialect vis-à-vis the current Awka dialect to know whether there are instances of sound change. The data used for the study are elicited from two audio recordings of Northcote Whitridge Thomas of the Awka dialect. By descriptively analyzing the data, the study reveals that some speech sounds are undergoing some changes in the dialect. Some of the sounds changing are /t/ > /ʃ/; /h/ > /hʷ/; /ɹ/ > /l/; /h/ > /ɹ/; /hʷ/ > /β/. It is observed that the sound change identified in this study is environmentally conditioned rather than grammatically conditioned. The implication of this is that the sound differences appear within specific contexts. This is because apart from /hʷ/ that did not appear anywhere in the current recording, every other speech sound involved in the change is found in both versions of the recordings. Being an urban community, the Awka speech community is also multilingual, and the language contact situation of the Awka native speakers is expectedly high. This explains the sound change observed in the dialect. The study, however, recommends further investigation into the dialect, especially to ascertain what is happening or has happened to /hʷ/ in Awka Igbo.

Keyword: *Diachronic account; Sound change; Awka dialect of Igbo*

Introduction

Language change is the variation observed in the features of a language over time. This change is not spontaneous but gradual and can be a result of factors such as geographical separation, language contact, analogy, etc. Harya (2016) summarises the various factors responsible for language change into internal and external changes. For Harya, while internal change has to do with grammatical change, external change is the change caused by other languages. Generally, language change can affect different linguistic levels – sound (sound change), a morpheme (lexical change), syntax (syntactic change), and meaning (semantic change).

O'Grady, Archibald, and Katamba (2011) observe that variation and change in language are mostly conspicuous at the sound level of a language. Sound change, which is the focus of this study is seen in historical linguistics as the change in the pronunciation of a word (Millar 2015). Against the assumption of the traditional grammarians, this change, according to Aor and Damkor (2021), does not signify a deviation but indicates language growth. As Hickey (2003, 2012) posits, some sound changes are the resultant effect of the reanalysis of a target language

by language learners, while some are as a result of the gradual shift in pronunciation by adult native speakers.

This study explores the phenomenon of sound change going on in the Awka dialect of Igbo. Awka is the dialect of the Awka people of Anambra State in Southeastern Nigeria. This study compares the sound system of the Awka speech community using two audio recordings of Northcote Whitridge Thomas of Awka speech community, against the current version of the renditions in Thomas' recordings.

Northcote Whitridge Thomas (1868-1936) was a British anthropologist, who was appointed a Government Anthropologist by the British Colonial Office in 1909. As a government anthropologist, Thomas carried out several anthropological surveys in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Among the people studied in Nigeria by Thomas are the Edo and Igbo people of Southern Nigeria. Specifically, he studied the Awka people's recording and writing on their proverbs, narratives, vocabularies, grammar, law, and custom. The present study uses Thomas' recordings numbers (0407) and (0495), which were recorded in 1911. A record number (0407) is a narrative of two stories, while a record number (0495) is a rendition or pronunciation of some lexical items and expressions in the Awka dialect. To obtain the current version of the linguistic contents of Thomas' recordings, the present researchers replicated the narratives and utterances in the recording in 2022 using current Awka native speakers. This study presents and discusses the observed process of sound change in the dialect.

Review of related literature

Aor and Damkor (2021) examined sound change in the Tiv language. They set out to classify, state the causes and explore the implications of sound change in Tiv. By analyzing the data collected through observation, their work isolated the words that showed epenthesis, deletion, and substitution of sounds in Tiv. They identified analogy, language contact, phonography/spelling pronunciation, and articulatory simplification as the causative factors of sound change in the Tiv language. The study outlined several implications of the research which can be summarised as the importance of the work to further studies in sound change and Tiv linguistics. In summary, Aor and Damkor (2021) posit that changes in spelling result to change in sound, and sound change does not indicate a deviation but it indicates language growth.

