

“Why does it always have to be dudes, dude?”

A corpus-based study on *dude* as an address term in web-based

World Englishes

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Tässä pro gradu -tutkielmassa tarkastellaan *dude*-sanan käyttöä puhutteluterminä internetissä kuudessa eri maailmanenglannissa. Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, mitä funktioita *dude*-sanalla puhutteluterminä on internetenglannissa, miten sanaa käytetään eri asemissa lausumassa ja onko sanan käytössä merkittävää eroa eri maailmanenglantien kesken.

Aineistona tutkimukselle käytettiin englanninkielistä korpusta, johon on koottu internetkieltä kahdestakymmenestä eri maailmanenglannista. Tutkittaviksi maailmanenglanneiksi valikoituivat amerikanenglannin lisäksi Irlannissa, Nigeriassa, Singaporessa, Uudessa-Seelannissa ja Jamaikalla käytettävät englannin varieteetit. Nämä varieteetit valittiin, koska ne edustavat laajasti englanninkielistä maailmaa sekä maantieteellisesti että englannin kielen aseman suhteen eri maissa.

Dude valittiin tutkimuskohteeksi, koska se on erittäin yleinen alun perin amerikanenglantilainen slangisana, jonka käyttö on levinnyt ympäri maailmaa. Sanan käyttö puhutteluterminä on mielenkiintoinen ilmiö internetkielessä, koska puhuttelutermit yhdistetään yleensä kasvokkain käytyyn keskusteluun.

Tutkimuksessa havaittiin, että *dude* esiintyy puhutteluterminä internetenglannissa kaikissa lausuman asemissa: alussa, keskellä ja lopussa. Lisäksi se voi muodostaa yksinään koko lausuman. Funktioiksi *dude*-puhutteluterminille nimettiin suhteiden ylläpitäminen (*relational*), negatiivisen sanoman lieventäminen (*mitigational*), hyökkäävyys (*confrontational*), sanan käyttäminen huudahduksena (*exclamative*) ja jutusteleavuus (*conversational*). Kaikki nämä funktiot esiintyivät kaikissa tutkimukseen sisällytetyissä maailmanenglanneissa lukuun ottamatta nigerianenglantia, jossa *dude* ei esiintynyt huudahduksena. Löydetyistä funktioista puhuttelutermin hyökkäävä käyttö ei esiintynyt yhdessäkään aiemmista taustaosioissa käsitellyistä tutkimuksista. Eri funktioiden lisäksi *dude*-sanalle hahmottui kaksi muista erottuvaa käyttöyhteyttä: sanan käyttö siteeraavan *like*-sanan kanssa sekä kaksoispuhuttelu, jossa *dude*-puhuttelutermin lisäksi käytetään jotakin toista puhuttelutermiä, esimerkiksi puhuteltavan nimeä.

Dude-sanan sijoittumisessa lausumaan havaittiin eroavaisuuksia sekä eri maailmanenglantien kesken että suhteessa sanalle nimettyihin eri funktioihin. Eroavaisuuksien tilastollista merkittävyyttä mittaava testi osoitti, että mitkään tutkitut maailmanenglannit eivät noudata täysin samaa kaavaa *dude*-sanan funktioissa ja asemassa, vaikka samankaltaisuuksiakin havaittiin.

Avainsanat: korpuslingvistiikka, maailmanenglannit, internetkieli, puhuttelu, *dude*

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1. Introduction

Slang is often thought of as bad language that people with a deficient vocabulary use. Tony Thorne, the editor of *The Dictionary of Contemporary Slang* (2007, ii), has an opposing view on the matter:

In my experience, most slang users are not inarticulate dupes but quite the opposite: they are very adept at playing with appropriacy, skilfully manipulating ironically formal, mock-technical and standard styles of speech as well as slang.

When it comes to American English, one of the most frequent slang words used by the American youth is *dude* (Barbieri 2008, 64; Hill 1994, 321). Barbieri (2008, 65) claims that the most common way of using *dude* is as an address term, as in the following examples taken from the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (henceforth GloWbE)¹:

- (1) Whoa **dude!** Just how much crazy powder did you put in your protein shake today? (US: thebody.com)²
- (2) Why does it always have to be dudes, **dude**? What's with this grim insistence of maintaining a penile plurality in the halls of power? (US: nakedcapitalism.com)

In example (2), only the second instance of *dude* show its use as an address term. The first instance is an example of *dude* as a common noun where it refers to a third person rather than addresses the listener.

Despite being originally American English slang, *dude* as an address term has spread across the English-speaking world. Besides popular culture, the Internet has undoubtedly played its part in spreading American English slang around the world. After all, slang and other informal language are often used in online communication.

Dude was chosen as a topic for this study because of its commonness in American English, its spread in other World Englishes and due to its versatile nature. As an address term,

¹ Davies 2013

² The source of the example and the World English in question are shown in parentheses

dude can be used in a variety of functions from expressing solidarity to the addressee to being used as a discourse marker (Kiesling 2004). In my opinion, the use of *dude* as an address term is especially interesting in web-based English where the addressee is not seen as address terms are generally associated with face-to-face conversation.

This research combines the study of slang, World Englishes and web-based English as it will look at the slang word *dude* used as an address term in web-based World Englishes. The data for this study comes from the Corpus of Global Web-Based English. The different varieties of English included in this study are from the US, Ireland, Nigeria, Singapore, New Zealand and Jamaica. I chose these varieties in order to have the English-speaking world represented as thoroughly as possible including Englishes from both the Inner and Outer Circle (to read more about the different circles, see chapter 2.3).

The research questions for this MA thesis are the following:

- i) What kind of functions does *dude* as an address term have in web-based English?
- ii) Is *dude* used in a different position in utterance in the different functions?
- iii) Are there noticeable differences in the functions and positions in utterance in American English and other World Englishes?

To offer a hypothesis, I suspect that the World Englishes under inspection are mostly similar in their use of *dude* as an address term. I also expect to find some patterns where the different functions prefer certain positions in utterance.

Dude as an address term has been studied previously by Kiesling (2004) and – along with other slang terms – Barbieri (2008). However, both of these studies used face-to-face American English conversation as their data. The present study will approach *dude* as an address term from a different point of view with data from online communication in several World Englishes in addition to American English. By studying *dude* in a different context in

different World Englishes, this study can provide new information on the use of this address term.

It is important to remember that even though *dude* is typically thought of as American English slang, there is no reason why other varieties of English could use it as well and on their own way. Thus, the purpose of this study is not to point out how the other varieties use the term in a wrong way but rather to find other possible ways of using this address term and perhaps to pinpoint some patterns of usage.

In the following sections of this study, I will introduce the word *dude* and previous research carried out on *dude* as an address term. I will then discuss address terms, their functions and the different utterance-positions they are used in. After that, I will take a look at the notion of World Englishes in general followed by a brief examination of the different World Englishes included in this study. The last background section will explore web-based language. The next section will consider corpus linguistics, followed by an introduction of the material and method used in this study. Then I will move on to analyze the data and to discuss the results, revisiting the research questions presented above. The final part of the thesis will be a summary providing some conclusions and suggestions for further research.

2. Background

This section contains the theoretical background to my study. I will first introduce the meaning of the word *dude* and its development, some of the connotations attached to it and previous research carried out on *dude* as an address term. I will then discuss address terms and their functions. Then I will take a brief look at World Englishes in general and introduce the different Englishes included in this study. That is, American English, Irish English, Nigerian English, Singapore English, New Zealand English and Jamaican English, respectively. In the final background section, I will move on to discussing language on the Internet.

2.1 *Dude*

The Brooklyn Daily Eagle from February 25th, 1883 describes the first appearance of *dude* as follows:

A new word has been coined. It is *d-u-d-e* or *d-o-o-d*. The spelling does not seem to be distinctly settled yet, but custom will soon regulate it. Just where the word came from nobody knows, but it has sprung into popularity within the last two weeks, so that now everybody is using it.

The paper describes *dude* as a 19 to 28-year-old rich man's son wearing "trousers of extreme tightness" and a bell crown hat. The article concludes with the notion that "the word *dude* is a valuable addition to the slang of the day" (ibid.).

Dude seems to have gone through a variety of changes in its meaning over time. The etymology is quite unclear, but the first recordings of *dude* date all the way to the 19th century, as can be seen from the article in *the Brooklyn Daily Eagle* and as is described in the *Oxford English Dictionary* Online (hereafter OED online, s.v. *dude*). Back then, *dude* carried a pejorative meaning and was used to refer to "a man affecting an exaggerated fastidiousness in dress, speech, and deportment" (ibid.). According to Hill (1994, 321), *dude* soon lost its pejorative meaning and began to refer simply to a well-dressed man.

Dude began to widen in meaning in the 1930s when different subgroups of Americans started to refer to themselves as *dudes*. In the 1950s the term was already synonymous to *guy* (Hill 1994, 323). By the 1970s, *dude* was so widespread that Hill describes adding it to one's vocabulary as little short of a "linguistic rite of passage into puberty for youth of this era" (1994, 325).

As to the meaning of the word today, *The Dictionary of Contemporary Slang* (2007) defines *dude* simply as "a man" (s.v. *dude*). OED online (s.v. *dude*) gives an even broader sense of the word, describing *dude* as "a person (of either sex)". Hill (1994, 321) argues that *dude* is the most common word used by American youth. He even sees the fast spread of *dude* as a beginning to a "virtual syntactic revolution in the English language" as the use of the word is so ubiquitous among young speakers of different ages and social backgrounds (ibid.).

In its modern sense, *dude* has connotations quite unrelated to clothing. Siegel addressed some of these connotations in her article "Dude, Katie! Your dress is so cute: Why dude became an exclamation" (2005). She asked a group of informants consisting of American teenagers what kind of characteristics a superhero called "superdude" would have. The informants describe the hypothetical superhero as "young, cool, very fast", "a little crazy" and as one who makes people laugh (2005, 17). Meanwhile, the teenagers described the hypothetical superhero called "superguy" as someone who "drinks a lot of beer" and "can't really do anything: he just thinks he can" (ibid.). This implies that *dude* is actually a more positive word than *guy*, although they are often seen as synonyms.

Quite controversially, Stenström et al. connect negative connotations to *dude* in their study (2002). They place *dude* under the list of "nouns meaning 'foolish/worthless'", along with *moron*, *prat* and *wimp* (2002, 70). One of their informants also associates *dude* with the word *idiot* (2002, 63). The drastic difference in meaning could relate to the fact that Stenström et al. used British informants in their study. However, this is an inadequate explanation as the

pejorative meaning in the modern use of *dude* is not mentioned by any other background literature addressed in the present study.

Kiesling explains in his article “Dude” (2004, 282) that *dude* “indexes a stance of effortlessness”, where the speaker does not want to appear too enthusiastic. However, the speaker simultaneously shows solidarity or camaraderie to the addressee. Kiesling adopts the term *cool solidarity* to combine these two different stances (ibid.). He also argues that using *dude* is a way for young men to “balance two dominant, but potentially contradictory, cultural Discourses of modern American masculinity: masculine solidarity and heterosexism” (2004, 282).

For his data, Kiesling (2004) asked students at the University of Pittsburgh to record tokens of *dude* in everyday conversations and compiled the results into a corpus. In his analysis of the corpus data, Kiesling discusses the pragmatic aspects of the address term and identifies differences in use between men and women. He found that although young men use *dude* the most, the word is also used by young women, especially in interaction with other young women (2004, 284). The use of *dude* was least common in mixed-gender interactions (2004, 285).

Finally, Barbieri (2008) compared the language use of youth and adults using keyword analysis. She used a corpus of spontaneous conversation in American English as her data (2008, 1). In her study, *dude* was one of the most common non-derogatory slang words used by the young speakers (2008, 64). She also found that *dude* is used significantly more often as an address term than as a common noun (2008, 65).

2.2. Address

This subchapter will take a look at the different functions of address terms as well as give a theoretical background to studying them. The use of address terms in the different positions

of utterance is also looked at. When it comes to the functions of address terms discussed in this chapter, main emphasis is on the ones studied in the analysis section 5.3 discussed by other researchers: the relational use of address terms and the use of address terms as mitigators.

The Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (2009, s.v. *address*) defines *address* as “the manner of referring to someone in direct linguistic interaction”, for example with names, titles or pronouns. From a grammatical point of view, similar terms are called *vocatives*, as Biber et al. do in their *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (1999). They have placed *dude* in the group of familiarizers along with such nouns as *mate*, *man*, *buddy*, *bro*, which, as the name implies, show a familiar relationship between the speaker and the addressee (ibid., 1109). As the present study approaches *dude* more from a pragmatic point of view rather than a grammatical one, the term *address term* will be used instead of *vocative*.

In their book *English: One Tongue, Many Voices* (2006, 214), Svartvik and Leech note that address terms are used especially frequently in American English and that their purpose is “to maintain the friendly rapport between equals”. They also claim that leaving out the address term could make the impression that the speaker has uncertainties about the relationship with the addressee or has forgotten the addressee’s name (ibid.). Taking an opposing view, Rendle-Short (2010, 1205) argues that address terms are especially convenient when the speaker does not know the addressee’s name or has forgotten it. She also points out that an address term is useful in contexts where the speaker wants to “indicate a relaxed open friendliness without appearing too familiar by calling the [addressee] by name” (2010, 1205). Her example of this kind of situation is talkback radio (ibid.), but online conversations studied in the present paper also fit Rendle-Short’s description of useful contexts for an address term. After all, online communication is often anonymous.

2.2.1 Utterance position and address terms

The following examples of *dude*, taken from the Corpus of Global Web-Based English, illustrate its use as an address term:

- (3) **dude**, im so bored. my bf just got ina car accident. (IE: ocaoimh.ie)
- (4) You got ta lay off those turkeys on Thanksgiving **dude**, you'll turn into one if you eat too much. (SG: basilmarket.com)
- (5) Seriously **dude**. If anyone needs to chill the fuck out, it's you. (US: firebrandal.com)

These examples show that *dude* is used as an address term in all three possible syntactic positions within an utterance: initial (3), medial (4) and final (5). According to Biber et al. (1999, 1112), vocatives occur most commonly in utterance-final position, where they are associated with short units. Utterance-initial vocatives thus associate with longer units and are less common (ibid.). This claim of utterance-initial vocatives being less common is supported by Rendle-Short (2010, 1203) studying *mate* as an address term in Australian English.

Dude can also occur as an address term on its own. The following examples show *dude* in a stand-alone position:

- (6) **DUDE**. You look like a gummi bear. I'm sorry, but no. I just can't. (SG: dramabeans.com)
- (7) **Dude**. Not everyone can be grammatically or politically correct all the time, but can you at least get yourself a little bit of intelligence before commenting? (US: spectator.org)

Using *mate* as her example, Rendle-Short (2010) identifies functions related to the utterance-positions of the address term. She argues that when the address term is post-positioned (or – using the terminology adopted by Biber et al. (1999) – utterance-final), the speaker can elongate the short turn, “thus making the assessment, agreement, acknowledgement or appreciation stand out from the background talk” (2010, 1207). Rendle-Short goes on claiming that when *mate* is used in a response sequence (for example when

answering a question asked by the other speaker and taking the turn of conversation), *mate* is usually added to the first utterance of the turn construction unit, thus emphasizing that the utterance is sequentially connected to the prior talk and that there is a friendly relationship between the speakers (2010, 1207).

Regarding the use of *mate* in utterance-initial position, Rendle-Short (2010, 1211) argues that “as we don’t expect to hear ‘mate’ as the first word of a [turn-construction unit], it is heard differently and so it immediately tells us something”. She also claims that using *mate* in the beginning of the utterance “shifts the sequential organization of the talk” (ibid.). The utterance-final position is the prevalent position in utterance for *mate* as an address term in Rendle-Short’s study (2010, 1203).

Even though Rendle-Short (2010, 1211) claims the utterance-initial position to be a marked choice for an address term, Kiesling (2004, 291) found 60% of the occurrences of *dude* as an address term to be in utterance-initial position, while 27% were in utterance-final position. *Dude* occurred in utterance-medial position in only 4% of the instances and in stand-alone position in 1.3% of the instances in Kiesling’s study (ibid.).

Barbieri (2008) came to the conclusion that *dude* as an address term occurs most commonly in utterance-final position, with 79% of the cases (2008, 65). Her findings contradict with those of Kiesling, who found that utterance-initial use of *dude* as an address term is extensively more common than the utterance-final use. The different positions of utterance will be further discussed in the analysis section 5.2.

2.2.2. Functions of address terms

Biber et al. (1999, 1112) identify three reasons as to why terms of address are used: to catch somebody’s attention, to point out somebody as an addressee or to sustain social relationships. However, in *The Sociolinguistics of Language* (1990, 3), Fasold makes a distinction between

summonses, which are used to get the listener's attention and address forms that are used when the speaker already has the listener's attention. This way the function of pointing out someone as an addressee could be irrelevant when discussing address terms. Similarly, Rendle-Short (2010, 1202) points out that there is no need to attract the other speaker's attention in two-party interaction, but address terms are still often used in this kind of situations. This way, as Rendle-Short (2010, 1204) continues, "because identification has already been made, any further use of an address term in this dyadic interaction is optional and represents a marked choice".

In their study on vocatives used between close acquaintances compared to those used in radio phone-in programmes, McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003, 160) found the relational function of vocatives to be the prevalent category in conversations between close acquaintances. The relational function accounts for 30 percent of the occurrences of vocatives in their study (*ibid.*). The high frequency of the function can partly be explained by the multiple sub-types attached to it. McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003, 160;173) place compliments, agreements, utterances enhancing the personal esteem of the recipient, apologies and general evaluations on the list of these relational functions. The category resembles the combination of the two functions of *dude* as an address term named by Kiesling (2004, 292): one of affiliation and connection and one of agreement.

Another function that Rendle-Short (2010, 1207) associates to the use of *mate* in utterance-final position is that of a mitigator. This mitigating role is played by the address term when it is attached to a statement that might have a negative impact on the addressee (*ibid.*). In other words, the address term could be added to soften the utterance that might otherwise sound negative. Rendle-Short (2010, 1207) gives requests, unsolicited advice and instructions as examples of such potentially negative speech acts. She also mentions that *mate* as an address term can be used to mitigate humorous or ironic comments (2010, 1208).

McCarthy and O’Keeffe (2003, 164) also discuss the use of address terms as mitigators. However, they do not associate the function to any specific position of utterance and their examples only include mitigators in the utterance-medial position completely overlooked by Rendle-Short (2010).

Even though Rendle-Short (2010, 1207) argues that the address term *mate* is used as a mitigator in an utterance-final position, in most of Rendle-Short’s examples *mate* is used in the utterance preceding the potentially negative speech act. According to her, this strategy has three purposes: showing that more talk is about to follow, suggesting that the following talk might be difficult for the hearer and that the speakers’ open and friendly relationship (as indicated by the use of *mate*) should be kept in mind while listening to the following talk (2010, 1208). The use of the address term before the request acts as a mitigator that makes it difficult for the addressee to refuse the request (ibid.).

Kiesling (2004, 291) also introduces confrontational stance mitigation as one of the functions of *dude* as an address term. He explains this function as the speaker taking “a confrontational or “one-up” stance to the addressee” (2004, 292). Similarly to Rendle-Short and the address term *mate* (2010, 1207), Kiesling also associates the use of *dude* as a mitigator to the end of the utterance (2004, 292). He also claims that this particular use of *dude* is especially popular among women (ibid.).

Whether or not *dude* can be considered a discourse marker will also be explored in the analysis section 5. Kiesling (2004, 291) has also discussed this, labelling a functional category of *dude* as “discourse structure marking.” As Kiesling (ibid.) explains, “this function marks off a new segment of discourse from a previous segment”. However, *dude* as a discourse marker could also have other functions. Studying *like*, Siegel (2002, 64) notes that it can be used as a discourse particle when the speaker either has not planned what they are going to say before starting to speak or when there is difficulty in finding the words to say it.

This way the discourse marker does not necessarily mark the start of a new segment but rather acts as a filler to give the speaker more time to decide what to say. The notion of *dude* as a discourse marker is further discussed in conjunction with exclamative *dude* and conversational *dude*.

Kiesling (2004, 292) reminds that even though several different functions of an address term can be pinpointed, it is possible for one instance of an address term to perform several of these functions. It is also possible for the function to be left ambiguous (*ibid.*).

Even though the different researchers have slightly opposing views on the details of the functions of address terms, the function of maintaining social relationships comes up in all the studies discussed in this subchapter. It is thus safe to conclude that it is one of the most important functions of address terms. In a way, mitigation could also be placed under the category of maintaining social relationships as the addresser shows concern of the addressee's feelings when mitigating the message. The only function clearly not associated with maintaining social relationships is that of confrontation. This function is left undiscussed by all the studies introduced here and shall be further examined in the analysis section 4.3.3.

2.3 World Englishes

In this chapter I will briefly introduce the concept of World Englishes and discuss the different varieties of English used in my study: American English, Irish English, Nigerian English, Singapore English, New Zealand English and Jamaican English. As a detailed description of these varieties is not relevant to the present study, I will only go through their basic historical background and the status of English in these countries.

World Englishes have been an increasingly popular field of study among linguistics and the past few decades have seen a shift towards a more descriptive way of looking at World

Englishes. They are no longer regarded ‘wrong’ uses of English or only looked at through the native varieties but studied as interesting new ways of using English.

When discussing the different global varieties of English, Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, 3) explain that the plural form ‘World Englishes’ is used in order to emphasize the diversity of English and the fact that “English no longer has one single base of authority, prestige and normativity”. However, the term has its problems and Mesthrie and Bhatt (ibid.) claim that being over-general is one of them. After all, British English is not generally regarded as a World English even though Britain is certainly a part of the world. This is why Mesthrie and Bhatt prefer the term ‘English Language Complex’. There is also debate on whether American English should count as a World English, but I have chosen to discuss it as one in this study. After all, the origins of American English are similar to other World Englishes under discussion. These origins will be looked at further in the following subchapters.

There are different models of representing the spread of English around the world, but Kachru’s (1985) model with the three concentric circles (Image 1) is among the most frequently quoted ones. The three circles – the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle – represent “the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages” (Kachru 1985, 12).

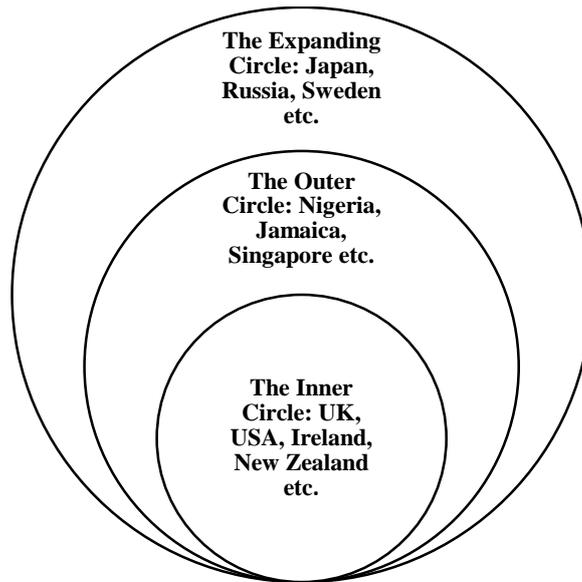


Figure 1: The circles of English worldwide, adapted from Kachru (1985, 12)

The Inner Circle includes the regions where most of the people have English as their native language: the UK, Ireland (for more information on placing Ireland in the circles of English, see chapter 2.3.2), USA, Canada, the West Indies, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

The Outer Circle, as Kachru (1985, 12) explains, “involves the earlier phases of the spread of English and its institutionalization in non-native contexts”. Most of the countries in the Outer Circle were at one time colonized by speakers of the Inner Circle varieties (ibid.). According to Kachru (1985, 12-13), one or more languages other than English are also used in Outer Circle countries, and English “has acquired an important status in the language policies of most of such multilingual nations”. English is used in a wide range of domains in these countries, including different social, educational, administrative and literary contexts (ibid.). The countries in the Outer Circle include for example Nigeria, Kenya, India, Jamaica and Singapore. Most users of English in the Outer Circle are not native speakers.

Gupta (2006, 95) notes that academics and later also the societies and governments have accepted the functional and attitudinal similarities of Inner and Outer Circle settings of English. She argues that:

English belongs to its speakers in the Outer Circle, just as much as to its speakers in the Inner Circle, and all of them need to express their own culture through an English adapted to their needs, and expressive of their geographical, national and cultural identity (ibid.).

Thus, the purpose of dividing English into the three circles is in no way stating that the Inner Circle Englishes are somehow better than the non-native varieties. As Crystal puts it (2003, 2-3), nobody owns a global language and at the same time everyone using the language owns it and has the right to use it the way they wish.

The speakers of English in the Expanding Circle are the ones using English as an international language. Svartvik and Leech (2006, 2) argue that most countries of the world are included in this circle as English is learned and used as a foreign language so widely. They even go on claiming that the Expanding Circle should soon be renamed 'the Expanded Circle' as the expansion of World English is going to reach its saturation point in the future (2006, 5). In other words, the Expanding (or Expanded) Circle might soon include all the countries in the world. This view is also supported by Crystal (2003, 60).

It is arguable whether the Englishes outside the Inner Circle should in fact be divided into two different circles and in some cases it is difficult to decide whether a country should be placed in the Expanding Circle or the Outer Circle. However, the different societal functions of English in the country usually help determine which circle it should be placed in.

Similarly to Kachru's model, Svartvik and Leech (2006, 122) also identify three main levels of English. On the top level, they place the international standard for English, either influenced by British or American English. This standard is used in public media and valued as an aim for English education. The middle level holds the 'standardizing' regional

variety used as a *lingua franca*, where English often acts as a neutral *lingua franca* between speakers with different native languages (ibid, 123). On the bottom level Svartvik and Leech (2006, 122) have the ‘vernacular Englishes’ – local varieties mixing English with elements of native languages of the region. This distinction is somewhat problematic, as the notion of British and American English as ‘standard’ can be considered linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 2009).

Another way of representing the spread of English across the world is McArthur’s circle of World Englishes (1987, 11). McArthur’s circle of World Englishes has World Standard English in the inner circle and different national and regional standard(izing) varieties in the outer circle, branching to include examples of the popular Englishes in these different countries and areas. The difference to Kachru’s model is that all the World Englishes – even the ones placed in the inner circle by Kachru – are considered to have a common core in McArthur’s model, that is World Standard English. McArthur’s model also treats the standard and standardizing Englishes (such as Canadian Standard English and East Asian Standardizing English) separately from the popular Englishes (such as Quebec English and Hong Kong English).

From these different ways of representing the spread of English in the world, I will refer to Kachru’s model (1984) of World Englishes in the present study as it is useful in representing the difference between the different World Englishes included in this study. I find that the terms Outer Circle and Inner Circle are a simple way of showing the difference between the different Englishes, considering that the material for the present study only divides the different World Englishes according to the country they are used in rather than into more specific regional varieties.

Rudby and Saraceni (2006, 7) note that the rising of local forms of English on the Outer Circle is a positive phenomenon, as these new varieties are “not imposed from the

outside” like native speaker models and thus do not support linguistic imperialism. This idea is seconded by Milroy and Milroy (1998, 6) who argue that language standardization involves “the suppression of optional variability in language”. However, Rudby and Saraceni (2006, 7) point out that if these nativized varieties of English keep spreading, the role of English as a *lingua franca* could be threatened due to mutual incomprehensibility. In this scenario, the different Englishes would turn into altogether different languages. From this point of view, the need for a standard variety of English is justified despite its problematic nature. However, Crystal (2003, 22) argues that it is “perfectly possible to develop a situation in which intelligibility and identity happily co-exist” – through bilingualism. The kind of bilingualism Crystal describes is the type where one language is the global language giving access to the world community, while the other language is a regional language giving access to the local community (ibid.). Crystal argues that the difference in functions of these two languages allow the existence of the global language (ibid.). Conflicts can emerge when either intelligibility or identity is emphasized too much which is why Crystal (2003, 127) underlines the importance of promoting bilingual policies.

2.3.1 United States

English came to the United States in 1607 with British settlers. As Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, 104) note, British English was very different then to what it is today. They even argue that the speech of the colonists was more like today’s American English than today’s standard British speech (2006, 105). The reason for this was the vast amount of variation in British English and the lack of a unified standard in the language at the time (ibid., 104-105). Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (2006, 105) also point out that British English has gone through many changes that did not spread to the US.

The multicultural mixture of the settlers arriving to the US allowed for American English to develop its distinctive nature, as Schneider (2006, 58) puts it. After the settlers, African slaves and European immigrants made their way to the US, bringing more variety to the cultural background of North Americans (Schneider 2006, 59).

Despite the fact that most Outer-Circle World Englishes are results of British colonialism, American English has an increasing amount of influence on Englishes around the world (Schneider 2006, 67). Schneider (ibid.) suggests the prestige of American English and the wide exposure to the variety as reasons for this change. The prestige can be associated with the political and economic dominance of the US as well as the spread of American popular culture, as Schneider (2006, 67) points out. According to him (2006, 68), most of the Americanisms used outside the US are words, such as *cool* to mean 'very good' or *man* as a form of address. Even though *dude* is not on Schneider's list of Americanisms that have spread across the world, it could easily be added there.

2.3.2 Ireland

Some scholars place Irish English on the Inner Circle of English, as English is the native language of most inhabitants of Ireland. However, Irish English does fill some of the requirements for an Outer Circle English too. After all, Ireland is a bilingual nation where elements of Gaelic and English are occasionally mixed. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) have chosen to discuss Irish English together with New Englishes such as American Indian English and Singapore English. They motivate this choice by explaining that even though Irish English can be considered a native variety along with other British regional dialects, its origins are in L2 – English as a second language (2008, 43-44). Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, 44) call Irish English a 'language-shift variety' as the language originally used as a second language stabilized to become the first language in the country while the speakers did not have major

contact to native speakers of English. Filppula (2012, 30) adds the lack of a unified standard form to the list of aspects differentiating Irish English from other national varieties such as British and American English.

According to Svartvik and Leech (2006, 145), the earliest use of English recorded in Ireland is from the mid-thirteenth century. During that time, English was only spoken in the Dublin area (*ibid.*). The sixteenth century brought a wave of English and Scottish settlers to Ireland and Svartvik and Leech (2006, 145-146) claim that the English spoken in Ireland today has its roots in the settlers' language. However, Gaelic was still the dominant language in Ireland at the time (*ibid.*). According to Filppula (2012, 31), it was not until the early 19th century when the scales tipped in favour of English. After that, there was no stop to the spread of English and the decrease of the amount of Irish speakers (*ibid.*). The thought of immigrating to America motivated the use of English at homes (Filppula 2012, 31).