Redelinghuys (2019) studied the role of translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English multilingual settings. Redelinghuys' work was corpus-based research. It categorized the corpus used for the study into four-time frames based on key historical events in South Africa (1910-1247; 1948-1975; 1976-1993 and 1994-2016) and based on four registers (creative writing, instructional writing, persuasive writing, and popular writing). By focusing on the role of translation in language change in the area of genitive variation and modality, Redelinghuys investigated how translation-induced language change can be differentiated from other factors involved in contact-induced language change, to find out if there is available evidence for translation-induced language change in the Afrikaans and South African English in the 20th century. The result of the study showed that the role of translation in language change can be distinguished from other factors involved in language contact-induced language change. However, the study showed that there is not enough evidence for translation-induced change in Afrikaans and South African English. The researcher explained that that was because translators,

being aware of the target-language norms, adopted and adapted translation in a way that closely followed the norms and linguistic patterns of the original text in the same language.

It could be observed from the findings of scholars on language change that languages change, especially at the level of sound as a result of various factors. The following sections focus on sound change in Awka Igbo with a view of deconstructing the linguistic contents of the Northcote's recordings of the Awka dialect vis-à-vis the current Awka dialect to know whether there are instances of sound change.

The linguistic contents of Northcote's recordings

2.1 Story one (0407)

Below are the expressions sieved out from the recordings with their English glosses.

2.1.1 The expressions with their English glosses

O lu ụbọchị ahụ, na nna anyị ochie kuru anyị, shị anyị na
It reach day that, that father us old/grand called us, tell us that

ofuke nwata nwoke, na ọ mụtara ụmụ naatọ, ọ hụ ịbụọ n'anya ma
one child male that he gave-birth-to children three, he saw two prep-eye but
ya ahughị ofuke n'anya.
him see-Neg one prep-eye.

O wee zie (ha) ịbụọ ahụ shị ha jewe n'oma agụ, ka ha kpatara
He filler-verb send (them) two that tell them go prep-deep forest, that they fetched
ha ya nkụ ka ya lie oyibo.
they him firewood that he eat Western(people)

E luo, ofuke nke ọ hụrụ n'anya wee hụ nke nnaa ọ hụrọ n'anya
It reached, one that he saw prep-eye filler-verb see that who he see-Neg prep-eye
wee gbuo nye.
filler-verb killed him

O wee nata, a jụọ ya kedụ ibe nke e shi, ọ shị na
He filler-verb return pro asked him where where that one from, he say that
ya amaraa.
he know-Neg

O luo ofu ụbọshị a nwanne ye (*na o gburu) wee jewe, wee
It reached one day that brother him (that he killed) filler-verb go, filler-verb
fuga, hụ ọkpukpụ ka ọ dụ n'ana, tụtụlụ.

come-out see bone as it stay prep-ground, picked.

Ọkpukpunu wee shi ya, nwanne ye, gu jide ye, na nna ha
The-(said)-bone filler-verb tell him, brother him, you hold it, that father them

zili ha ha jee kata ahija oyibo, a fuga, nwanne ye nke e
sent them they go pluck vegetable Western, it come-out, brother him that one

gbuo nye.
killed him.

Ọ shi ya ya susuo nye onu, na nna ha zili ha jee kata ahija
It tell him he kiss it mouth, that father them sent them go pluck vegetable

oyibo, a fuga nwanne ye nke e gbuo nye.
Western it come-out brother him that one killed him.

Nya nie nye na nna ha ziri ha jee kata ahija oyibo, a fuga,
He burry him that father them sent them go pluck vegetable Western, it come-out

nwanne ye nke e gbuo nye.
brother him that one killed him.

3.1.2 Translation reflecting the modern Awka dialect of Igbo

O lu uboshi afu, na nna anyi ochie kuru anyi, shi anyi na ofuke nwata nwoke, na o mutara umu naato, o hu ibu n'anya ma ya ahughi ofuke n'anya. O wee zie (ha) ibu ah shi ha jewe n'oma agu, ka ha kpatara ya nku ka ya rie oyibo. E luo, ofuke nke o huru n'anya wee hu nke nnaa o huru n'anya wee gbuo nye. O wee nata, a juo ya kedu ibe nke e shi, o shi na ya amaraa. O luo ofu uboshi a nwanne ye (*na o gburu) wee jewe, wee fuga, hu okpuku ka o du n'ana, tutulu. Okpukpunu wee shi ya, nwanne ye, gu jide ye, na nna ha zili ha ha jee kata ahija oyibo, a fuga, nwanne ye nke e gbuo nye. O shi ya ya susuo ye onu, na nna ha zili ha jee kata ahija oyibo, a fuga nwanne ye nke e gbuo ye. Nya nie nye na nna ha zili ha jee kata ahija oyibo, a fuga, nwanne ye nke e gbuo ye.