Svartvik and Leech (2006, 148) identify a continuum of usage in Irish English: there is the standard variety similar to other standard varieties around the world and the vernacular variety which often uses elements from Gaelic origin. The continuum runs from the standard varieties to the vernacular forms. The varieties of Irish English can also be divided based on the amount of Scottish influence, with the northern varieties having more Scottish influence and southern varieties less, as Filppula (2012, 30) points out.

2.3.3 Nigeria

The English spoken in Nigeria is one of the West African Englishes, along with other former British colonies of Gambia, Ghana, Cameroon and Sierra Leone (Svartvik and Leech, 116). Taiwo (2012, 410) argues that "Nigeria's overwhelming dominance in terms of population makes her variety of English the prototype of West African English".

The current country of Nigeria was first introduced to English by British traders in the sixteenth century, but a wider spread of English speakers did not arrive in the area until its colonization in the 18th century, accompanied by the arrival of British missionaries (Taiwo 2012, 410). According to Schneider (2007, 201), these missionaries founded schools and started teaching English to the indigenous people. Bilingualism started spreading and was associated with elitism from early on, as English had established a position as a prestige language (*ibid.*). Around the same time, a Nigerian English pidgin started to develop due to trading contacts on the coast (*ibid.*). This pidgin spread across the country, as Schneider (2007, 201) puts it, “by becoming an interethnic lingua franca”.

The British colony of Nigeria was officially founded in 1914 (Schneider 2007, 201). According to Schneider (*ibid.*), English then was established as the language of administration, education, business, and the law. This way English was mainly associated with formal settings. Nigerian Pidgin, however, started spreading in informal everyday contexts (Schneider 2007, 202).

As Schneider (2007, 202) explains it, English spread in Nigeria through formal education, so the “emerging variety was colored by influences from the learners’ mother tongues”. Despite this, RP (Received Pronunciation) and Standard English were long considered the prestige forms and accents in Nigerian English (*ibid.*).

Svartvik and Leech (2006, 116) place English used in Nigeria on a scale of different varieties. The acrolect is the ‘top dialect’ used in national newspapers and broadcasting, while the basilect is the ‘bottom dialect’ consisting of local varieties, including pidgins and creoles (*ibid.*). The middle dialects – or mesolects – account for most of the everyday usage of English in Nigeria, suggest Svartvik and Leech (*ibid.*). These are the middle dialects ranging between the popular varieties and the standard.

According to Crystal (2003, 52), Nigeria is today one of the most multilingual countries in Africa and about half the population use pidgin or creole English as a second language. In addition to this, Schneider (2007, 204) claims that Nigeria has “fully embraced the English language as an ethnically neutral tool for everyday formal communication”. Taiwo (2012, 410) argues that Nigerian English is even used in home settings.

Nigerian English lacks a unified standard form and Taiwo (2012, 411) sees this as a potential problem. According to him, some Nigerian English speakers wish that Standard British English would be taught in schools in order to achieve mutual intelligibility with other English Speakers (*ibid.*). This raises the question of emphasizing intelligibility at the expense of identity addressed by Crystal (2003) further discussed in chapter 2.3.

2.3.4 Singapore

The British Empire founded Singapore on a scarcely populated island in the early 19th century (Schröter 2012, 562). Soon after that, English became a school language in Singapore and other British colonies in Southeast Asia and the people who were educated in English began using English as the natural language of contact (Svartvik and Leech 2006, 120).

Today, English is an official language of Singapore, along with Mandarin Chinese, Malay and Tamil (Schröter 2012, 562). Schröter (*ibid.*) writes that English is the ethnically neutral choice of these four languages. According to Svartvik and Leech (2006, 120), English is an important language in Singaporean education, government administration, law, and business. Schröter (2012, 562) also notes that the use of English as a domestic language has increased vastly in the last decades.

The vernacular variety of Singapore English is called Singlish. Svartvik and Leech (2006, 120) mention that most Singaporeans find it easy to shift between Singlish and Standard English, although the political leaders encourage the people to speak “internationally

accepted English to avoid finding themselves in a ‘cultural backwater’”. The government has even founded a project called the Speak Good English Movement, encouraging Singaporeans to use Standard English rather than Singlish (<http://www.goodenglish.org.sg>).

Svartvik and Leech (2006, 120) argue that although English in Southeast Asia has originated from British English, American English has a strong influence on it. One could speculate that the opposition of the Speak Good English movement and the imposing of Standard British English by the government have in their part made American English more attractive to the Singaporeans.

2.3.5 New Zealand

In their book *New Zealand English* (2008, 1), Hay et al. point out that New Zealand is “one of the most isolated countries in the world”. Keeping this in mind, it is interesting to view how English and especially American English have gained a foothold in the country.

The first people to inhabit New Zealand over 1000 years ago were the Maori (Hay et al. 2008, 3). The Maori spoke a Polynesian language and despite their isolation to New Zealand, the linguistic link to Polynesia remained strong (ibid. 2008, 3-4). In 1769, James Cook landed in New Zealand and claimed it for the British crown (ibid. 2008, 4). Cook also sailed to Australia and soon after that, a British convict settlement was established there. According to Hay et al. (2008, 4), this Australian settlement also enabled the first European settlement in New Zealand in the 1780s. Great Britain added New Zealand to its colonial possessions in 1840 and after that the European population of New Zealand increased vastly, soon outnumbering the Maori population (ibid. 2008, 4-5). After gold was discovered in New Zealand, miners from Ireland and China started to arrive, disrupting the British planned settlement (ibid. 2008, 5). According to Hay et al. (2008, 5), New Zealand began to encourage immigration in the following decades, which caused over 100,000 new settlers to arrive.

There have been arguments that New Zealand English was transported from the London dialect of Cockney, as Hay et al. (2008, 84) point out. The similarities between the varieties of English used in New Zealand and Australia have also led some people to think that New Zealand English in fact originated from Australian English (ibid. 2008, 86). However, they are today seen as separate, independent varieties of English, as Hay et al. (ibid.) note. As it seems that New Zealand English originated neither from London nor from Australia, it is quite safe to assume that it has developed independently within New Zealand (Hay et al. 2008, 86).

New Zealand and the United States have a similar pioneering origin and the two countries have been in contact ever since their collaboration during the Second World War (Hay et al. 2008, 75). Hay et al. (ibid.) also note that American films, radio and TV are popular in New Zealand and that New Zealanders are highly influenced by the expressions used in American popular culture. They even mention the increased use of *dude*, noting that “words like *dude* and *guy(s)* have replaced *bloke* and *joker*” (ibid. 2008, 76).

New Zealand is a highly monolingual country, even though Maori is still one of the official languages. According to Schneider (2007, 131), the Maori language is only used regularly by a small part of the population even though New Zealand manifests its bilingualism widely.

2.3.6 Jamaica

As Sand (2012, 210) notes, Jamaica was a Spanish settlement until a British plantation colony was established there in 1655. With them, the settlers brought slaves from Nevis, Barbados, Suriname and later from Africa, the result of which was that there were eventually more slaves than settlers in Jamaica (ibid.). This multiculturalism had its effect on the development of Jamaican English and its creoles.

Recognized by the constitution, Jamaican English is the official language of Jamaica (Sand 2012, 210). Similarly to many other varieties discussed earlier, Jamaican English can also be considered to form a continuum ranging from a regional standard to Jamaican Creole (ibid.).

According to Sand (2012, 2010), the majority of the Jamaican population today are “Creole-dominated bilinguals”, meaning that they speak both Jamaican English and a Jamaican Creole but mainly Jamaican Creole. Sand (2012, 2011) argues that Jamaican Creole is no longer considered a low variety and can be heard in the media and spoken in classrooms.

2.4 Language on the Internet

In this section, I will discuss web-based English: its characteristics and its differences and similarities to spoken and written language. I will also look at the amount of people with Internet access in the countries under inspection in the present study.

David Crystal (2011, 16) notes that language is traditionally thought of having three dimensions with their own mediums: speech (the phonic medium), writing (the graphic medium) and signing (the visual medium). Crystal adds a new fourth dimension to this list – the electronic or digital medium (ibid.). Svartvik and Leech (2006, 219-220) on the other hand approach this notion of a new medium with slight caution and prefer to see the advance of Internet language as a technological leap forward, comparing it to the invention of the printing press rather than seeing as an invention of a completely new medium.

Naomi Baron (2008, 46) notes that writing is conventionally thought of as being formal and speech informal. Crystal (2011, 17-19) and Baron (2008, 47) agree that the most crucial ways in which speech differs from writing include its spontaneity, lack of time lag between production and reception, unclear sentence boundaries and the use of extralinguistic features and deictics such as facial features and gestures. On the other hand, writing is characterized by longer and more complex units of expression, distance between producer and

reader and its static nature, among other things (Crystal 2011, 17; Baron 2008, 47). When discussing the differences between speech and writing, Crystal (2011, 19) notes that speech and writing are not simply two homogeneous entities that can clearly be separated from one another but rather two extremes of a continuum. There are thus varieties of both speech and writing that have differing amounts of characteristics associated with the dimension in question (ibid.).

Much like speech and writing, online text types vary between situations with many speech-like elements (e. g. chat and email) and those that resemble traditional writing, such as Internet journalism and advertisement (Crystal 2011, 20). However, in his earlier work *Language and the Internet* (2001, 47), Crystal concludes that Internet language has in fact “more properties linking it to writing than to speech” arguing that it is “better seen as written language which has been pulled some way in the direction of speech than as spoken language which has been written down” (ibid.). The increased amount of informal writing contexts (such as instant messaging and chatrooms) on the Internet in the ten years between the publication of these works probably explains the change in point of view.

As Crystal (2011, 21) points out, Internet language also has features that neither spoken nor written language does. The major ways in which web-based communication differs from speech are its lack of simultaneous feedback, use of emoticons and the possibility of having multiple conversations simultaneously (Crystal 2011, 21-24). Simultaneous feedback includes the vocalizations, facial movements and gestures provided by the listener in face-to-face interaction, based on which the speaker modifies their speech (Crystal 2011, 21). These features are absent when communicating on the Internet and can contribute to a misperception of the message. As Crystal (2011, 22) puts it:

Addressing someone on the Internet is a bit like having a telephone conversation in which a listener is giving us no reactions at all: it is an uncomfortable and unnatural situation, and in the absence of such

feedback our own language becomes more awkward than it might otherwise be.

This feeling of discomfort is probably what led to the invention of emoticons; the other main difference between Internet language and speech. Yus (2011, 167) defines emoticons as “textual combinations of characters to create iconic images”. These emoticons – also known as *smileys* – range from the simple :) and :(to denote positive and negative attitudes to more complex ones such as >:-> implying that the comment is in some way malicious or sarcastic. As Crystal (2011, 23) points out, the semantic role of emoticons is very limited, as they are rather ambiguous. Emoticons cannot cover the whole range of nonverbal messages that people convey unintentionally during face-to-face interaction, as Yus (2011, 167) emphasizes.

When it comes to multiple conversations, web-based communication provides endless possibilities for multitasking. In traditional speech settings, one cannot be a part of multiple conversations simultaneously, whereas in an online chatroom it is possible to participate in several discussions at the same time “depending only on our interests, motivation, and ability to type” (Crystal 2011, 24). This can obviously lead to the simplification of the language used, although there is variation and complex sentence structures are not unheard of either, as Crystal (2011, 25) points out.

According to Crystal (2011, 28-31), the main differences between Internet communication and written texts are hypertext links, persistence and multiple authorship. Hypertext links include links to other websites. By persistence, Crystal (2011, 29) refers to the fact that a text on the Internet often changes as updates are made and advertisements pop up, whereas traditional written texts are more static and permanent. Multiple authorship is visible especially on wiki-type web pages, where it is possible for basically anyone to alter an existing text (Crystal 2011, 30). This makes the texts pragmatically and stylistically heterogeneous (ibid. 30-31). Traditional written texts can, of course, have multiple authors

too, but the pragmatic and stylistic problems are usually worked on together in such cases in order to create a coherent text.

In her article “Verbal expressions of aggressiveness on the Estonian Internet” (2012, 206), Liisi Laineste adds aggression to the list of features of Internet communication. As Laineste states, aggression is socially inhibited in regular face-to-face interaction, while communication in the Internet is not usually censored for aggressive content. Anonymity and the lack of direct censorship (the writer of the aggressive content being alone at their computer) makes it easier to express negative and aggressive emotions online (Laineste 2012, 207-208). These factors, combined with the fact that the targets of the aggressiveness are easily available and usually unknown by the aggressor help to justify the aggressive communication (Laineste 2012, 208). Laineste executed a study on aggressive content in Estonian Internet comments, finding out that 11.3% of all the comments could be considered to contain verbal aggression – or flaming, to use the term adopted by Laineste (2012, 212). Culpeper (2011, 2) notes that impoliteness is considered justifiable and less impolite when it is a retaliation of impoliteness. This way, when someone has been rude to you it is acceptable to be rude to them. This could lead to a chain of rudeness. The notion of aggression in online communication will be further discussed in the analysis section 5.3.3.

Even though the Internet is a global network, the amount of people with access to it varies extensively from country to country. As Internet communication from different parts of the world is included in the present study, it is good to keep in mind that some countries included have more people who use the Internet than others. Hence, the following table (Table 1) represents the amount of Internet users in each country under inspection (according to the World Factbook 2009) as well as the percentage of the population with Internet access (International Telecommunication Union statistics, 2012).

Table 1: Amount of Internet users

	Amount of Internet users	Percentage of the population (%)
US	245 mil	81
Ireland	3.2 mil	79
Nigeria	44 mil	33
Singapore	3.0 mil	74
New Zealand	3.4 mil	90
Jamaica	1.5 mil	47

Given that the US is the native land of the Internet, it is not surprising that it also has the second largest amount of Internet users in the world, following only China (The World Factbook 2009). However, despite the small total amount of Internet users, New Zealand has a larger percentage of people with access to the Internet than the other countries under inspection. Similarly, due to the fact that Nigeria is so populous, there is a large number of Internet users there even though only a third of the population have access to the Internet.

When looking at Table 1, it might be worthwhile to consider the type of people with access to the Internet in the different countries. In countries where less than half of the population use the Internet such as Nigeria and Jamaica, the people who do have Internet access are probably wealthier, younger and more internationally orientated than the ones who are not able to use the Internet. This leaves certain parts of the population out of the scope of research on online communication. This could also partly explain the popularity of *dude* in the data, as internationally oriented young people are probably more likely to adopt and use American English slang terms than the proportion of the population with no ability or interest to use the Internet.

3. Theory: Corpus linguistics

This chapter will discuss the main theoretical background used in the present study – that is corpus linguistics.

In their book *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use* (1998, 4), Biber et al define a corpus as “a large principled collection of natural texts”. As Marcinkevičienė (2007, 86) describes it, the emphasis in corpus linguistics is placed on usage. The nature of the patterns of usage can be better understood through analysing corpora. Thus, in order to identify these patterns, corpus evidence is sought after (ibid.). As Mair (2006, 3) puts it:

Corpora make it possible to describe the spread of individual innovations against the background of the always far greater and more comprehensive continuity in usage.

In other words, corpora can be helpful in determining whether a feature of language is only a random individual occurrence or if it is used more extensively by a wider scale of users in different time periods.

Biber et al. (1998, 4) note that corpora allow the identification and analysis of more complex patterns of language use than would be possible when dealing with the data by hand. The reason for this is the far larger database of natural languages easily available when using corpora as opposed to collecting and handling data without it.

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques of analysis are used in corpus analysis, as Biber et al. (1998, 4) point out. Quantitative analysis is useful when studying frequency of a word or a phrase with the help of corpora, while qualitative methods can be used to further analyze the data drawn from the corpora for example in regards to the functions of the words or phrases. Both qualitative and quantitative methods will also be used in the present study.

When presenting the frequencies drawn from the corpora, it can be worthwhile to include a test of statistical significance to the analysis. When comparing frequencies, these tests

can be used to analyze the significance and strength of the associations between the two variables, as Biber et al. (1998, 273) describe it. The test used in the present study will be discussed further in section 4.2.

4. Material and method

The following section will present the primary source of material for the present study: the corpus of Global Web-Based English. Some methodological notes will also be made concerning corpus analysis. After that, the categorisation of the corpus data according to positions in utterance and the different functions will be discussed as well as the ways in which the frequencies drawn from the corpus have chosen to be represented.

4.1 The Corpus of Global Web-Based English

The source of data for this study is the corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE). The corpus has 1.9 billion words compiled from 1.8 million web-pages in 20 different English-speaking countries (<http://corpus2.byu.edu/glowbe/>). The corpus was released in April 2013.

GloWbE allows the user to search for words and phrases from 20 different countries and compare the results, thus allowing research on variation in English. This makes the corpus especially convenient for the present study, as it makes it easy to compare the use of *dude* in for example American English and Singapore English.

One problem that arises from using GloWbE is that a speaker of any variant of English could be writing on the web-page labelled to represent a certain variety of English. It is impossible to know whether all writers on the different web-pages are in fact speakers of the variant of English spoken in the country. However, as there are several occurrences of *dude* on several different web-pages in each variety discussed, it is safe to assume that this will not distort the results.

As GloWbE is a web page-based corpus, there can be some duplicate texts left in the data, despite the compilers' efforts for removing them. These duplicate texts can occur in the corpora for example when a comment is quoted several times on a comment chain of a web

page. I have chosen to eliminate all the completely duplicate instances of *dude* from my study in order not to distort the results.

Due to copyright issues, users do not have access to entire texts in GloWbE. Only small portions of the texts are available for the users and the amount of context provided to each search result is thus limited. However, links to the source pages are always provided to the user.

As GloWbE is compiled from extracts of Internet communication, the language used is often informal and written in a hurry. The examples included in this study are not corrected or censored in any way so that when there are spelling anomalies or censored words in the examples, they have been produced as such by the writer of the original text.

4.2 Method

The main method used in this study is corpus analysis – that is the study of language with the help of corpora. The concept of corpus linguistics is further explained in the theory section 3.

For this study, the occurrences of *dude* drawn from GloWbE have been analyzed in three different steps: first, whether *dude* is used as an address term or as a common noun, then which utterance-position *dude* as an address term is placed in and finally which function *dude* shows. All the occurrences of *dude* in GloWbE in the World Englishes included in this study were analyzed in the manner described and the frequencies in the different categories were then counted. The division to the categories is further explained in section 4.3.

It is a standard corpus linguistic procedure to present the frequencies of occurrence in normalized figures, which allow comparison of findings between datasets of different size. In this study, I have calculated hits per million words. In other words, the amount of hits is divided by the total amount of words in the genre and multiplied by one million. For example, when *dude* has 535 hits in the New Zealand English section of GloWbE and the total amount of words

from New Zealand English in the corpus is 81,390,476, *dude* occurs 535 / 81,390,476 * 1,000,000 \approx 6.57 times per million words in New Zealand English in GloWbE. The total of words in the New Zealand English section (81,390,476) is used as the sample.

In order to compare the results in a reliable manner, a test of statistical significance is included in this study. The chi-square test will be applied to the frequencies drawn from GloWbE. The purpose of using the test is to find out whether the difference between the frequencies is statistically significant and whether it could be applied to represent the frequency in a larger scale than just the corpus studied. For this, a chi-square calculator³ is used allowing comparison between two variables – in this case, World Englishes – in the different categories they represent, which in the case of the present study are either the different positions in utterance or the functions of *dude* as an address term. The occurrences from the two World Englishes under comparison are entered into the contingency table in the calculator in raw frequencies which in a result gives a p-value showing whether there is a significant difference between the variables or not. This p-value indicates the probability that the null hypothesis of the test can be rejected – that is, whether the observed difference is the result of random variation in the two samples. For example, when the distribution of the positions in utterance in American English and Singapore English are compared, the raw frequencies of the occurrences of *dude* in each category are entered in the calculator which then gives the following information: “the chi-square statistic is 10.1505. The p-Value is 0.037968. The result is significant at $p < 0.05$.” As the p-value is smaller than 0.05, there is considered to be a significant difference between the two World Englishes under comparison when it comes to the utterance-positions of *dude*.

³ The chi-square calculator is available at <http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/chisquare2/Default2.aspx>

4.3 Categorization and pruning of results

Not all of the instances of *dude* in GloWbE are relevant for the present study, since *dude* does not occur as an address term in them. Thus, the following types of examples taken from GloWbE were not included in this study:

- (8) like the colour I imagine my skin might turn if I spent a couple of weeks in the summer working on a dude ranch in Wyoming (IE: beut.ie)
- (9) This dude used to annoy me but I have a whole new respect for him now. (NG: bellanaija.com)
- (10) I kissed a dude and I liked it, the taste of his manly chapped lips! Well maybe I didn't, but Channing Tatum sure does have a purdy mouth! (US: kissesfromkatie.blogspot.com)

In example (8), *dude* is used in one of its non-slang meanings. OED Online (s.v. *dude ranch*) describes *dude ranch* as “a ranch which provides entertainment for paying guests and tourists”. (9) and (10) are examples of the use of *dude* as a common noun. The meaning and connotations of *dude* as a common noun are discussed further in section 2.1.

In this study, the occurrences of *dude* as an address term have been categorized in four different ways according to their position in the utterance:

- (i) utterance-initial,
- (ii) utterance-medial,
- (iii) utterance-final and
- (iv) stand-alone address terms.

Stand-alone address terms, as McCarthy and O’Keeffe call them (2003, 166), are in a way exclamatives but partly just resemble utterance-initial address terms separated by a full stop or an exclamation mark to add emphasis. The following types of examples of *dude* taken from GloWbE are labelled as stand-alone address terms in this study:

- (11) **DUDE**. Every last little bit of these is phenomenal! Well done to you both (NZ: danellebourgeois.com)

- (12) **Dude!** Your pizza's frickin' purple! That is so legit!!!
(US: hotword.dictionary.com)

In both example (11) and (12), the omission of the full stop or exclamation mark would not change the utterance substantially, but rather tone down the emphasis on the address term. This way, the stand-alone-positioned address term has its own function: to add emphasis.

The challenges of placing address terms in the utterance-medial category are addressed by McCarthy and O’Keeffe (2003, 164). They note that even though the address term is not technically in utterance-initial position when preceded only by, for example, the adversative marker *but*, it should not be included in the utterance-medial category as the address term does not occur within the main content of the turn (*ibid.*). McCarthy and O’Keeffe (*ibid.*) have solved this problem by adding a sub-category to utterance-initial address terms labelled the ‘prefaced’ category in contrast to their category ‘utterance-medial’. Although the arguments made by McCarthy and O’Keeffe are valid, I have chosen to place all the instances of *dude* as an address term where there is something preceding and following it in the utterance-medial category. This is because in written dialogue, the writer has made a choice – whether deliberately or in a hurry – not to interrupt the utterance with a full stop. Thus, the following types of cases are considered to be utterance-medial in the present study:

- (13) James...**dude**, I think that the honesty in your posting speaks
VOLUMES!!!! (US: thehollywoodgossip.com)
- (14) " you look different, have you cut your hair " -- no **dude** I have gained
25 kilos!! (IE: wehaveablog.net)

With GloWbE, the speech-like characteristics of web-based language pose some problems to the categorization. As address terms are usually distinguished by a comma and commas are often omitted in Internet communication, it can be difficult to be certain of whether *dude* has been used as an address term or as a common noun in the following types of cases:

- (15) There is always that one artist u like for NO apparent reason. Terry Tha Rapman is THAT artist. Legendary **dude!**
(NG: miabaga.com)
- (16) Remember, don't shoot the messenger **dude**. I'm just doing my job.
(US: fanfiction.net)
- (17) You don't accept everything you hear / read. I thoroughly respect that **dude**. (JM: techjamaica.com)

In example (15), *dude* has neither an article nor a comma in front of it to help determine whether it is used as a common noun or as an address term. Both of these aspects are often omitted in web-based language where the pace of the communication is often fast. Thus, the writer could either mean “(he is) a legendary dude” or “(that is) legendary, dude”. In this case, the context provided for the example points to the direction of a common noun. Similarly, in example (16), the writer could either refer to the “messenger dude” or be using *dude* as an address term. The utterance containing *dude* in example (17) would be a clear case of *dude* as a common noun if the previous sentence would not indicate that the writer is addressing the other person.

I have chosen to exclude examples where the context does not provide enough information on whether *dude* is used as an address term, as in the following case:

- (18) Ma home boi Chris is young, still trying to have fun and is really kool **dude**. (NG: chachacorner.com)

Here, the writer could either mean that “Chris is a young cool dude” or simply that “it’s really cool, dude”.

The following types of cases taken from the corpus of Global Web-Based English are considered containing *dude* as a mitigator in this study:

- (19) Thanks, **dude**. One final question if that's okay... Do you use spot metering all the time? (IE: thewonderoflight.com)
- (20) any way u r living in the 70's as now there is no more malaya but Malaysia **dude!** (im a s' porean) (SG: sg.answers.yahoo.com)

- (21) **Dude**, this sounds like a mental illness. Sorry. It could be depression or maybe OCD or something. (NZ: nz.answers.yahoo.com)

In example (19), the addresser wants to ask a question and softens the request by both using *dude* and the hedge *if that's okay*. In example (20), *dude* is used as a mitigator after criticizing what the addressee has said. Example (21) shows *dude* as a mitigator of the negative assessment given on the addressee's health.

When it comes to confrontational *dude*, it is occasionally difficult to distinguish it between *dude* as a mitigator. What I have chosen as a criterion to confrontational *dude* is that the address term does not have a softening effect to what is being uttered, at least not in an extent that would make the tone of the message entirely neutral. This way the difference between mitigation and confrontation is that with mitigation, the address term makes the utterance mostly neutral while an utterance containing confrontational *dude* is still considered aggressive or negative in its nature. After all, the aim of *dude* as a mitigator is usually to be considerate of the addressee's feelings, while this is usually not the case with confrontational *dude*. This distinction will be further discussed in chapter 5.3.3.

The functional categories containing conversational and exclamative *dude* are quite similar in the sense that in both cases *dude* resembles a discourse marker more than an address term. However, as the name of the category suggests, exclamative *dude* is exclaimed and occurs usually alone, while conversational *dude* shows less enthusiasm and is usually a part of an utterance in the present study. The following examples taken from GloWbE show the difference between the two categories:

- (22) Well, I'm totally like, **Dude!** just say no, okay.
(IE: susanhatedliterature.net)
- (23) **DUDE!** this is totally what I was laughing about when I saw this on my twitterfeed.... (SG: dramabeans.com)
- (24) **dude** i sing this song with my friends no matter how gay we look because this song is just that good (US: the-top-tens.com)

(25) **dude**, we're dudes, so tits and sex are always good, no matter the circumstances (US: uproxx.com)

As can be seen from examples (22) and (23) that are labelled as exclamative uses of *dude*, there is either an exclamation point after *dude* or the whole word is written in capital letters, which in Internet communication can be interpreted as shouting. The examples (24) and (25) on the other hand are labelled as conversational uses of *dude* and show less enthusiasm. However, despite being included in the utterance, the conversational examples of *dude* do not show a clear function other than acting as a discourse marker and are rather neutral in their effect to the message.

When referencing the examples taken from GloWbE, I have chosen a method where I give the abbreviation of the country (US for United States, IE for Ireland, NG for Nigeria, SG for Singapore, NZ for New Zealand or JM for Jamaica) and the web page the text has been written in. This reference is shown in brackets after each example taken from the corpus.

5. Analysis

In this section, I will present the results derived from the corpus. Where relevant, I will also compare the results to findings made by other researchers of address terms. First, I will simply present the occurrences of *dude* in the different Englishes in relation to whether they were relevant to this study, comparing the frequency of *dude* as an address term and as a common noun. I will then move on to discussing the different positions in utterance. Then I will discuss the different functions of *dude* found from the data: relational, mitigational, confrontational, exclamative and conversational *dude*. From more specific uses of *dude* as an address term within the different functions, I will discuss the use of *dude* with quotative *like* and double address. Finally, the findings in relation to the different World Englishes under inspection will be compared using statistical methodology. The findings presented in the following subchapters will be further discussed and compared in section 6.

5.1 *Dude* as an address term and as a common noun

The following examples taken from GloWbE show the two different uses of *dude*: address term (20) and common noun (21):

(20) **Dude** your name reminds me of this underwear I used to have.
(SG: basilmarket.com)

(21) I had officially crossed the line between young adult and adult,
between dude and man, between kicks and running shoes.
(US: thehairpin.com)

The distinction between *dude* as an address term and as a common noun is further explained in chapter 4.3.

Table 2 presents the occurrences of *dude* in GloWbE in the different varieties of English included in this study: first, the occurrences in total and then separated between *dude* as an address term and as a common noun. The normalized frequencies of the occurrences are

counted with the total amount of words of the variety in question, not the total amount of words in the corpus altogether. This way the occurrences of the words are more informative in relation to the specific variety. For example, as the normalized frequencies of *dude* in Nigerian English are counted using the total amount of Nigerian English words in GloWbE as the divisor, the resulting frequency shows how many times per million words *dude* occurs in Nigerian English rather than showing the frequency of Nigerian English *dude* in the whole corpus. This method will be used throughout the analysis in this study.

Dude occurs in the whole GloWbE a total of 21297 times, which in a normalized frequency means that it has 11.29 occurrences per million words.

Table 2. Occurrences of *dude* in GloWbE, normalized frequencies per million words (raw frequencies in brackets)

	Total word count in the variety	Total of occurrences of <i>dude</i>	<i>Dude</i> as an address term	<i>Dude</i> as an common noun
American English	386,809,355	21 (8311)	8.3 (3200)	13 (5111)
Irish English	101,029,231	4.3 (438)	1.6 (162)	2.7 (276)
Nigerian English	42,646,098	18 (764)	3.9 (168)	14 (596)
Singapore English	42,974,705	14 (584)	6.4 (277)	7.1 (307)
New Zealand English	81,390,476	6.2 (503)	2.2 (183)	3.9 (320)
Jamaican English	39,663,666	8.7 (343)	1.7 (66)	6.7 (267)

Looking at the frequency of *dude* in the whole corpus (approximately 11 occurrences per million words) and comparing it to the total occurrences of *dude* in the different varieties, *dude* is less common than the average in Irish English, New Zealand English and Jamaican

English. Singapore English is slightly above this frequency, while Nigerian and American English have more occurrences of *dude* than the average of the corpus.

Dude is most commonly used in American English, occurring 21 times per million words. This is the expected result given that *dude* originates in American English. What is unexpected, however, is the quite small difference between how often *dude* is used in Nigerian English (18) compared to American English (21).