English

On that day, our grandfather called and told us that a certain man had three children. He loved two but he hated one. He then sent the two to go into the forest/bush and fetch firewood for him to enjoy himself. It happened that one of those he loved saw the other one he did not love and killed him. When he came back, he was asked the whereabouts of the other but he said that he was not aware. One day, his brother was going and he came (to a place) where he saw a piece of bone on the ground. He picked it up. Then, the bone told him to hold it that their father sent them to fetch some Western vegetables and the brother killed him. It asked him to kiss it that their father sent them to fetch some Western vegetables and the brother killed him; that he should bury it that their father sent them to fetch some Western vegetables and the brother killed him.

Note: The recording seems to have been edited and some parts were removed in the process. This affects the logical sense of some events in the story. For instance, the story has it that the father sent them to the forest to fetch firewood for him (the father) for him to have (a kind of) fun/enjoyment (“...ka ya rie oyibo). This does not match what the ‘Bone’ said to the brother, that their father sent them to fetch some Western vegetables. However, our focus is not on the semantic content of the story but on the phonetic/phonological properties of the medium used in telling the story.

2.2 Story two (0407)

Below are the expressions sieved out from the recordings with their English glosses.

2.2.1 The expressions with their English glosses

O lulu ubochi ahuo, anyi na-anya oku ututu, nna m shi m na arọ
It reached day that, we aux-verb fire morning, father me tell me that year

agha bara Oka na ha ducha n’umuzi mgbe ahụ.
war entered Awka that they were prep-child time that.

O lu ka agha bialu, ha noota, shi ofu nwata nwoke bia, shi ha ha
It reach when war came, they stayed, say one child man come, tell them they

binie otọ ka e je buwe agha na o biago.
stand up that pro. go fight war that it come.

Shi ya wee gbaghaa.
Say he filler-verb ran-away.

O lu ka ya gbaghaalu, ofu onye bia kukwete ye, ya futa, mechie
It reach when he ran-away, one person come call-again him, he come-out, close
uzo.
door.

Aghanwanta ana-akwa n’onu uzo be anyi.
The-said-war aux-break prep-mouth door house us.

O wu ya wu nke ya ji wee gbawalu lja enu unọ enu.
It be it be that he hold filler-verb ran-away climb up house up.

Na ndu agha ahụ emeterekwa Oka ihe chaa chaa.
That people war that did-Neg Awka thing at-all.

2.2.2 Translation reflecting the modern Awka dialect of Igbo

O lulu uboshi ahụ, anyi na-anya oku ututu, nna m shi m na arọ agha bara Oka, na ha ducha n’umuzi mgbe ahụ. O lu ka agha bialu, ha noota, shi ofu nwata nwoke bia, shi ha ha binie otọ ka e je buwe agha na o biago. Shi ya wee gbaghaa. O lu ka ya gbaghaalu, ofu onye bia kukwete ye,

ya futa, mechie ụzọ. Aghanwanta a na-akwa n'ọnu ụzọ be anyị. O wu ya wu nke ya ji wee gbawalụ wee lia enu ụnọ enu. Na ndu agha ahụ emeterekwa Oka ihe chaa chaa.

English

On that day, as we were warming ourselves by the fire in the morning, my father told me that they were still young when there was war in Awka. They stayed for a while after the war started and a man came and asked them to join in fighting the war but he ran away. After he ran away, somebody came and called him again. He came out, closed the door. The fight then got to our house. That was why he ran away and climbed an upstairs. The soldiers (opponents) did not overpower Awka at all.

1.1 Record Number (0495)

Igbo	English
1. Aha HL	Name
2. Afu ọnu LL HS	Beard
3. Ihu afọ HH HS	Front tummy
4. I hu m RF H S	You have seen me
5. Ahu m egbu RFH S SS	I have seen goat
6. Ahu m agu RFH S SS	I have seen tiger
7. Eghu naabọ HH HLL	Two goats

Key: L = Low tone; H = High tone, S = down-step tone and RF = Rise-falling tone

Note that the tone bearing units are vowels and syllabic nasals, and Igbo is a syllable-timed language (which each syllable attracts prominence).