The following figure (Figure 2) represents the distribution of *dude* as an address term and as a common noun in the World Englishes under inspection.

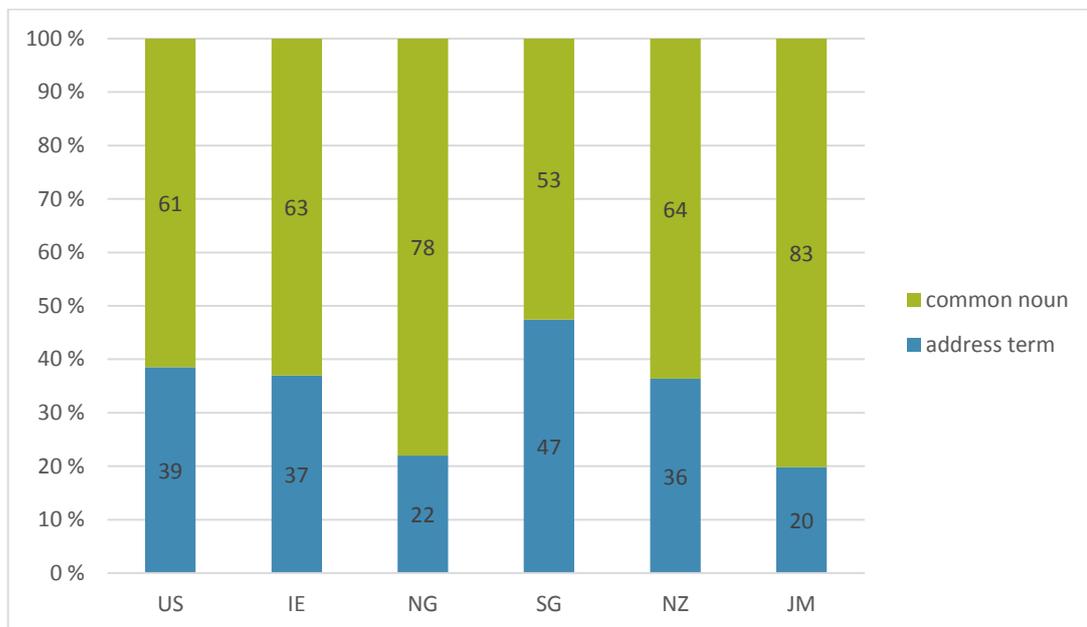


Figure 2. *Dude* as an address term and as a common noun in percentages in GloWbE.

As can be seen from Figure 2, *dude* is used clearly more often in non-addressing contexts in most Englishes under inspection, except for Singapore English where the distribution is quite even (47% address term, 53% common noun). *Dude* as an address term is found least often in Nigerian English (22%) and Jamaican English (20%). The larger proportion of *dude* as a common noun in the World Englishes can partly be explained by the choice of categorization

in this study. This, however, does not explain the even distribution of the two in Singapore English.

Barbieri (2008, 65) theorizes that *dude* is “overwhelmingly more common as address form, rather than as noun referring to a particular man”. This view is in contradiction to my findings. A partial explanation can lie in the fact that Barbieri used face-to-face conversation as her data, while the present study focuses solely on online communication. The role of address terms in sustaining social relationships is more relevant in the kind of interaction studied by Barbieri than in online communication where the addressees and addressers are mostly strangers.

5.2 Positions in utterance

In this subchapter, I will represent the results of *dude* as an address term in the different positions in utterance. The different positions, as discussed in more detail in chapter 3, include utterance-initial (example 23), utterance-medial (example 24), utterance-final (example 25) and stand-alone address terms (example 26). The following examples from GloWbE show the different positions in utterance:

- (23) **Dude**, as a PhD myself, I can honestly say you have no clue what you are talking about. (NZ: blog.labour.org.nz)
- (24) COD is just as played out, lame, and rehashed as those games **dude**, sorry but its true. (JM: owensoft.net)
- (25) Stop wasting your life away, **dude!** (Also, you're gay. Because duh.) (SG: maple-news.com)
- (26) **Dude!** I am literally playing chess with death. How fucked up is this? (US: metafilter.com)

The division to these different categories is further explained in chapter 4.3.

The following table (Table 3) represents the different positions in utterance in GloWbE in normalized frequencies per million words. The raw frequencies are shown in brackets.

Table 3: The different positions in utterance in in normalized frequencies per million words (raw frequencies in brackets)

	Utterance-initial	Utterance-medial	Utterance-final	Stand-alone
American English	3.66 (1416)	1.76 (681)	2.56 (989)	0.50 (193)
Irish English	0.52 (53)	0.48 (48)	0.50 (51)	0.10 (10)
Nigerian English	2.42 (103)	0.87 (37)	1.13 (48)	-
Singapore English	3.51 (151)	1.33 (57)	1.75 (75)	0.44 (19)
New Zealand English	0.71 (58)	0.63 (51)	0.82 (67)	0.10 (8)
Jamaican English	0.86 (34)	0.48 (19)	0.33 (13)	-

The utterance-initial position of *dude* is the most common position in all the varieties, except for New Zealand where the utterance-final position is used the most.

The distribution of the utterance-initial, utterance-medial and utterance-final positions is quite even in Irish English and New Zealand English, while the other varieties have more variation between the different positions. The use of the stand-alone address term is not nearly as common as the other positions in any variety and has no occurrences in either Nigerian or Jamaican English.

The following figure (Figure 3) shows the distribution to the different positions in utterance in percentages.

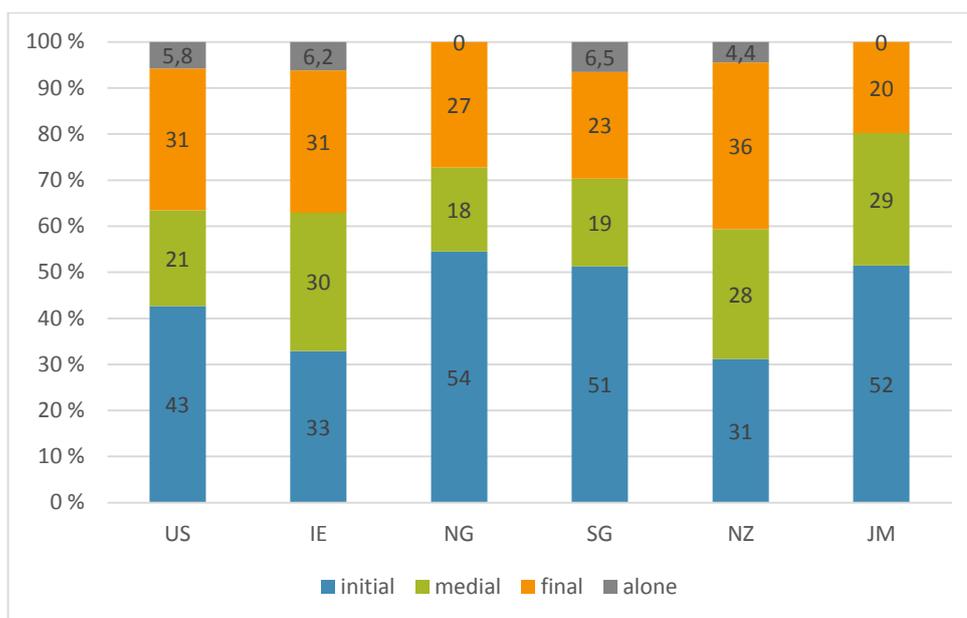


Figure 3: The different positions in utterance in percentages

Figure 3 shows how *dude* is used substantially most often in utterance-initial position in Nigerian English, Singapore English and Jamaican English. The utterance-initial position is also clearly the most popular choice in American English. This is in concordance with the findings of Kiesling (2004, 291) who found that *dude* was used most often in the utterance-initial position. However, Kiesling's study has the utterance-medial position as a quite marginal category with only 3.7% of the occurrences of *dude* (ibid.). In the present study, the utterance-medial position of *dude* is represented by approximately 20-30% of the occurrences in all the varieties under inspection.

Similarly, the category labelled by Kiesling (2004, 291) as '*dude* as entire utterance', corresponding the stand-alone category in the present study, only accounted for 1.3% of the occurrences in his study, while in the present study it is represented by 4.35-5.89% of the occurrences. Again, one possible explanation for the differences is the method of categorization.

In her study, Barbieri (2008, 65) made findings contradicting with those of Kiesling (2004, 291), finding that the utterance-final is the most common position for *dude* as an address term. 79% of the occurrences of *dude* were used in utterance-final position (2008, 65). Similarly, when studying *mate*, Rendle-Short (2010, 1203) found the utterance-final position to be the most popular choice for users of the address term.

What is interesting in the light of the percentages seen in Figure 3 is that the utterance-initial position is the most popular choice in American English and all the Outer Circle Englishes under inspection (Nigeria, Singapore and Jamaica), while the other Inner Circle Englishes besides American English – that is, Irish and New Zealand English – show a smaller tendency towards using the utterance-initial position. One explanation for this could be that the non-native Englishes depend more on the American English model than the other Inner Circle Englishes when it comes to the positions of utterance. As *dude* is placed most often in the utterance-initial position by American English users, the Outer Circle varieties could be adopting this most common way of using it. This would also explain why the utterance-initial position is more common in all the Outer Circle Englishes than in American English. After all, the Outer Circle users of *dude* could be generalizing the most common American English position of utterance.

5.3 Functions of *dude* as an address term

The following subchapters will show the different functions that were detected for *dude* as an address term in the different World Englishes. The categories used in this study for the different functions include the relational use of *dude*, *dude* as a mitigator, confrontational *dude*, *dude* as an exclamation and conversational *dude*. These categories were named based on both the findings of previous researchers and by looking at the present data. All the examples of *dude* as an address term were placed in some category of functions.

The distribution in the different categories is first represented as a whole and the individual functions are then discussed separately. Again, the results derived from GloWbE are compared with those of other researchers where this is relevant.

When looking at the results of the functions of *dude* presented in this study, it is important to keep in mind that labelling an utterance according to its function is to some extent subjective. What is seen as confrontational by one researcher can seem fairly neutral to another and thus lead to a difference in results. However, these ambiguous occurrences of address terms should not distort the results as with most cases the function is rather clear. In some cases there is some overlap where *dude* can be considered to show more than one of these functions and in those cases, the more strongly implied function is chosen as the label.

The following table (Table 4) represents the distribution of the functions of *dude* as an address term in GloWbE. The different World Englishes are shown in their own lines. The numbers show a relative frequency per million words, while the raw frequencies are shown in brackets. The names of the functions are shortened as follows: relational (rel), mitigational (mit), confrontational (conf), exclamative (exc) and conversational (conv).

Table 4: Functions of *dude* in relative frequencies per million words (raw frequencies in brackets)

	rel	mit	conf	exc	conv
US	1.48 (571)	2.05 (792)	2.11 (817)	0.31 (120)	2.33 (900)
IE	0.60 (61)	0.20 (20)	0.27 (27)	0.09 (9)	0.44 (44)
NG	0.98 (42)	0.33 (14)	1.20 (51)	-	1.43 (61)
SG	1.54 (66)	1.56 (67)	1.21 (52)	0.21 (9)	1.93 (83)
NZ	0.76 (62)	0.22 (18)	0.44 (36)	0.10 (8)	0.7 (57)
JM	0.35 (14)	0.43 (17)	0.45 (18)	0.03 (1)	0.04(16)

The following figure (Figure 4) shows the frequencies in percentages allowing comparison between the different World Englishes.

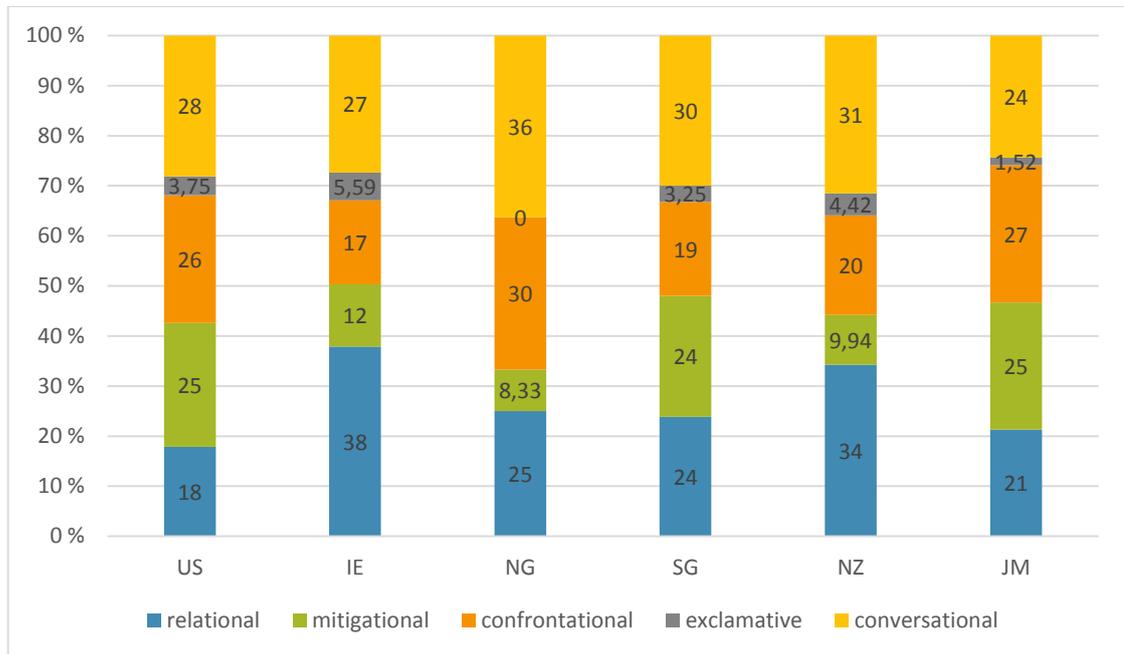


Figure 4: Functions of *dude* as an address term

The exclamative function is clearly the least occurring function, accounting for less than six per cent of the occurrences in all the World Englishes under inspection. The category is left unrepresented in Nigerian English, while Irish English has the highest percentage of exclamative *dude* with 5.6%.

When it comes to the function with most occurrences, there is more variation between the different Englishes. The conversational category is the prevalent choice in American, Nigerian and Singapore English, while the relational use of *dude* is most common in Irish and New Zealand Englishes. In Jamaican English the category with the largest percentage of occurrences is confrontational *dude*.

American English and Jamaican English have the most even distribution between the different functions, disregarding the small percentage of occurrences in the exclamative category. What becomes apparent after looking at Figure 4 is that all the World Englishes

under inspection have distinct ways of using the address term *dude*, as the distribution between the different functions is not identical with their American English counterpart in none of the other World Englishes.

5.3.1 Relational *dude*

Studying vocatives in both casual conversations and radio phone-in calls, McCarthy and O’Keeffe (2003, 160 and 173) take the relational category for vocatives to include compliments, agreements, apologies, evaluations and other utterances increasing the feeling of personal esteem in the addressee. As the category covers a rather wide scale of social situations, it is no surprise that it is the biggest category in McCarthy’s and O’Keeffe’s data of casual conversations accounting for 30% of the occurrences of vocatives in their study (2003, 160). However, in the data containing radio phone-in calls between strangers, 18% of the vocatives used were labelled as relational by McCarthy and O’Keeffe and it was only the fifth largest category (2003, 168). This would suggest that the use of relational address terms is less common when the addresser and the addressee do not know each other well.