2. Sound changes observed in Awka dialect

Story One (0407)

Modern Awka: o lu ọbọfi aṅ^wo ka nna aṅi ọfi kulu aṅi fi aṅi na ọbuke ḡwata ḡwoke na ọ motala ọmọ naatọ ọ ọb ọbọ naaṅa ma ja aḡo. ọbuke naaṅa

Old Awka: o lu ọbọfi aḡo na nna aṅi ọfi kulu aṅi fi aṅi na ọbuke ḡwata ḡwoke na ọ motala. ọmọ naatọ ọ ọb ọbọ naaṅa ma ja aḡo. ọbuke naaṅa

Sound Change: ɲ > ʃ; ɰ > ḡ; ɪ > i;

Modern Awka: o lu ọb ọbọfi aḡo ḡwanne je ḡke o ḡbu.u wee dḡewe wee foga ọb ọkḡoḡo ka ọ do naana totolo

Old Awka: o lu ọb ọbọfi a ḡwanne je wee dḡewe wee foga ọb ọkḡoḡo ka ọ do naana totolo

Sound Change: ʃ > ʒ

Modern Awka: ɔ̄kpɔ̄kpɔ̄nɔ̄nwa wee ʃi ja ɲʷanne je gu d̄zidi je na nna ʒa zili ʒe ʒa d̄zee kɔ̄ta aβiβia ojibo a fuga ɲʷanne je ɲke e ḡbuo je

Old Awka: ɔ̄kpɔ̄kpɔ̄nɔ̄ wee ʃi ja ɲʷanne je gu d̄zidi je na nna ʒa zili ʒe ʒa d̄zee kata aβiβia ojibo a fuga ɲʷanne je ɲke e ḡbuo je

Sound Change: a > ɔ

Modern Awka: ɔ̄ ʃi ja ja susuo je ɔ̄nɔ̄ na nna ʒa zili ʒe ʒa kata aβiβia ojibo a fɔ̄ta ɲʷanne je nɔ̄ɲʷa ḡbuo je

Old Awka: ɔ̄ ʃi ja ja susuo je ɔ̄nɔ̄ na nna ʒa zili ʒe d̄zee kata aβiβia ojibo a fuga ɲʷanne je ɲke e ḡbuo je

Sound Change: g > t

Modern Awka: ja nie je na nna ʒa zili ʒe ʒa d̄zee kata aβiβia ojibo a fɔ̄ta ɲʷanne je ɲke e ḡbuo je

Old Awka: ja nie je na nna ʒa zili ʒe d̄zee kata aβiβia ojibo a fuga ɲʷanne je ɲke e ḡbuo je

Sound Change: g > t

Story Two (0407)

Modern Awka: o lulu ɔ̄bɔ̄ʃi aɲʷɔ̄o aɲi na aɲa ɔ̄kɔ̄ ɔ̄tɔ̄tɔ̄ nna m ʃi m na aɲa aɲa bala ɔ̄ka na ʒa dɔ̄ʃa nɔ̄mazi mgbe aɲʷɔ̄

Old Awka: o lulu ɔ̄bɔ̄ʃi aβɔ̄o aɲi na aɲa ɔ̄kɔ̄ ɔ̄tɔ̄tɔ̄ nna m ʃi m na aɲa aɲa bala ɔ̄ka na ʒa dɔ̄ʃa nɔ̄mazi mgbe aβɔ̄

Sound Change: ʃ > ʒ; β > ɲʷ; β > ɲʷ

Modern Awka: o lu ka aɲa bialɔ̄ ʒa nɔ̄ta ʃi ɔ̄βu ɲʷata ɲʷoke bia ʃi ʒa ʒa biɲie ɔ̄ta ka e d̄zekʷuwe aɲa na ɔ̄ biago

Old Awka: o lu ka aɲa bialɔ̄ ʒa nɔ̄ta ʃi ɔ̄βu ɲʷata ɲʷoke bia ʃi ʒa ʒa biɲie ɔ̄ta ka e d̄zekʷuwe aɲa na ɔ̄ biago

Sound Change: n > ɲ

Modern Awka: aɲaɲʷanta na kʷakaa ɔ̄zɔ̄ ba aɲi

Old Awka: aɲaɲʷanta ana akʷa nɔ̄nɔ̄ ɔ̄zɔ̄ be aɲi

Sound Change: e > a

Record Number (0495)

Modern Awka

Old Awka

aβ̣ɔ ɔnɔ ah^wɔ ɔnɔ
 Sound Change: h^w > β

i.ɪu aβ̣ɔ ihu ah^wɔ
 Sound Change: h > ɾ; h^w > β

ɪ β̣ɔ m ɪ hɔ m
 Sound Change: h > β

aβ̣ɔ m eyu ahɔ m eyu
 Sound Change: h > β

aβ̣ɔ m agɔ ahɔ m agɔ
 Sound Change: h > β

Table 1: Summary of the sound differences observed in the data

S/N	Thomas's Version of Awka Dialect (Old Awka)	Modern Awka Dialect	Standard Igbo (SI)	Gloss	Sound Differences [where > means changes to]	Frequency
1	fuga	futa	puta	come out	g > t	2
2	aβ̣ɔ	aŋ ^w ɔ	ahɔ	That	β > ŋ ^w	2
3	ahɔ	aβ̣ɔ	ahɔ	That	h > β	3
4	ahɔ	aŋ ^w ɔ	ahɔ	that/have seen	h > ŋ ^w	1
5	Binie	bipie	bilie	get up	n > p	1
6	ihu	iuu	Ihu	Face	h > ɾ	1
7	ah ^w ɔ ah ^w ɔ	aβ̣ɔ aβ̣ɔ	afo afu (onu)	Tummy Beard	h ^w > β	2
8	be anyi	ba anyi	be anyi	our house/home	e > a	1
9	Kata	kota	Kata	Pluck	a > ɔ	1
10	ubɔfi	ubɔfi	ubochi	Day	tʃ > f	3
11	mɔtara	motala	mɔtara	learnt/gave birth to	ɾ > l	1

Table 1 shows the various areas of sound differences between the Awka dialect of Igbo recorded by Northcote and the current version of the dialect recorded by Okeke, Uzoagba and Okeke in 2022, using record numbers 0407 and 0495. Table 1 shows a total of 11 sound differences between the two recordings. The number of occurrences of the differences is also captured with six of the items occurring once. Three items occur twice and two items occur thrice.

Item (1) in Table 1, which is /g/ > /t/, occurs in the words *fuga* and *futa*, which are dialectal variants of *puta* - ‘come out’ in the Standard Igbo. The Awka dialect speaker in the original recording (Speaker 1) used both variants in her narratives in 0407 but she used more of

fuga (4 times) than *futa* (once). This shows that the Awka dialect of the time of Northcote recordings was dominated by *fuga*. The Awka dialect speaker in the current recording (Speaker 2) also used the two variants but unlike Speaker 1, Speaker 2 made more use of *futa* (3 times) than *fuga* (2 times). We may conclude here that *futa* is replacing *fuga* in the present Awka dialect.

Items (2), /β/ > /ŋʷ/; (3), /h/ > /β/ and (4), /h/ > /ŋʷ/ occur in *ahụ* - ‘have seen’ and ‘that’ (note that the last /o/ in the data – first sentence in story 2 of 0407, is only for emphasis). Speaker 1 produced *ahụ* as /aɦʊ/ and /aβʊ/, while Speaker 2 produced same as /aŋʷʊ/ and /aβʊ/. It could be observed that the letter ‘h’ in *ahụ* was never realised by Speaker 2 as /h/, and Speaker 1 did not in any context realise the same letter as /ŋʷ/. We may rightly conclude that there are two variants of the word, *ahụ* and *anwu* (for ‘that’ not ‘have seen’) in the current Awka dialect.

‘Stand/arise/get up’ in Standard Igbo is *bilie*, but Speaker 1 realised it as *binie*, while Speaker 2 produced it as *binyie*. Item 5, therefore, shows a change from /n/ to /ɲ/ in the realisation of *bilie* in Awka dialect resulting to another variant, *binyie*.

Furthermore, in item 6, /ɦ/ > /ɪ/ in Table 1 occurs in the words *ihu* and *iru* ‘face/front’. While Speaker 1 realised the word as *ihu*, Speaker 2 realised it as *iru*.