In the present study, a similar approach is taken to the relational category of *dude* as in McCarthy’s and O’Keeffe’s study (2003). Kiesling (2004, 292) names two similar categories as functions of *dude*: affiliation and connection and agreement. However, Kiesling does not give any references as to how popular these categories are in his data, thus not allowing comparison with the present study.

In the present data, a common use of relational *dude* is complementing someone’s website, blog or other content they have posted online as in examples (27) and (28). However, other relational uses of *dude* do occur such as agreement as in example (29) and encouragement such as example (30).

- (27) Hey **dude**, nice vid, especially liked the part where it almost looked like you dropped the cam and ended up on the artwork hehe. (NZ: homeofpoi.com)
- (28) fuck, **dude** that's inspiring shit (SG: visakanv.com)
- (29) YOU LIKE SAILOR MOON? **DUDE** I LOVE THAT SHOW. WE SHOULD BE FRIENDS. (US: mopeilitywod.com)
- (30) you seem to know about the risks, so I wouldn't worry about it **dude**, I'm sure you'll be just fine (IE: boards.ie)

As Figure 4 shows, the relational function of *dude* is quite popular in all the World Englishes under discussion, but most so in Irish (38%) and New Zealand English (35%) where the relational category is represented by over one third of the occurrences of *dude* as an address term. These two are also the World Englishes that have relational *dude* as the prevalent category. In the present study, American English has the least occurrences of relational *dude* when compared to the other World Englishes under inspection with 18% of all occurrences of *dude* as an address term being relational. Nigerian, Singapore and Jamaican English place in the middle in the comparison with 21-25% of the occurrences of *dude* being relational.

One explanation as to why relational *dude* is relatively common is what Kiesling (2004, 282) refers to as cool solidarity, by which he means the way *dude* functions as a marker of solidarity while simultaneously toning down enthusiasm. However, the role of the address term in the relational context could in some cases also be interpreted as the opposite to cool solidarity – as a further emphasis on the positivity of the message. After all, what is being said is already positive in nature in the case of the relational category, as in the following examples taken from the GloWbE:

- (31) I want to thank you for everything that you are doing really **dude** thanks for this I've been following you since the tittle fight notice and I know that you would never tell us a fake story (US: paulgalenetwork.com)
- (32) Omg **dude** thanks so much!: D It worked as soon as I turned background downloads off. (NZ: nz.answers.yahoo.com)

In examples (31) and (32), the addition of *dude* does not seem to make the message less enthusiastic but rather emphasize the positive attitude of the addresser towards the addressee.

The following table (Table 5) shows the distribution of the different positions of utterance – that is, initial, medial, final and stand-alone – in the relational category of *dude* as an address term. The table shows the relative frequency for each position, while the raw frequencies can be seen in brackets.

Table 5: Positions in utterance for relational *dude* in relative frequencies (raw frequencies in brackets)

	initial	medial	final	alone
US	0.50 (192)	0.28 (110)	0.62 (239)	0.08 (30)
IE	0.08 (8)	0.21 (21)	0.27 (27)	0.05 (5)
NG	0.26 (11)	0.23 (10)	0.49 (21)	-
SG	0.61 (26)	0.40 (17)	0.44 (19)	0.09 (4)
NZ	0.15 (12)	0.21 (17)	0.39 (32)	0.01 (1)
JM	0.13 (5)	0.15 (6)	0.08 (3)	-

Figure 5 shows percentages of all the relational occurrences of *dude* as an address term in the given World English.

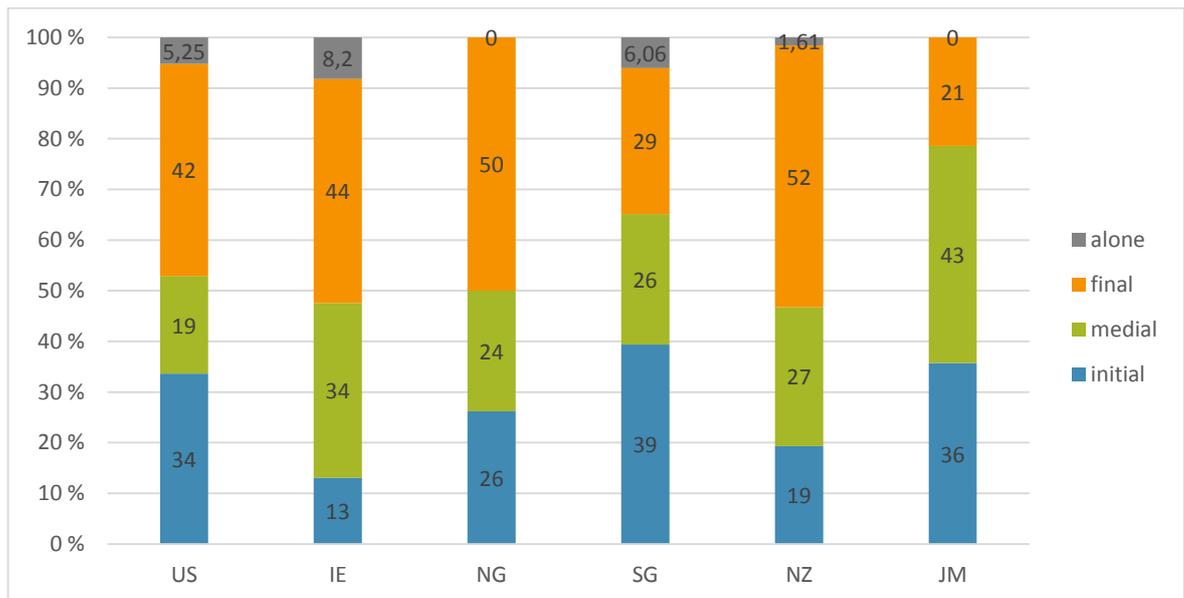


Figure 5: The positions of utterance in the relational address term

The utterance-final category is clearly the prevalent category, although there is some variation. While American English (42%), Irish English (44%), Nigerian English (50%) and New Zealand English (52%) seem to favor the utterance-final position, in Singapore English the corresponding utterance-position is utterance-initial with 40% of the occurrences of relational *dude* and the utterance-medial in Jamaican English with 43% of the relational uses of *dude*. Keeping in mind that the portion of the stand-alone address term is small in all the World Englishes under discussion (from 1.52% to 5.59%), it is not surprising to find that the category has also the smallest proportion of occurrences in the relational category of each World English under inspection.

5.3.2 *Dude* as a mitigator

Mitigation can be used as a conversational strategy when what is being said could otherwise seem impolite or confrontational. By using *dude* in this context, the addresser emphasizes the solidarity and camaraderie between themselves and the addressee in order to soften the confrontational nature of what is being uttered. The following examples from GloWbE demonstrate the use of *dude* as a mitigator:

- (33) It doesn't matter if you meant it that way **dude**. It was just insensitive. Think before you speak (SG: zeeandthoseknees.wordpress.com)
- (34) Sorry to disappoint you, **dude**, but I am very picky and only do monogamy. Now, who is the one with the promiscuous behaviour, eh? (US: thelastword.msnbc.com)
- (35) **Dude**, I HATE to be a grammar Nazi but PLEASE at least run your stuff by someone before you rush to post it... there's at least one error per paragraph, most of the its/it's variety. (US: blogmaverick.com)

In example (33), the addresser gives advice on how the addressee should act, while the addresser in example (34) shows disagreement with the addressee. Example (35) is a typical

example of mitigation in online communication: correcting the addressee, either for misinformation they have given or as in this case, their grammar. If *dude* was omitted from any of these examples, the message could seem less polite and more confrontational.

In McCarthy and O’Keeffe (2003, 160 and 168), mitigation accounted for 15% of vocatives in casual conversation between people who know each other and 24% of the cases in radio phone-in calls between strangers. The corresponding percentages in the present study are 25% in American English, 12% in Irish English, 8.3% in Nigerian English, 24% in Singapore English and 10% in New Zealand English. The percentages of *dude* as a mitigator seem to correspond with McCarthy’s and O’Keeffe’s results in American and Singapore English in the conversation between strangers. Online communication used as the data in the present study bears more resemblance with the radio phone-in calls data used by McCarthy and O’Keeffe than their data concerned with speech between close associates. However, the addressing is obviously more direct in the case of face-to-face communication, or telephone communication as in the case of the data used by McCarthy and O’Keeffe.

The following table (Table 6) represents the different positions of utterance in the category where *dude* is used as a mitigator. The numbers show relative frequencies per million words, while the raw frequencies are in brackets.

Table 6: Positions in utterance for mitigational *dude* in relative frequencies (raw frequencies in brackets)

	initial	medial	final	alone
US	0.96 (373)	0.35 (137)	0.71 (274)	0.02 (8)
IE	0.10 (10)	0.06 (6)	0.04 (4)	-
NG	0.19 (8)	0.09 (4)	0.05 (2)	-
SG	0.93 (40)	0.35 (15)	0.28 (12)	-
NZ	0.11 (9)	0.02 (2)	0.07 (6)	0.01 (1)
JM	0.18 (7)	0.18 (7)	0.08 (3)	-

The following figure (Figure 6) shows the distribution between the different positions in utterance of mitigational *dude* in percentages.

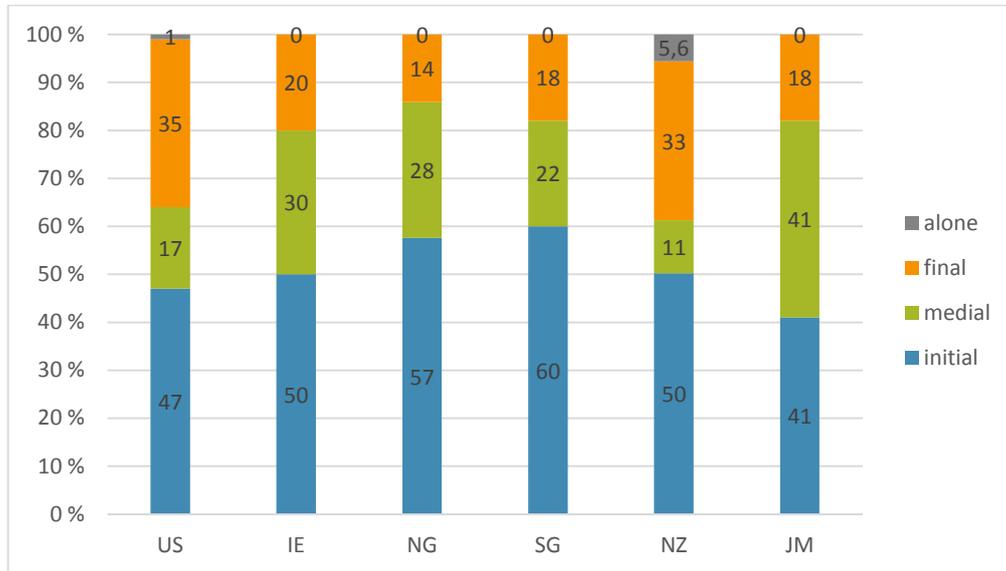


Figure 6: The positions in utterance of *dude* as a mitigator

In the case of *dude* as a mitigator, the utterance-initial position of the address term appears to be the most popular choice in all the World Englishes studied. In Jamaican English, both utterance-initial and utterance-medial positions are equally prevalent. In Singapore and Nigerian English over half of all the occurrences of *dude* as a mitigator are placed utterance-initially with 60% in Singapore English and 57% in Nigerian English. Both US English (35%) and New Zealand English (33%) use *dude* as a mitigator second most often in the utterance-final position.

Contradicting the findings made in the present study where *dude* as a mitigator is clearly most often placed in the utterance-initial position, Kiesling (2004, 292) suggests the end of the utterance to be the preferred position for mitigational *dude*. Rendle-Short (2010, 1207) also claims the utterance-final position to be the prevalent category with *mate* as an

address term. This drastic difference in the findings could again be partly explained by different data and in Rendle-Short's case, the different address term being studied.

5.3.3 Confrontational *dude*

Dude is often used in GloWbE in utterances where using it does not really serve as a politeness strategy as what is being said is so negative it is still confrontational despite the address term, as in the following examples:

(36) **DUDE** WTF if you can't even read then don't make STUPID COMMENTS (SG: bongqiuqiu.blogspot.com)

(37) **Dude**, you are an Idiot and you need to check yourself and leave the youth alone. (JM: thereggaebboyz.com)

(38) Seriously **dude**? Go F*ck yourself. (US: miamiherald.typepad.com)

(39) **Dude** -- The 50s called. They want their misogyny back. (US: mediaite.com)

The addresser in examples (36) to (38) is taking a clear confrontational stance towards the addressee. Example (39) could be seen as sarcastic teasing, but as the Internet allows plenty of room for interpretation due to the lack of responsiveness during interaction – as explained in chapter 2.4 – the utterance could also be interpreted as confrontational. Due to this possibility of misunderstanding, I will discuss cases with sarcasm similar to example (39) in the confrontational category.

In the present study, the distinction between *dude* as a mitigator and confrontational *dude* is made by determining whether the addresser is using *dude* to avoid offending the addressee as is the case with mitigation or if the addresser is clearly unconcerned with the addressee's feelings and even attempts to hurt them as in confrontational uses of *dude*. The difference is seen in the following examples taken from GloWbE, where example (40) represents the use of *dude* as a mitigator and example (41) confrontational *dude*:

(40) Sorry, **dude**, but at a purely syntactic level, parentheses have to balance. (US: metatalk.metafilter.com)

(41) u have got to be fucking kidding me, ar u on meth **dude**? thats the craziest shit i ever heard (US: sing365.com)

As can be seen from the example (41) above, adding *dude* does not necessarily mitigate the message enough to make it nonconfrontational. What is happening in this example and other instances of confrontational *dude* is what Culpeper (2011, 174) calls “verbal formula mismatches”. They occur when the speaker mixes conventionalized politeness (*I hate to be rude, no offence* etc.) with conventionalized impoliteness. One of the examples provided by Culpeper is:

(42) Because no offence but you look like shit (Culpeper 2011, 175)

In example (42) above, uttering *no offence* is conventionally polite and mitigational, but when followed by *you look like shit*, the mitigation has little if no effect. As Culpeper notes (2011, 175), if the speaker truly did not want to offend the hearer, they would not have preceded with the utterance. The polite beginning is just what Culpeper calls a “blatantly superficial lip-service paid to politeness” (2011, 176). The case is similar with confrontational *dude* where the address term showing solidarity and camaraderie is mixed with a rude or aggressive utterance.

One explanation for the confrontational use of *dude* in GloWbE is the fact that the addressee is not seen and usually not even known by the addresser in online communication. This way there is no need to fear confrontation. However, it is interesting that the address term is still used in these situations, as it is not used in any of the functions usually associated with address terms. After all, the function of sustaining of social relationships seems irrelevant when the addresser behaves aggressively towards the addressee. One possible explanation for using aggressive *dude* could be addressee recognition as the name of the addressee is rarely known on the Internet. However, there are alternative address terms that are usually not

associated with solidarity the addresser could have chosen from when they have used confrontational *dude*.

As mentioned in chapter 2.1, a British study by Stenström et. al (2002, 70), associates *dude* with words such as *foolish* and *worthless* which highly contradicts with connotations made by other research on *dude*. This notion of *dude* meaning *idiot* could in its part explain the use of it in confrontational contexts. However, as a majority of studies (Hill 1994, Kiesling 2004, Barbieri 2008 to mention a few) clearly regard *dude* as a positive term of address, it seems unlikely that many of the users of confrontational *dude* would be using *dude* as a derogatory term.

Table 6 represents the spread of confrontational *dude* in the different positions in utterance. The numbers show a relative frequency per million words and the raw frequencies can be seen in brackets.

Table 6: Positions in utterance for confrontational *dude* in relative frequencies (raw frequencies in brackets)

	initial	medial	final	alone
US	0.87 (337)	0.55 (214)	0.57 (222)	0.11 (44)
IE	0.10 (10)	0.11 (11)	0.06 (6)	-
NG	0.63 (27)	0.28 (12)	0.28 (12)	-
SG	0.65 (28)	0.16 (7)	0.30 (13)	0.09 (4)
NZ	0.20 (16)	0.16 (13)	0.07 (6)	0.01 (1)
JM	0.30 (12)	0.05 (2)	0.10 (4)	-

Figure 7 shows the distribution of the different position in percentages within each variety under inspection.

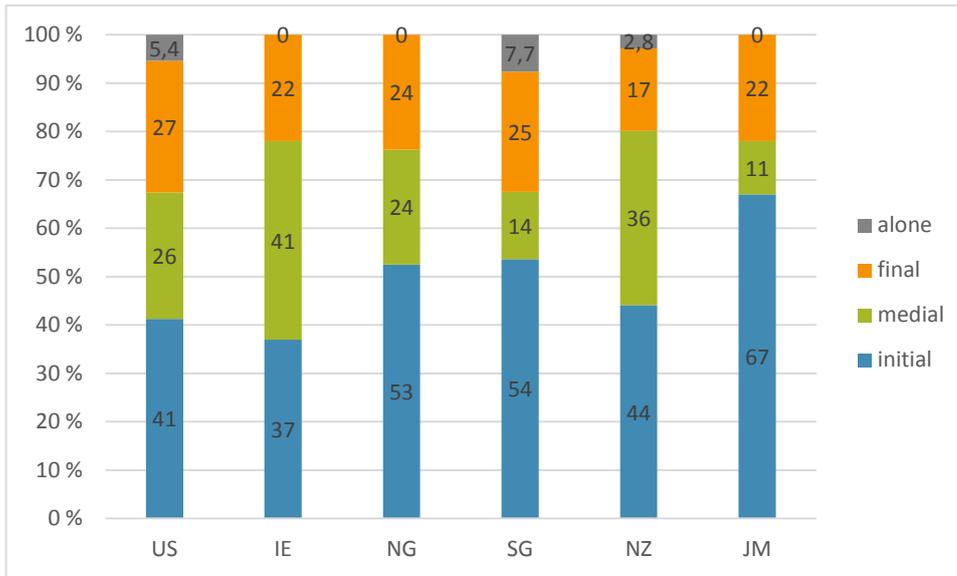


Figure 7: Positions in utterance of confrontational *dude*

As Table 6 and Figure 7 show, the utterance-initial position is the prevalent choice for confrontational *dude* in all World Englishes under inspection except for Irish English that shows a slight preference to the utterance-medial position. In Jamaican English, the utterance-initial position is even more prevalent than in the other Englishes under inspection, which leaves less room for the other positions in utterance. The proportion of the stand-alone position in Singapore English is unexpectedly large with 7.7% considering that Singapore English places a total of 6.5% of all occurrences of *dude* as an address term in that utterance-position.

5.3.4 Exclamative *dude*

The exclamative label, as the name suggests, is applied when *dude* is used as an exclamation. Kiesling (2004, 291) notes that exclamative *dude* can show both positive and negative reactions and is often used on its own or along with other exclamatives, especially *whoa*. The following examples taken from GloWbE show *dude* as an exclamation:

- (43) **DUDE** Zombie Apocalypse MAN YEAH!!! 11
 (US: blogs.kqed.org)

(44) Wow **dude!** Doom and gloom. Mi hope seh yuh a nuh psychic!!
(JM: jamaicaobserver.com)

(45)Whoa, **dude!** Like, radical! Nobel Prize coming right up!
(NZ: guymcpherson.com)

Example (43) is written in capital letters suggesting that the writer is highly enthusiastic about what he is writing. Examples (44) and (45) show the use of *dude* as an exclamation with another exclamation, namely *wow* and *whoa*. All the examples show enthusiasm and can be considered examples of what Kiesling (2004) calls cool solidarity allowing the utterer to show excitement but still maintaining their ‘coolness’. Example (43) also shows double address, a construction further discussed in chapter 4.4.2.

The following table (Table 7) represents the occurrences of exclamative *dude* in the different positions in utterance in GloWbE. The occurrences are shown per million words while raw frequencies are placed in brackets.

Table 7: Exclamative *dude*, occurrences per million words (raw frequencies in brackets)

	initial	medial	final	alone
US	0.05 (21)	0.01 (4)	0.09 (33)	0.2 (62)
IE	0.01 (1)	-	0.04 (4)	0.04 (4)
NG	-	-	-	-
SG	0.02 (1)	0.02 (1)	-	0.16 (7)
NZ	0.01 (1)	-	0.04 (3)	0.05 (4)
JM	-	-	0.03 (1)	-

As can be seen from Table 7, the exclamative use of *dude* is not very common in any of the World Englishes discussed. The following figure (Figure 8) shows the distribution to the different positions in utterance in percentages in the case of exclamative *dude*.

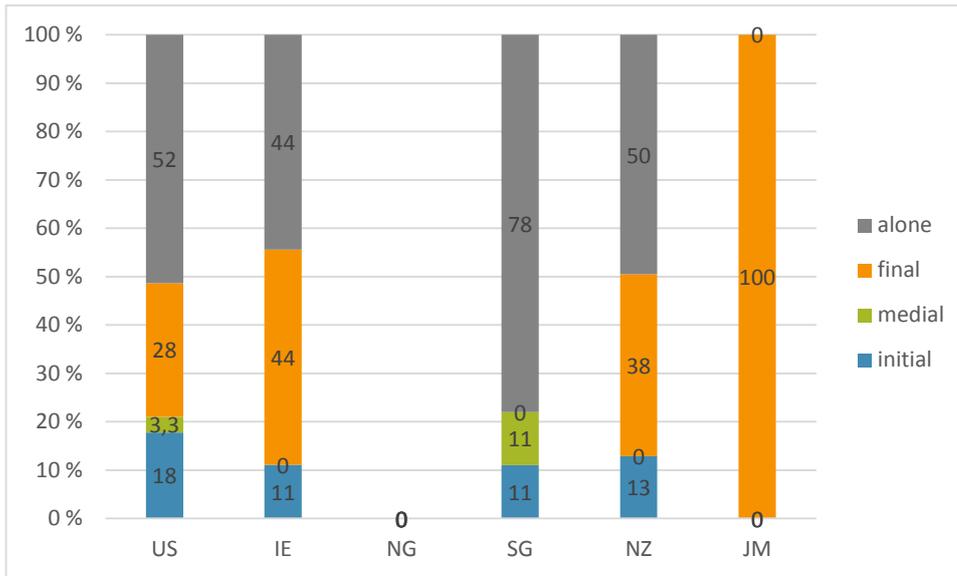


Figure 8: Positions in utterance of exclamative *dude*

Even though the stand-alone utterance position would be the expected choice for the exclamative use of *dude* as an address term, it is not the most popular utterance position in the World Englishes studied. Only Singapore English favors the stand-alone position very clearly with 78% of the occurrences of exclamative *dude*, while American English and New Zealand English have half of the exclamative cases of *dude* standing alone. In Irish English both utterance-final position and the stand-alone position are used as often (44%), while Jamaican English has its only occurrence of exclamative *dude* in the utterance-final position. However, as Table 7 shows, Irish English and Jamaican English have a very limited amount of occurrences of exclamative *dude* so the percentages are not very comparable.

5.3.5 Conversational *dude*

In this study, the label *conversational* is taken to represent occurrences of *dude* where the address term is not clearly used for mitigational, relational or confrontational purposes nor as an exclamative. This type of *dude* is used in a rather neutral way and leaving it out would not

have a major influence on the utterance. The following examples taken from GloWbE show the types of uses of *dude* placed under the conversational label:

- (46) put the joint or blunt to your lips and gently inhale. hold it for a few seconds then gently exhale. smoke it until its gone **dude**.
(NZ: nz.answers.yahoo.com)
- (47) **Dude**, I dated a girl for a while from SA. She had just gotten a student visa to the US a few months before. (US: reddit.com)
- (48) Wars and being mean to people are, like, you know, bad, **dude**. (Especially when you can be politically, and possibly criminally, unpleasant to Republicans you don't like and can enjoy hurting for the sake of social justice.) (US: spectator.org)

In example (46), the addresser is giving the addressee what seems to be advice in smoking marijuana. *Dude* could be seen as a mitigator to the imperative used or as a relational way of showing solidarity. However, neither function seems to really apply to the utterance in example (46). Similarly, in example (47), the writer begins sharing a story by using the address term *dude*. The purpose of the address term could be to point out the addressee but more than that *dude* seems to indicate the beginning of a story. In example (48), the addition of *dude* seems more like an afterthought than an attempt to emphasize the positive relationship between the addresser and the addressee.

In the conversational category, it seems that rather than having a clear function related to the relationship of the addresser and the addressee, *dude* could be added to the utterance out of a habit. *Dude* could also be considered to resemble a discourse marker. The conversational category in the present study resembles what Kiesling (2004, 291) calls “discourse structure marking” by using *dude* as an address term. He also argues that even though *dude* is used as a discourse marker rather than an address term in certain contexts, it still shows solidarity to the recipient in contrast to using a discourse marker such as *anyway* (205, 294). This way conversational *dude* – even though it seems to lack any function with first glance – could in fact serve two functions: marking discourse structure and showing

solidarity. As Siegel (2002, 38) explains, discourse particles “*do* have a meaning, in that they seem to convey something about the speaker’s relation to what is asserted in the sentence”. However, in some cases conversational *dude* could just be used out of a habit when it is such a prevalent part of the speaker’s vocabulary.

Table 8 represents the frequency of conversational *dude* per million words in the World Englishes under inspection. The raw frequencies are shown in brackets.

Table 8: Occurrences of conversational *dude* per million words (raw frequencies in brackets)

	initial	medial	final	alone
US	1.2 (454)	0.50 (195)	0.52 (208)	0.11 (43)
IE	0.24 (24)	0.09 (9)	0.10 (10)	0.01 (1)
NG	1.1 (45)	0.12 (5)	0.26 (11)	-
SG	1.1 (47)	0.33 (14)	0.44 (19)	0.07 (3)
NZ	0.23 (19)	0.22 (18)	0.23 (19)	0.01 (1)
JM	0.25 (10)	0.1 (4)	0.05 (2)	-

The following figure (Figure 9) shows the distribution of the different positions in utterance in the World Englishes under discussion.

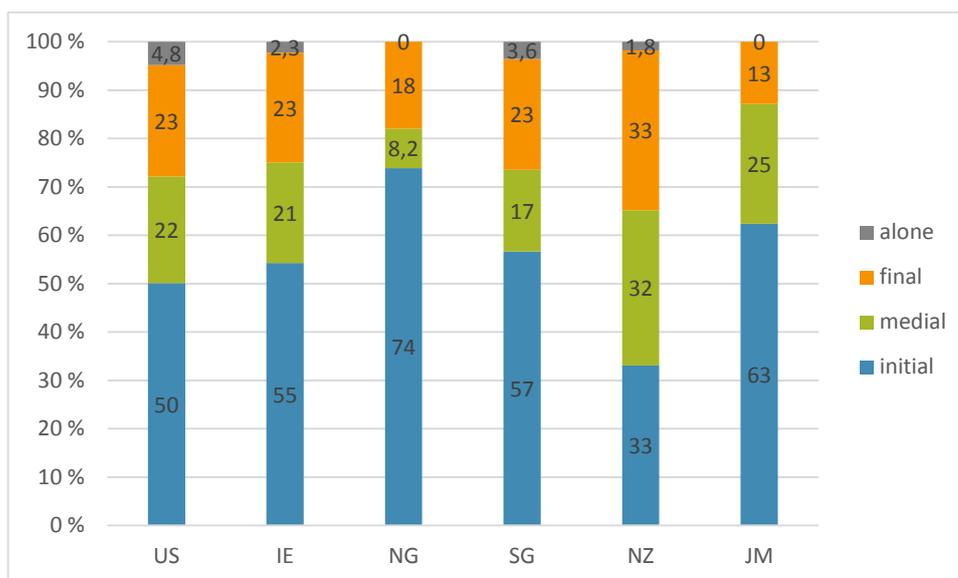


Figure 9: Positions in utterance of conversational *dude*

As Figure 9 shows, utterance-initial position is clearly the prevalent choice of position when it comes to conversational *dude*. Only New Zealand English shows an equal distribution between utterance-initial, utterance-medial and utterance-final positions of conversational *dude*. All the other World Englishes under inspection prefer the utterance-initial position with at least 50% of the occurrences as in American English to 74% of the occurrences of conversational *dude* as Nigerian English does. Both American and Irish English have an almost equal distribution between the second biggest categories – utterance-medial and utterance-final positions of utterance. The utterance-medial category has an average of 21% of the occurrences in all the World Englishes, with Nigerian English placing only 8.2% of the occurrences there. The stand-alone utterance-position is nonexistent in both Nigerian English and Jamaican English and also an unpopular choice in all the other World Englishes studied, American English having the most occurrences with 4.8%.

5.4 Noteworthy uses of *dude* within the different functions

This chapter takes a look at two ways of using *dude* as an address term that have arisen from looking at the data from GloWbE: *dude* used with quotative *like* and double address where *dude* is used with another address term. These uses are unrelated to the functions presented in section 4.3 as instances of *dude* with both quotative *like* and double address are included in the analysis of the different functions.

5.4.1 *Dude* with quotative *like*

Kiesling (2004, 286) reports having found several instances of *dude* used as an address term in constructed dialogue, that is indirect speech where the quotation is actually constructed by the speaker. Kiesling does not specify which quotatives were used by his informants, but both his examples (2004, 286 and 303) contain the quotative *like*.

The quotative *like*, as the name implies, presents a quotation. However, as Stenström et al. (2002, 241) point out, the paraphrase ‘I said’ is not the most appropriate explanation to the meaning of the construction ‘I was like’. Instead, they prefer the paraphrases ‘I thought’, ‘I felt’ or ‘I felt like saying’ (ibid.). This indicates that the quotative *like* is not completely similar to reported speech as there is usually no actual quotation involved.

The following examples taken from GloWbE show the use of *dude* as an address term with quotative *like*:

(49) I'm au naturel man. In the restaurant business, if you are in the kitchen, guys are always like' What the hell are you wearing, **dude**?' So I let it fly. (JM: m.jamaicaobserver.com)

(50) It's like, " **Dude**, you're how old? (NZ: publicaddress.net)

(51) It's like **dude** -- just come out of the closet already -- you're not foolin' anyone (SG: joonni.com)

It is important to keep in mind that not all uses of *like* are considered quotative, as in the following example from GloWbE:

(52) Wow it like changed my perception **dude!**
 (US: dailytech.com)

In example (52) above, *like* is used as a discourse marker rather than an indicator of a following quotation and is thus not considered to be an example of quotative *like* in the present study.

The quotative *like* shows that when *dude* is used as an address term, the addressee is not necessarily present. The writer can state a comment with quotative *like* that is directed to someone else and form it in a way they wish they would have in the actual speech situation. This way *dude* can be used even to address someone that the utterer would not normally address in such a manner.