The difference identified in item 7, /ɦʷ/ > /β/ occurs in the words *afu* ‘hair’ and *afọ* ‘tummy’. The sound /ɦʷ/ appeared twice in the speech of Speaker 1 and in the two instances, Speaker 2 replaced it with /β/.

The difference in sound represented in item 8, /e/ > /a/ occurs in the expression *be anyị* ‘our house’. This is an instance of regressive assimilation – /e/ ← /a/ = /aa/. Assimilation, which often happens in rapid speech has to do with a sound assuming the quality of another sound with which it co-occurs. So, the first vowel in the succeeding word /a/ exerts influence on the (last) vowel of the preceding word /e/ making the latter to assume the quality of the former.

In item 9, the difference as presented in /a/ > /ʊ/ occurs in the words *kata* and *kuta* ‘pluck’, which appeared three times in the first story in recording number 0407. In all the three instances, Speaker 1 used the *kata* variant only, while Speaker 2 used *kata* two times and *kuta* once. Both are possible variants of the word *kata* in Igbo, hence, we may say that *kuta* is filtering into the dialect, thereby, replacing *kata*.

Item 10, /tʃ/ > /ʃ/ occurs in *ubochi* ‘day’. *Ubochi* and *uboshi* are possible variants of the word for ‘day’ in the Standard Igbo. While Speaker 1 produced *ubochi* in all the instances, Speaker 2 produced *uboshi* in all 3 instances. It can, therefore, be said that *ubochi* is being replaced by *uboshi* in the present-day Awka dialect.

In item 11, the sound difference as presented in /ɹ/ > /l/, occurs in *mutara*. This sound difference is a common one among many dialects of Igbo. Some dialects often realise the letter ‘r’ in some environments as /ɹ/, while some others will realise same as /l/. For instance, the expressions in 0407 /o lulu.../; /o lu.../ and /o luo.../ will be /o .ɹu.../; /o .ɹu.../ and /o .ɹuo.../ respectively in some other dialects of Igbo. We can then say that the alternative between /l/ and

/ɪ/ is spreading in Awka dialect and /I/ is dominating because where Speaker 1 realised the letter ‘r’ as /ɪ/, Speaker 2 realised it as /I/.

4. Summary of the findings

From the analysis of the data above, the following can be inferred:

- *Fuga* and *futa*, the dialectal variants of *puta*, exist in Awka, but *fuga* is currently losing its dominance to *futa* in the dialect. The same goes for *kata* and *kuta*, while *kuta* is dominating.
- There exist in the modern Awka dialect, two variants for *ahu* ‘that’, /aŋ^wo/ and /aβo/, instead of aɦo/ and /aβo/ observed in the old Awka dialect.
- The nasal in *binie*, the dialectal variant of *bilie* ‘arise/get up’, has changed from /n/ to /ɲ/ resulting to another variant, *binyie*.
- There are some word variants that have found their way into Awka dialect. Among them is *uboshì* for *Ubochì* ‘day’, *binyie* for *bilie* ‘arise/get up’.
- The dialectal alteration between /ɪ/ and /I/ (as in the word *ruru/lulu* ‘reached’) is spreading in Awka, while /I/ is becoming dominant.

3. Conclusion

Every language is constantly changing. This change affects the language in different directions and for different reasons. The Awka dialect of Igbo is not left out. The dialect is undergoing a noticeable change in the pronunciation of words. It is obvious that some sounds are undergoing certain processes of change in Awka. This can be easily attributed to language contact resulting from migration. With the community serving as the Capital of Anambra State, as well as the location of one of the popular federal universities in South-East of Nigeria, Awka speech community currently harbours speakers of other Igbo dialects. The dialects of these migrants have diluted the original dialect spoken in the community as represented in Thomas’ recordings. Hence, contact with other Igbo dialect speakers can be said to be the major cause of the sound change going on in Awka Igbo.

The sound differences presented and analysed can be regarded as a process of environmentally conditioned sound change. This implies that contrary to the grammatically conditioned sound change as explained by scholars like Hill (2014), the sound differences presented here occurred in particular environments or affected some words, but the changes did not affect other words. This is so because apart from /ɦ^w/, which was not used anywhere by Speaker 2, all the sounds affected in the change can be found in both speakers’ utterances. However, further investigation is recommended to ascertain what is happening or has happened to /ɦ^w/ in Awka.

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