The following table (Table 8) shows the frequency of the construction where *dude* is used with quotative *like* in percentages from all the occurrences of *dude* as an address term in the World English in question. The raw frequencies are shown in brackets.

Table 8: *Dude* with quotative *like* (raw frequencies in brackets)

	<i>dude</i> used with quotative <i>like</i>
American English	2.2% (70)
Irish English	4.3% (7)
Nigerian English	1.2% (2)
Singapore English	4.3% (12)
New Zealand English	4.4% (8)
Jamaican English	7.6% (5)

As can be seen from Table 8, the construction is not very popular in any of the World Englishes under discussion, but it does occur in all of them. Even though the use of quotative *like* could be considered to be primarily an American English phenomenon, the construction

is used with *dude* less often in American English in GloWbE than in most other World Englishes under inspection. Only Nigerian English has fewer instances of *dude* with quotative *like* than American English. The construction is almost equally frequent in Irish English, Singapore English and New Zealand English, while Jamaican English uses it most often with 7.6% of all occurrences of *dude* as an address term being used with quotative *like*.

5.4.2 Double address

Although quite infrequent in GloWbE, double address is a noteworthy construction as it combines *dude* with another address term. In most cases this other address terms is the name of the addressee as in examples (53), (54) and (55) or as the name is not always known in Internet communication, the nickname of the addressee as in (55). Also instances with other familiarizers were found as in examples (56) and (57):

(53) Sabella, **dude**, if you can't think of anything to write, why don't you just rest your pen, must you write?
(NG: nigeriavillagesquare.com)

(54) Brent **dude** you probably think that every song is about suicide. No, this song is definately about letting go of the past, namely his ex.
(US: songfacts.com)

(55) **Dude**, pissed2, chill man. Realism is cool, but you should be realistic and accept the fact that you cant fight this one.
(US: mitadmissions.org)

(56) **dude** bernard ur the real problem in the world man. listen to urself u fuckin ignorent asshole (IE: ocaoimh.ie)

(57) **Dude** don't hide it man. Its a known known fact Jamaicans are very ruthless. (JM: topix.com)

The use of two address terms – or even three as in examples (55) and (56) – in the same utterance proves that address terms are not only used to point out addressees or to get their attention. In the case of double address, it seems that the other address term is added to further emphasize the function that the first address term has. As can be seen in example (56) where

the three address terms are used in a confrontational manner, the effect of this is not necessarily positive.

Double address is not discussed in the other research on address terms introduced in this study. Siegel (2005, 15) has included the construction in one of her examples (“Dude, Hilary, good luck with that!”) noting briefly that *dude* in that context is a non-referring exclamation. She also states that the example shows one of the most recent additions to the possible uses of *dude* (ibid.).

The following table (Table 9) shows the use of *dude* as an address term used with another address term in GloWbE. The percentages are counted from all the occurrences of *dude* as an address term in the World English in question, while the brackets show the raw frequencies.

Table 9: Double address with *dude* (raw frequencies in brackets)

	double address
American English	2.2 % (71)
Irish English	1.2% (2)
Nigerian English	1.8% (3)
Singapore English	1.4% (4)
New Zealand English	0.6% (1)
Jamaican English	3.0% (2)

Although the construction is infrequent, it does occur in all the World Englishes included in the present study. The low number of hits in all the other World Englishes despite American English do not allow analysis regarding the functions of the utterances containing double address. However, when it comes to American English, it is evident that the exclamative use of *dude* as an address term is not the only – or even the most likely – possible context of use in GloWbE as only 2.8% of the utterances containing double address in American English are

considered exclamative in the present study. The relational and mitigational functions are the prevalent ones with 31% and 30% of the occurrences respectively. The conversational function accounts for 21% of the occurrences of *dude* with double address in American English, while 15% of the cases are confrontational. This contradicts with Siegel (2005, 15) where an example with double address was considered to be a non-referring exclamation.

5.5. Statistical analysis

Using the statistical chi-square test, the results presented in the analysis chapters 5.2 and 5.3 can be analyzed in relation to whether two World Englishes under inspection are similar in their use of *dude* or not. How the test works is further explained in the methodology section 4.2.

The following table (Table 10) presents the findings of *dude* in the different positions in utterance compared with the chi-square calculator. The numbers represent the p-value. There is considered to be a difference between the two World Englishes compared when the p-value presented is smaller than 0.5. Respectively, when the p-value is bigger than 0.5 the two variables are similar. Where there is similarity between the two World Englishes under comparison, the numbers are bolded.

Table 10: P-values of *dude* in the different positions in utterance (similar variables bolded)

	US	IE	NG	SG	NZ	JM
US	1	0.020398	0.00046	0.105201	0.00588	0.02586
IE	0.020398	1	1.1E-05	0.002557	0.725736	0.013165
NG	0.00046	1.1E-05	1	0.006126	< 0.00001	0.268853
SG	0.105201	0.002557	0.006126	1	0.000258	0.061474
NZ	0.00588	0.725736	< 0.00001	0.000258	1	0.006109
JM	0.02586	0.013165	0.268853	0.061474	0.006109	1

As Table 10 shows, the chi-square calculator detects similarity between the way *dude* is placed in different positions in utterance in American English and Singapore English, Irish English and New Zealand English, Nigerian English and Jamaican English and Singapore English and Jamaican English. It is important to keep in mind that even though one variety shows similarity with two different varieties, it does not indicate similarity between the two other varieties. Thus, even though Jamaican English is similar to both Nigerian and Singapore English in the positions in utterance used, Singapore English is still not similar to Nigerian English.

The following table (Table 11) shows the p-values presented by the chi-square calculator when it comes to the different functions of *dude* as an address term. As with Table 10, there is considered to be a significant difference between the two World Englishes when the p-value is smaller than 0.5. Again, where the two World Englishes under inspection are similar, the numbers are bolded.

Table 11: P-values of the functions of *dude* (similar variables bolded)

	US	IE	NG	SG	NZ	JM
US	1	< 0.00001	< 0.00001	0.037968	< 0.00001	0.784866
IE	< 0.00001	1	9.8E-05	0.003203	0.741582	0.008745
NG	< 0.00001	9.8E-05	1	1.7E-05	0.005597	0.003103
SG	0.037968	0.003203	1.7E-05	1	0.002129	0.516722
NZ	< 0.00001	0.741582	0.005597	0.002129	1	0.006138
JM	0.784866	0.008745	0.003103	0.516722	0.006138	1

As can be seen from Table 11, the use of *dude* in relation to its functions is similar in American English and Jamaican English, Irish English and New Zealand English and Singapore English and Jamaican English.

When comparing the results presented in tables 10 and 11 to the circle of World Englishes introduced in chapter 2.3, there are some similarities in relation to whether the World Englishes are placed on the Inner Circle or Outer Circle of World Englishes and how they use *dude* as an address term. New Zealand English and Irish English are both native varieties of English and they seem to use *dude* as an address term in a similar way in regards to both utterance position and functions. Respectively, Singapore English and Jamaican English that are both Outer Circle Englishes also show similarity in both comparisons. The non-native varieties of Nigerian English and Jamaican English are also similar when it comes to the positions in utterance of *dude* but different in regards to the functions of *dude* as an address term.

What is not explained by the Circles of English is the similarity of American English and Singapore English in regards to the positions in utterance of *dude* and the similarity between American English and Jamaican English when it comes to the functions of *dude* as an address term. The geographical closeness of The United States and Jamaica could account for their using *dude* in similar functions. However, there is no similarity in the two World Englishes when it comes to the utterance positions in which they use *dude*.

Other than the similarity with Singapore English in positions in utterance and Jamaican English in functions of *dude*, American English is not similar to any other World Englishes under inspection in neither its distribution of utterance positions nor functions. This shows that at least when it comes to the positions of utterance and the different functions *dude* is used in, the American English model is not followed by other World Englishes using the address term.

6. Discussion

This section will take a closer look at the findings presented in the analysis section 5. The research questions represented in chapter 1 will also be revisited.

Studying American college students, Kiesling (2004, 291) noted that “*dude* appears overwhelmingly in utterance-initial or utterance-final position”, with 60% of his informants placing *dude* in utterance-initial position and 27% utterance-finally. Also using young American informants, Barbieri (2008, 65) found 79% of the occurrences of *dude* in her data to be utterance-final but does not discuss its use in other positions. The findings in the present study place in between the results presented by Kiesling and Barbieri as 43% of the occurrences of *dude* in American English are placed in the utterance-initial position while the utterance-final position is used in 30% of the cases. These differences in results could be explained by different methods of categorization, but as neither Kiesling nor Barbieri discuss their choice of labeling *dude* according to the positions in utterance, there is no way of knowing if that is in fact the case. Another possible explanation lies in the different datasets used in the present study compared to those of Kiesling (2004) and Barbieri (2008).

Rendle-Short (2010, 1203) found the utterance-final position to be the most commonly used position of *mate* in Australian English. In the present study, New Zealand English is the only World English under inspection where the utterance-final position is the prevalent placement for *dude* as an address term. As New Zealand English is closely related to Australian English (see chapter 2.3.5), there may be an association between the popularity of *mate* in Australian English and *dude* in New Zealand English used in the utterance-final position. This comparison suggests that even though the address term *dude* itself is borrowed from American English to New Zealand English, the way of using within an utterance is adapted to fit New Zealand English.

The corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE) used as data for this study has shown both problems and potential. The limited context given for the extracts of text in the corpus makes it occasionally difficult to determine the function of the address term used. However, this proved not to be a major problem in the analysis process as Internet communication is often quick in its pace so the function is usually determinable even from a limited context. The lack of punctuation and the speech-like nature of web-based communication have also posed some problems in interpreting whether *dude* is used as an address term or as a common noun. Nevertheless, the context usually helped determine whether *dude* was an address term or not.

One problem of GloWbE is that the data from the different World Englishes is not entirely comparable. After all, the distribution of the amount of data in the different World Englishes is not even and the types of sources for the data may differ from country to country. Another issue further addressed in chapter 2.4 is the fact that not all countries have a wide range of people with access to the Internet. In countries where only a small percentage of the inhabitants use the Internet, the people with access to it are probably wealthier than the ones who are not able to use the Internet. This could have its effect on the results of the present study as some World Englishes under inspection have a wider representation of people of different background than others and a wider range of texts from different levels of formality.

Despite its problems, web-based communication is an interesting genre for studying *dude* as an address term as address terms are usually associated with spoken language. As discussed in chapter 2.4, language on the Internet combines aspects of both spoken and written language, but as the addressee is not present in the communication situation, it is surprising that *dude* as an address term is used quite often on the Internet. One possible explanation for this is that the addressee's name is rarely known in online communication and as Svartvik and Leech (2006, 214) and Rendle-Short (2010, 1205) note, address terms are often used in

situations where there is uncertainty on the addressee's name. With *dude*, the addressee can show friendliness towards the addressee without having to know their name.

The research questions for this MA thesis were the following:

- i) What kind of functions does *dude* as an address term have in web-based English?
- ii) Is *dude* used in a different position in utterance in the different functions?
- iii) Are there noticeable differences in the functions and positions in utterance in American English and other World Englishes?

When it comes to the different functions of *dude* as an address term in GloWbE, five different functions were detected: relational, mitigational, confrontational, exclamative and conversational functions. Most of these functions are represented in all the different World Englishes under inspection except for the exclamative use which is not found in Nigerian English. The conversational function is the prevalent choice in American English, Nigerian English and Singapore English, while the relational use of *dude* is the most popular function in Irish English and New Zealand English. Jamaican English uses *dude* as an address term most often in its confrontational function in the present study.

The relational *dude* clearly prefers the utterance-final position in the present study, while *dude* as a mitigator is most often placed utterance-initially. A similar tendency towards the utterance-initial position is detectable in both confrontational and conversational *dude*, although there is slight variation between the different World Englishes. Exclamative *dude* shows some preference to the utterance-final position but – being the smallest category under inspection – does not give any reliable results on the matter.

When it comes to the question on whether there is a difference between the World Englishes studied and American English in their use of *dude*, the answer is in the affirmative. As the chi-square test shows, no World English under inspection uses *dude* exactly like American English does, in relation to both utterance-position and functions. This could be

considered to indicate that the other World Englishes are not copying the way American English speakers use the address term. There does not seem to be evidence of the World Englishes only taking the most prominent features of *dude* from American English to their repertoire as the distribution of features is different in the World Englishes in the present study.

The difference in results between American English and World Englishes could be interpreted to mean that the World Englishes have adopted their own ways of using *dude* as an address term. However, another possible explanation is that they are following the American English model for using *dude* but are behind American English in the development of usage.

Looking at the functions named for *dude* as an address term in the present study, it is good to keep in mind that even though all the occurrences of *dude* were placed in one of the categories, this does not mean that *dude* as an address term could not show other functions as well. *Dude* could, for example, simultaneously be both relational and exclamative. It is also possible for *dude* as an address term to have other functions in different contexts of use. In that sense, the list of functions given in the present study is not necessarily an exhaustive representation of all the functions *dude* could have as an address term.

7. Conclusions

This study has looked at how *dude* is used as an address term in web-based English in six different World Englishes: American English, Irish English, Nigerian English, Singapore English, New Zealand English and Jamaican English. Different functions of usage for *dude* as an address term have been detected and studied in relation to the position in utterance they are placed in.

A surprising discovery in relation to the functions of *dude* as an address term in GloWbE was the frequency of *dude* in confrontational contexts. The confrontational function of *dude* is left undiscussed by other researchers of address terms. In the present study, the confrontational function had an average of 23% of the occurrences of *dude* as an address term in all of the World Englishes under inspection. This was an unexpected discovery as previous research on address terms has emphasized the function of address terms in sustaining social relationships rather than in hurting them. This difference in use can be explained by the data: as the addressee is not seen and usually not even known in online communication, it is easier to take an aggressive stance towards them than it is in face-to-face communication. Under the cover of anonymity, the writer is able to confront the addressee without fear of consequences.

Another finding on *dude* as an address term undiscussed by previous research was double address, where *dude* is used together with one or more other address terms. Although a rather infrequent phenomenon, double address did occur in all the World Englishes under inspection. The purpose of using this construction seems to be to further emphasize and in a way double the effect of the first address term, whether the function be emphasizing the positive relationship to the addressee or taking a confrontational stance towards them.

For further research topics, it would be interesting to include more World Englishes in the study of *dude* as an address term and see whether more variation would emerge. Another

address term could also be studied to compare with the findings made with *dude* in the present study. For example *mate* could be a good choice of address term as it is similar to *dude* both in meaning and in its origin as an address term particularly associated with one World English – namely Australian English. It would also be interesting to compare the use of *dude* to *man* as an address term. However, this choice of topic would be problematic in corpus study as *man* is used significantly more often as a common noun than as an address term.

Hill (1994, 321) has described the spread of *dude* in the US as a “virtual syntactic revolution in the English language”. As can be seen from this study, the use of *dude* has spread far beyond American borders. Thus, the notion of *dude* being a strictly American English slang word should definitely be reconsidered.

In the light of this study and previous research on *dude* it is evident that *dude* can be used in a versatile manner in various different contexts. As Kiesling (2004, 297) points out, this flexibility of meanings should not be interpreted as meaninglessness. On the contrary, the users of *dude* should embrace the fact that a simple address term can be used to show solidarity without seeming too enthusiastic, to mitigate an otherwise too harsh comment or as a discourse marker just to name a few possible uses.

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